

**A SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF TWO TRUTH AND
RECONCILIATION COMMISSION TESTIMONIES:
TRANSITIVITY AND GENRE**

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A minithesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a Masters of Arts
Degree in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape.

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February 2011

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KEYWORDS

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

Transitivity

Genre

Translating and Interpreting

Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)

Bonteheuwel Military Wing (BMW)

Identity

Narrative

Recount

Afrikaans



ABSTRACT

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MA minithesis, Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape.

This thesis examines how two narrators construe their experiences of the same events differently through the linguistic choices that they make, through a systemic functional analysis, as well as a genre analysis of two testimonies. The Human Rights Violations (HRV) hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) allowed testifiers to tell stories of their experiences during apartheid. The selected testimonies refer to the events that led up to the arrest and eventual torture of Faried Muhammad Ferhelst, as told by himself and his mother, Minnie Louisa Ferhelst. The frameworks used to analyse the testimonies are drawn from the transitivity and genre theories of Systemic Functional Linguistics. A clausal analysis of the transitivity patterns is used to compare the ways in which the testifiers construct their identities and roles when recounting their stories. The transitivity analysis of both testimonies shows that both Mrs Ferhelst and Faried Ferhelst construe themselves as the Affected participant through Material, Mental and Verbal clauses, and construe the police as the Causers, mostly through Material clauses. A genre analysis revealed that both testimonies took the form of narratives, in particular the Recount, a typical genre for relating narratives of personal experience. This research project also explores how the original Afrikaans versions of the testimonies differ from the translated English versions, available online on the TRC website. The Afrikaans versions were transcribed by the researcher from audio-visual records. A transitivity analysis reveals that the interpretation of the Afrikaans testimonies is fairly accurate, with a minimum loss of meaning. Thus in the case of these testimonies, the actual online record in English is an accurate reflection of their stories.

February 2011

DECLARATION

I declare that *A Systemic Functional Analysis of Two Truth and Reconciliation Testimonies: Transitivity and Genre* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Nathalie Hattingh

February 2011

Signed:.....

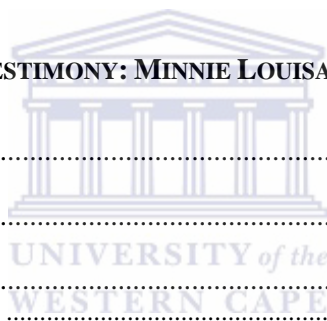


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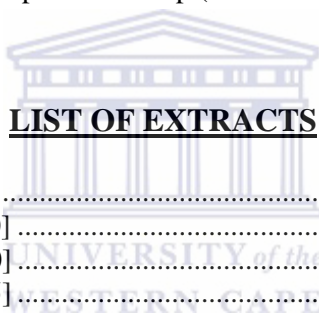
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

A:	Used to identify Afrikaans clauses
ANC:	African Nationalist Congress
BEH:	Behavioural Process
BISCO:	Bonteheuwel Inter-Schools Congress
BMW:	Bonteheuwel Military Wing
BVA:	Bonteheuwel Veteran's Association
E:	Used to identify English clauses
EXIST:	Existential Process
GVHR:	Gross Violations of Human Rights (Committee)
LFP:	Language Facilitation Program
MAT:	Material Process
MEN:	Mental Process
MK:	<i>Umkhonto we Sizwe</i>
NP:	National Party
PAC:	Pan African Congress
REL:	Relational Process
SB:	Security Branch; reference to the security police
SFL:	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SRC:	Student Representative Council
TRC:	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDF:	United Democratic Front
UIU:	Unrest Investigation Unit
ULFE:	Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment
VERB:	Verbal Process



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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION & CONTEXT

1.1. INTRODUCTION

People use language to make sense of the world around them, whether in written form or through speech. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 29) state that language defines human experience, and experience is expressed through language – how people perceive the world around them both physically and mentally. Narratives come about when people express their experiences or perceptions of events, to make sense of their everyday lives. A speaker uses narrative not only to try and make sense of an event, but also to position him/herself (as well as others) in a particular way and within a particular social situation (Labov, 1972; Grabe, 2002; Eggins, 2004; and others). This thesis explores how speakers construe themselves and their experiences through the linguistic and discursive choices they make. This thesis will also focus on how they construe others, as well as how the same event is construed by different speakers.

This thesis will use testimonies taken from the hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), held in Cape Town in April 1996. The testimonies are those of a mother, Mrs Minnie Ferhelst and her son Faried Muhammad Ferhelst, a student activist who was tortured by the Security police in the mid-1980s. The mother's testimony was given in Afrikaans, and simultaneously interpreted into English. Ferhelst gave his testimony in English and Afrikaans, which was also interpreted simultaneously into English. The simultaneous English translations of these testimonies are available on the official TRC website.

The object of this research is to reveal how the two narrators construe their experiences (of the same events) differently through the linguistic choices that they make, through a systemic functional analysis, as well as a genre analysis, of the two respective testimonies. Another aim of this study is to reveal how the different narrators position themselves and other participants when recalling the same set of events. Lastly, this thesis explores whether these testimonies were accurately interpreted or captured in English, as they are represented on the official TRC website.

In order to understand the context of the testimonies, it is necessary look at the historical context of the country, i.e. apartheid and the political situation that eventually necessitated the implementation of the TRC. This chapter will look at the following:

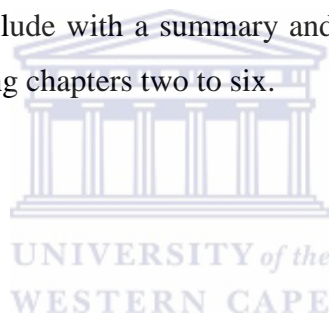
- A brief overview of the system of apartheid and its eventual abolishment;
- How and why the TRC was commissioned, as well as its constituent committees;
- A brief discussion of the various hearings, including special hearings for victims and women respectively;
- The importance of making meaning by briefly discussing the interpretation and translation issues at the hearings; and
- What effects the system of apartheid has had on testifiers.

Finally, the chapter will conclude with a summary and a brief outline for the rest of the thesis, by briefly discussing chapters two to six.

1.2. **APARTHEID**

1.2.1. **Background:**

Apartheid was a system of racial segregation implemented in South Africa by the National Party (NP) in 1948. Apartheid means ‘separateness’ in Afrikaans (TRC Report, Vol 1: 29; Marks, 2006). The policy of apartheid expanded on the oppressive and prejudicial government laws that had existed already for nearly 200 years under colonialism. White settlers and black ‘tribal inhabitants’ were already divided, even more so after the discovery of mineral rich lands in the 19th century (TRC Report, Vol 1: 29; 40). With the NP’s election victory in 1948, the government “set out to segregate every aspect of political, economic, cultural, sporting and social life” (TRC Report, Vol 1: 30; Marks, 2006), by amending existing laws or creating new ones that would achieve this separation.



1.2.2. **Laws:**

To achieve complete societal segregation, the government implemented or altered existing forms of segregationist legislation and transformed it systematically into a set of (legally) discriminatory and racist laws. New policing forces were also put into operation to stifle any opposition to the government (TRC Report, Vol 1: 30).

One such law was the Population and Registration Act of 1951, which sought to classify South Africans according to race, as well as control and censor contact between races. Non-whites were restricted in terms of social, economic and political aspects: the government controlled where they could work, what work they could do, and where they could live. Blacks in particular were ostracised from every aspect of the political arena. Races were separated in terms of the Group Areas Act, which determined where particular races could live and work. Non-whites were resigned to often inferior facilities and services, including separate transport systems, hospitals, schools, churches and beaches. Better facilities were marked out for the use of whites only. Blacks' movement in and out of certain areas were controlled by the Pass Law: all blacks had to carry passes with them at all times (Marks, 2006).

1.2.3. **Opposition:**

Many South Africans (including some white people) were against the government and its oppressive laws. The government branded all opposition as 'communists', then set in place stringent laws and policing to inhibit their opposition (Marks, 2006).

This did not prevent people from protesting and forming political parties to oppose the government. The African Nationalist Congress (ANC) was established as early as 1912 as one such opposition party, "to represent African views and fight government policies" (Marks, 2006). Opposition parties were mostly led by coloureds, Indians and blacks.

Protest movements came about in the 1950s, led by the ANC and the Pan African Congress (PAC). Protests were organised to be peaceful. However, in 1960, one such PAC-led protest culminated in the deaths of hundreds of people, and the wounding of

many more as police opened fire (Sharpeville Massacre). Subsequently, all (black) political parties were banned by the government (including the ANC and PAC), their leaders arrested or sent into exile, while millions of blacks were relocated and sent to live in the so-called 'Bantu homelands' (Bantustans). Blacks were eventually stripped of their South African citizenship, which meant that they could only work in South Africa, but had to return to their homelands when not working (Marks, 2006).

In 1961, the ANC formed the military wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* ('spear of the nation'; known as MK), as a means of undermining the apartheid government. MK served as the armed wing of the ANC who were, for the next 30 years, conducting affairs from underground. By 1969, the NP's political grip on the country was starting to slacken as Steve Biko established the Black Consciousness Movement. He was later murdered, while in custody by the Security police in 1977.

The early 1970s saw black workers take part in strikes and boycotts. One boycott in Soweto in 1976 saw police open fire on students protesting against the forced implementation of Afrikaans-only education. This event sparked worldwide indignation, and led to many countries placing sanctions on South Africa – economically, South Africa was segregated from the rest of the world. The 'Soweto Uprising' (as it came to be known) caused resurgence among many resistance fighters across the country. More protests followed in the form of strikes, boycotts and clashes between youths and police in the townships. Eventually the government declared a series of states of emergency (1985 and 1987) in a bid to quell the resistance. With increased resurgence from the blacks in the townships and sustained international boycotting taking its toll on the economy, the government was forced to rethink their apartheid policy. The government was forced to reorganise their apartheid legislation, by abolishing the Pass Law.

By the 1980s, both the government and resistance had failed to secure the country and bring it to stability (the resistance couldn't overthrow the government and the government could no longer control the public). In 1984, Asians and coloureds were introduced into Parliament, where they still only received separate representation. Blacks, however, were still not allowed representation in Parliament. This was not enough to satisfy the black communities and more violence and protests followed.

In 1989, then President P.W. Botha resigned, ceding to F.W. de Klerk. By February 1990, De Klerk declared that apartheid was formally at an end. The bans on the ANC and PAC were lifted, and Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Talks were held to discuss post-apartheid legislation and preparations for elections were made. In April 1994, South Africa held its first democratic, multiracial elections, with Nelson Mandela elected as president of South Africa.

1.2.4. **Legacy of Apartheid:**

The abolition of apartheid is regarded as one of the most important achievements of the 20th century. Years of “discrimination, exploitation and deprivation” (Marks, 2006) have left deep scars among the majority of South Africans. Many South Africans still face high levels of unemployment, inferior education, squalid housing and poor general living conditions (to name a few). Addressing injustices has proven to be difficult and painful for many. Living in fear was a reality for most people, particularly black people. The discriminating laws of apartheid meant that many were terrorised, harassed and tortured on a daily basis – mainly (but not restricted to) those who opposed the government (TRC Report, Vol 1: 34-35).

1.3. **THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION (TRC)**

1.3.1. **Background:**

The (new) government recognised that there was a need to address the injustices perpetrated during the previous regime. In 1995, Parliament set up the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No. 34, an act that would serve to investigate the violations of human rights abuses perpetrated during apartheid (TRC Report, Vol 1: 24; 49; Marks, 2006).

The TRC was established to bring about closure, or ‘bridge the gap’ created by apartheid. The Commission set out to inform the nation of the injustices perpetrated during apartheid by both the government and the liberation movements, and “to enable South Africans to come to terms with their past on a morally accepted basis

and to advance the cause of reconciliation” (TRC Report, Vol 1: 48-49; Marks, 2006). The Commission sought to promote an understanding of the past, and to reinstate people’s dignity. The Commission also provided perpetrators with an opportunity to tell the truth and gain some understanding of their own pasts, and to see the past from a different point of view (TRC Report, Vol 1: 49; Hay, 1999: 44).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report is probably the most important document to come out of South Africa in decades which deals with the gross injustices of the past. The TRC Report (Vol 1: xiii; 24; 29) documented gross violations of human rights that had occurred over a 34-year period in South Africa (1960-1994). The Report is an assemblage of testimonies of victims, perpetrators and witnesses.

1.3.2. **The Organisation of the TRC:**

The Commission was composed of three committees that dealt with different aspects of promoting truth and reconciliation. These were the Amnesty Committee, the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee, and the Gross Violations of Human Rights Committee. All three will be detailed below.

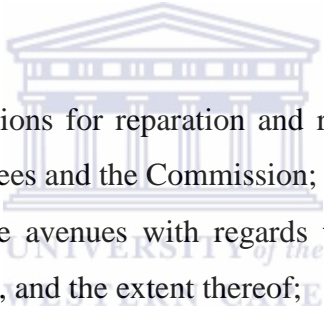
i) **The Amnesty Committee:**

The Amnesty Committee was established in accordance with provisions made by the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act (TRC Report, Vol 1: 267; Vol 5: 108). It was also the only committee of its kind to have been accorded the power to grant amnesty to perpetrators (Sarkin, 2004: 3). The function of the Committee was to invite and hear applications by perpetrators seeking amnesty for past abuses that they had committed. These offences would have occurred during the period set out by the Commission, as well as having been politically motivated to be considered for amnesty. Probably one of the most controversial institutions of the TRC, the Act made provision for those seeking amnesty to be exempted from further criminal or civil prosecution (TRC Report, Vol 1: 267; Vol 5: 108; Sarkin, 2004: 6; Christie, 2000: 149). According to Sarkin (2004: 4), only 1167 applicants have been granted amnesty (145 have received partial amnesty).

ii) The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee:

The function of the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee was to facilitate healing among survivors or the families of victims who had suffered various immeasurable losses (TRC Report, Vol 5: 170). In South Africa, reparation and rehabilitation was deemed necessary as a measure to counter-balance the “generosity” afforded to perpetrators who received amnesty. As the recipients of amnesty cannot be tried criminally or civilly, it was argued the responsibility for ensuring reparations for victims or their families should lie with the government (TRC Report, Vol 5: 170; Christie, 2000: 149).

The Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee was responsible for the following (TRC Report, Vol 1: 285):

- 
- To consider recommendations for reparation and rehabilitation as placed before them by the other committees and the Commission;
 - To investigate all possible avenues with regards to the victim(s), what human rights abuses they suffered, and the extent thereof;
 - To provide the government with suggestions that would enable giving victims suitable reparation and rehabilitation in order to give victims back their pride and honour;
 - To offer suggestions on how reparation and rehabilitation should be made to victims;
 - To offer suggestions about the establishment of institutions that would benefit victims and society as a whole and to suggest steps to prevent human rights abuses from recurring.

iii) The Gross Violations of Human Rights Committee:

Gross violations of human rights are defined by the Act as the “killing, abduction, torture or severe ill-treatment”, and as the “attempt, conspiracy, incitement, instigation, command or procurement to commit” the above-mentioned deeds. Due to

the extent of human rights abuses committed during apartheid, the Commission had to restrict their investigations to those that culminated in severe physical and mental abuse, or deaths, as a result of political violence during the requisitioned period (TRC Report, Vol 1: 29). The Commission tried to represent the worst deeds of political violence perpetrated over this period, but acknowledged that their representations remain incomplete, as human rights abuses had been an occurrence stemming from South Africa's colonial history (TRC Report, Vol 1: 29; Vol 5: 4).

The Commission invited all those affected by apartheid to share their stories of human rights abuses. Over 21 000 statements were received. The statements were analysed and entered onto a database (TRC Report, Vol 3: 3). The Gross Violations of Human Rights (GVHR) Committee was established with regards to those who saw themselves as victims of GVHRs. It also set out to treat victims with the necessary respect and compassion due to them. The Commission decided that it was important to allow victims to relate their own experiences, thus, the notion of holding public hearings was conceived and put into operation (TRC Report, Vol 5: 1-2).

The Committee chose the testimonies that were heard at the public hearings. The chosen statements would reflect (TRC Report, Vol 5: 5-6):

- Representation(s) of both sides (victims and perpetrators) of the political arena of apartheid;
- Representations of human rights abuses over the entire mandated period;
- Opportunities for men, women, as well as the youth, to share their experiences; and
- (Near) accurate and complete representations of conflict within a particular region, so that others may also identify with victims' experiences.

The TRC came to be known through the public hearings, as it enjoyed extensive coverage by the media, both locally and internationally. The Commission was both commended and criticised: the TRC sought to bring about reconciliation which in turn was needed to facilitate forgiveness. Some people were unable to forgive, and did not submit statements to the Commission (TRC Report, Vol 5: 7).

1.3.3. Summary:

The first few volumes of the TRC report appeared in October 1998; the final volume was published in April 2003. The Commission condemned all political organisations (both government and the liberation movements) for their respective involvement with human rights abuses. The Commission described the system of apartheid as in itself having been a “crime against humanity”. Most of its criticism was thus reserved for the former National Party (NP) government (Marks, 2006; TRC Report, Vol 1: 29). However, the TRC was both widely lauded and criticised. These praises and criticisms are summarised below:

For:

- The TRC was implemented in terms of conditions set out for it by Parliament, “for the promotion of reconciliation and national unity” (TRC Report, Vol 1: 49), and to identify the acts of human rights abuses perpetrated during apartheid (Doxtader, 2005: 7). Ultimately, the Act should be seen as a “result of political compromise and bargaining” (Hay, 1999: 47; also Christie, 2000: 162).
- It made sure that no South African would forget the gross violations of human rights perpetrated during apartheid, to ensure that those violations would never be repeated, or denied that it ever took place (TRC Report, Vol 5: 8).
- The TRC of South Africa was different from the previous 30 truth commissions that were held around the world, as it was the first to be able to grant amnesty to perpetrators. (Sarkin, 2004: 3; 6).
- It received a high level of interest and support internationally (Sarkin, 2004: 6; Ross, 2003: 1)
- The TRC has opened the way to new “social possibilities” (Ross, 2003: 1), in that its public hearings allowed for the promotion of understanding through the recounting of narratives, for the therapeutic nature of storytelling (Graybill, 2002: 81-83), and for past abuses to be voiced and acknowledged (Hay, 1999: 44; Henry, 2000: 166). It succeeded in its objective of “restoring the human and civil

dignity” (TRC Report, Vol 5: 8) by giving victims a platform to share their experiences;

- The positive effects of the TRC prevail over the negative effects. The TRC was portrayed as a “healing intervention” (Ross, 2003: 1), and the work of the TRC has helped promote the healing of the nation (Hay, 1999: 44). However, the TRC is only one stepping stone towards the healing of a nation and requires patience and time (Christie, 2000: 146; 153; Sarkin, 2004: 34; Doxtader, 2005: 7-8).

Against:

- The TRC faced a lot of opposition from many spheres of society (Hay, 1999: 44). Perceptions of the TRC and public opinion differed greatly, as many felt angered by the Commission, which was accused of trying to assign blame (Sarkin, 2004: 6-7; 34).
- Some critics of the TRC wondered whether the TRC was probing the right issues. Some have doubts whether the TRC has really established “as complete a picture as possible” (TRC Report, Vol 1: 24). Years later, many gaps still remain, and the TRC archives are still inaccessible to the general public (Doxtader, 2005: 7-8). Achieving reconciliation, truth and justice may be in conflict with each other: truth may sometimes come at the expense of justice; also, justice may not always lead to reconciliation (Sarkin, 2004: 6-7; 34; Christie, 2000: 166).
- Addressing the injustices of apartheid still has not improved the standard of living for the majority of people. Many are still unemployed, uneducated, with inadequate housing, lack access to necessary resources, or have only a limited access to these resources (Christie, 2000: 148).
- Controversy surrounded the amnesty committee, not in terms of who should receive amnesty, but the methods, findings and conclusions of the Commission were criticised (Sarkin, 2004: 6-7; 34; Doxtader, 2005: 7-8).
- The healing benefits of testifying were overemphasised by the media and the TRC. Graybill (2002: 83-84) states that the TRC promoted the view that “as long as there was crying”, healing was taking place. The issue of restoring a victim’s dignity in such a public display was sometimes regarded as demeaning to victims more than it was of therapeutic benefit.

- The TRC undermined the suffering experienced by testifiers, as it “trivialised lived experiences of oppression and exploitation” (Henry, 2000: 166). The TRC failed to provide of adequate follow-up support for victims who testified, and many victims felt that they had to fend for themselves. Reparations made to victims were deemed inadequate by some, and the distribution of reparations has been slow and disappointingly little (Graybill, 2002: 83-84; Henry, 2000: 166).

1.4. **TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETATION AT THE TRC**

1.4.1. **Background:**

The TRC believed that all those testifying at its hearings should do so in a language of their choice. They believed that the effects thereof would be beneficial for testifiers if they conversed in their mother tongue or a language that they were comfortable with (TRC Report, Vol 1: 146; Vol 5: 7).

The new constitution of South Africa makes provision for 11 official languages; on this basis discrimination based on a person’s language is prohibited, according to the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No. 34 of 1995 (Du Plessis & Wiegand, 1997; Bock & Mpolweni-Zantsi, 2006; Lotriet, 1997).

According to Lotriet (in Bock & Mpolweni-Zantsi, 2006:110), up to 1994 there was little investment in formal interpretation or translation services into the African languages because of the country’s policy of only two official languages (Afrikaans and English). With the changing political situation in the country, the need for interpretation and translation services into all 11 official languages was recognised.

The diverse language needs necessitated the Commission to employ an interpretation service that could cater for a multilingual audience. They contracted the services of the Language Facilitation Programme (LFP) of the Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment (ULFE) of the University of the Free State. The LFP suggested that the Commission use a simultaneous interpretation service (TRC Report, Vol 1: 147; Vol 6: 749-750; Du Plessis & Wiegand, 1997: 163; Bock & Mpolweni-Zantsi, 2006:111).

Cilliers (2002: 13; also Howe & Martin, 2007: 140) makes the distinction between interpretation and translation: interpretation is the oral transfer of a message from one language into another; and translation is the written transfer of a message from one language into another.

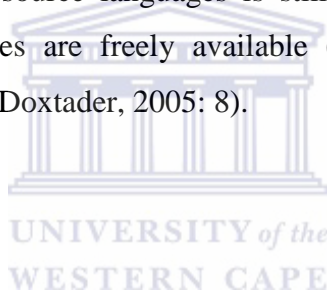
The Commission had to acquire mobile interpreting equipment, and interpreters had to be recruited and trained. The LFP handled the recruitment and training of interpreters in the space of two months across the country. This took place in the form of short courses and limited in-service training. The candidates who were shortlisted were subjected to further tests, from which the final selection (23) was made. According to Du Plessis & Wiegand (1997: 165), it is better to describe the two-week training session as an orientation course (also, TRC Report, Vol 6: 750; Bock & Mpolweni-Zantsi, 2006: 111).

Although the simultaneous interpretation service was deemed successful, the interpreters were faced with many challenges within and outside the context of the TRC (Bock & Mpolweni-Zantsi, 2006:113-114; Lotriet, 1997: 170-171). These included:

- Ignorance surrounding the use of interpretation as a means of communication among people;
- A lack of trained interpreters in various spheres of society. These included a lack of training facilities and programmes for interpreters;
- Too little time to train the interpreters;
- Interpreters often had to avail themselves at short notice. They were away from their families for long periods at a time;
- The hearings placed a lot of physical and emotional strain on the interpreters;
- Often they had to interpret from or into English, which was not the first language of the majority of interpreters;
- Lack of resources, and inadequate handling of the mobile equipment created problems.

According to Picard (1988: 25), it is necessary for an interpreter or translator to render a service as accurately as possible, to ensure the closest meaning possible to that which is being interpreted or translated. Picard (1988: 39) states that exact translation or interpretation is not always possible as personal preferences, cultural or world views, narrative styles, and so on, influence the interpretation or translation of texts (Bock *et al.*, 2006; also Bock & Mpolweni-Zantsi, 2006: 104). Simultaneous interpretation was valuable in terms of the time it saved, and the extensive volumes of terminology it had generated (TRC Report, Vol 6: 750; Bock & Mpolweni-Zantsi, 2006:114).

Researchers have found that the official online versions of testimonies are sometimes misinterpreted, additional information is sometimes added, or vital information has sometimes been omitted. This has implications for researchers because access to TRC testimonies in their original source languages is still fairly inaccessible. Only the online versions of testimonies are freely available (Bock *et al.*, 2006; Bock & Mpolweni-Zantsi, 2006: 104; Doxtader, 2005: 8).



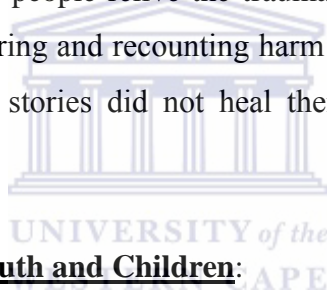
1.5. **VICTIM HEARINGS**

1.5.1. **Background:**

Some victims who gave statements were invited to testify at the public hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The hearings usually lasted two to five days, with approximately 20–60 people testifying (TRC Report, Vol 1: 145). There were 76 public hearings held across the country between April 1996 and June 1997. These hearings usually consisted of a panel of 3 to 17 Commissioners or Committee members (Ross, 2003: 13).

The public hearings were considered the most central part of the TRC, as they gave victims the opportunity to voice their stories of human rights abuses. They were an opportunity to share their hurt and anguish with the rest of society. The hearings sparked discussion among people, especially on how human rights abuses can be avoided in the future (TRC Report, Vol 1: 147).

Storytelling was a core aspect of the TRC hearings, through which testifiers voiced their experiences of past human rights abuses (Graybill, 2002: 81). Storytelling was seen as important as survivors often felt guilt or shame at what their activism had done to their families and friends. Victims often felt that their identities had been lost: they felt misunderstood, that their sacrifices had gone unnoticed, that people did not understand the pain they had suffered, and that they could not fit into society. According to Graybill (2002: 81-82), “survivors often feel misunderstood and ignored, their sacrifice unacknowledged, their pain unrecognized, and their identity lost”. Public storytelling was seen as an important step for victims to reclaim their identities. The TRC recognised that telling one’s story had therapeutic advantages for victims, and that sharing one’s story can lead to healing for both victims and perpetrators (Graybill, 2002: 82-83; 85). The negative side of telling stories of past abuses is that it reopens old wounds, and that people relive the trauma of the past, because, as Ross (2006: 121) states, “remembering and recounting harm is neither a simple nor neutral act”. For some, telling their stories did not heal them, but made them bitter and angrier than before.



1.5.2. **Special Hearings: Youth and Children:**

The youth were among those who were not only witnesses, but were subjected to some of the worst violations of human rights suffered during apartheid. The TRC realised the impact political violence had on children and youth, and the role they played in the country’s liberation. The Commission decided to institute special hearings for the youth to communicate their experiences (TRC Report, Vol 4: 248).

The TRC Report (Vol 4: 248) argues that many former youth activists may have suffered irreparable physical and psychological damage due to prolonged exposure to violence. Most of those who gave testimonies (on gross violations of human rights) told of the torment and harassment that youth and children suffered at the hands of the Security Forces. The former youth activists saw themselves as ‘freedom fighters’, liberators or soldiers. Few of the youth who testified referred to their own acts of heroism and tenacity that they displayed in the struggle. The Commission did not prompt those who did (testify) to describe themselves and others as heroes; testifiers

chose the public hearings to share the effect their sacrifices have had on them, such as their loss of educational opportunities. They described how they had sacrificed their lives and livelihood for the country's liberation (TRC Report, Vol 4: 248-249).

Many children were kept in custody by the Security Forces, the largest number of them (about 80 000) between the two states of emergency in the 1980s. An estimated 48 000 were under the age of 25. Many suffered abuse and torture at the hands of the police while in detention. The abuses included depriving them of essentials such as food, water and proper sanitation; threatening to hurt their families; mental, physical and sexual abuse; and teargas in confined spaces, amongst others. Many young men, aged then between 13 and 24 years, reported being tortured and severely ill-treated. Many chose to run or hide from the police, as they feared detention (TRC Report, Vol 3: 484; Vol 4: 260-280; Marks & McKenzie, 1995: 228).

1.5.3. **Bonteheuwel Military Wing (BMW):**

i) **Background:**

Some of the worst offences committed during the period of apartheid were carried out against children and youth. The youth had become increasingly agitated with the political situation in the country. The 1980s saw the political tensions in South Africa reach a climax. By 1984, resistance to the unjust apartheid system had increased, particularly among the youth in townships. Many townships became 'war zones' with ongoing clashes between youth and police. One such township was Bonteheuwel: a predominantly coloured area on the outskirts of Cape Town. It was created as a result of the Group Areas Act in the 1960s, following the forced removals of coloureds out of Cape Town (TRC Report, Vol 3: 482; Vol 4: 278).

The period between 1985 and 1989 saw the government impose even more stringent measures to curb political opposition, including two states of emergency (1985, 1987) and repression of the media. Increased police presence and power resulted in mass arrests, detentions and killing of activists, mainly youths who were leading the resurgence. Both the state and the resistance saw violence as their only means of gaining control (Marks & McKenzie, 1995: 223).

By the mid-1980s Bonteheuwel was known as a regular site for political violence, mostly student-led. The youth sought to undermine the government by creating general chaos in the townships, rendering the areas ungovernable. They regarded it as their duty to help overthrow the apartheid regime and force political change. School children formed political organisations and held mass meetings to voice their rejection of the current political system and its unjust policies. In 1984, BISCO (Bonteheuwel Inter-Schools Congress) was formed, a combination of various SRCs that spoke out against the government (TRC Report, Vol 3: 482; Vol 4: 278; Marks & McKenzie, 1995: 223-224; 228).

By October 1985 BISCO was banned from holding meetings and rallies, along with an estimated 101 other organisations. BISCO's leaders, among them Ashley Kriel and Faried Muhammad Ferhelst, were forced to go into hiding from the authorities. The young activists decided that they needed to protect themselves from the security forces. At a meeting in 1985, the Bonteheuwel Military Wing (BMW) was created as "a militant body to co-ordinate and intensify the revolutionary activities, especially at the Bonteheuwel High Schools". This new organisation would go against the government and police (TRC Report, Vol 3: 482; Vol 4: 278; Marks & McKenzie, 1995: 224; 228). It is estimated that BMW had over 100 members during its short existence. Members were nothing more than ordinary school children, aged between 14 and 18 years old. BMW was welcomed by fellow liberation organisations such as the ANC and the UDF, with whom they formed close ties (TRC Report, Vol 3: 482-483; Vol 4: 278-279).

The BMW was a highly militant group. Some members joined MK cells inside South Africa or those in exile, where they received military training, including the handling of weapons and explosives. These members would then return to BMW to recruit and train more people, using their newfound expertise. They operated in small groups consisting of several different types. In particular, five groups (four members each) were referred to as the "gunmen" of Bonteheuwel: they carried out the more serious activities, such as arson and raids on civilian homes. The remaining units provided them with safety, money and weapons. The BMW acquired weapons from various sources, including comrades who were returning from exile and smuggling weapons

into the country, stolen police weapons and from MK members operating in the Western Cape (TRC Report, Vol 3: 482; Vol 4: 279; Marks & McKenzie, 1995: 228).

By late 1986 and early 1987, Bonteheuwel had become a so-called 'war zone', with police unable to enter the area. BMW members launched attacks on police and government institutions, even community members perceived as helping the police and alleged 'informers'. Vehicles containing food and supplies were hijacked and the produce redistributed among members of BMW and the community. Their various exploits made BMW a target for the security forces (TRC Report, Vol 3: 483; Vol 4: 279).

Police attempted to restore order, and by 1986, they established the special Unrest Investigation Units (UIU). These were charged with clamping down on the unrest and bringing down those responsible for it. The UIU were instructed to gain information as quickly as possible as well as by any means necessary. The UIU succeeded, when, during a raid in Athlone (late 1987), they invaded a BMW stronghold, basically bringing an end to the organisation. More arrests followed: between June 1987 and January 1988, more than 40 BMW members had been detained. By mid-1989, BMW had ceased to exist (TRC Report, Vol 3: 483-484; Vol 4: 279). Many former BMW members who testified before the Commission reported that they were severely tortured by police while in detention (TRC Report, Vol 3: 484; Vol 4: 279-280).

This study will look at the testimony of a former member of BMW, Faried Muhammad Ferhelst.

1.5.4. **Faried Muhammad Ferhelst:**

i) **Background**

Faried Muhammad Ferhelst was one of the founding members of BMW at the age of 14 years. During the 1980s, he was on the run from the police, and often went without shelter or food. His mother occasionally left clothes and food for him at designated 'safe' houses (Marks & McKenzie, 1995: 228). In 1987, while staying at a friend's house, he was arrested and taken into custody by the security police amid a squadron

of armoured cars and armed policemen. He was interrogated by the police, released and re-arrested, the latter resulting in his abduction and subsequent assault and torture.

He was chosen to appear before the Commission to share his experiences at the hands of the security police. During his testimony, he indicated his disappointment with the current government for their lack of support for the children and youth who had helped with the fight for liberation. He highlighted the plight of his fellow comrades. According to Ferhelst, these former activists do not have a proper education and consequently experience high levels of unemployment. Others have turned to crime, gangsterism or substance abuse. They find it difficult to find their place in society, as they do not share the community's sense of what is 'normal'; normal for them (growing up) meant running or hiding from the police, taking part in acts of violence and detentions by the security force. They lived with the fear on a daily basis, not only for themselves but for friends and families as well.

ii) **Post-apartheid Sentiments:**

The youth were an integral part of the country's racial liberation. Many sacrificed stable home lives and their education to take part in the collective violence, attacking anything or anyone associated with the government.

At the public hearings, many of the young victims told of their ongoing struggle to come to terms with their active participation in political violence, and the tremendous physical and mental scars this has left them with. Some have found it difficult to reintegrate into society, and maintain employment and relationships. In effect, their activism has left them feeling a major sense of loss, both emotional and material (TRC Report, Vol 4: 269-280).

A number of activists at the TRC spoke of how the new South Africa has not lived up to its promises, generating feelings of abandonment, displeasure and bitterness, especially towards the political groups that had supported and endorsed their political activities (TRC Report, Vol 4: 272; Marks & McKenzie, 1995: 222). Many still see themselves as freedom fighters, even after the fall of apartheid and the subsequent institution of a democratic government. The new government has turned out to be a

major disappointment to many former activists. They felt excluded from the process of negotiation for democratic change. Some have turned to crime to survive, as they feel that the government has left them to fend for themselves (Marks & McKenzie, 1995: 225; 228).

Others have taken their dire situations and found something positive from it: some have built new lives for themselves, and have learnt to deal with and to overcome their past. They have become resilient, wise and tolerant leaders in their communities. Many have forgiven their perpetrators in their own bid for reconciliation, and have found their peace through the TRC and other organisation such as the Breakthrough Project. Another example is the Bonteheuwel Veteran's Association (BVA), founded by Faried Muhammed Ferhelst: its aim is to find solutions to unemployment, homelessness, lack of education and general support for struggling ex-members, and to help them reconstruct their lives in a positive way. The BVA is self-reliant, as the government has been slow in their support for these former activists. They regard themselves as liberators, not 'victims', who fought for the betterment of the nation; the sacrifices they had made have (in a sense) been worth the effort (TRC Report, Vol 4: 276-277; Marks & McKenzie, 1995:228).

1.5.5. **Special Hearings: Women and the TRC:**

The TRC observed that fewer women than men had testified about violations of human rights committed against them (Ross, 2003). The Commission thus deemed it necessary to hold separate hearings for women.

The TRC created an environment where people's narratives "would be transformed into truth and history" (Motsemme, 2004: 911). Narrative was employed to show how "everyday identities become (re)formulated in various ways" (Motsemme, 2004: 914). Narratives not only reveal what happened, but also how and why the event happened, placing the emphasis on the meaning of the event in question.

Ross (2003) conducted research into the testimonies of women at the TRC hearings. Her findings revealed that when testifying, men and women's roles differed: women spoke mostly about males (usually relatives), while men tended to speak about their

own political activities and suffering (TRC Report, Vol 4: 283; Ross, 2003: 17). Ross (2003: 17) found that 79% of women testified about crimes committed against men, and 40% of women testified about violations committed against their sons. 62% of men testified about their own political experiences, which was almost 4 times more than testimonies given by women.

According to Kendall & Tannen (2001: 556; also TRC Report, Vol 4: 289), gender is a cultural construct. Identities and roles are constructed through negotiated social interaction – the way men and women interact reveals their social positioning within a culture (Kendall & Tannen, 2001: 556). These differing roles were revealed through their testimonies at the hearings. Women constructed positions for themselves as mothers, wives, sisters and daughters, mostly in relation to a politically active male relative. Women activists rarely testified about their own experiences and few came forward with their stories (TRC Report, Vol 4: 283; 289; Motsemme, 2004: 919; Ross, 2003: 17).

According to Ross (2003: 46), most women began their testimonies by placing themselves within the sphere of daily life. The home was seen as a safe space in which they had control, and where their identities were created. The home was used to describe the forced intrusion of the state into their lives, causing disruption to what was deemed ‘normal’ or ‘usual’. In their testimonies, women recounted feelings that they had failed to protect their homes and families. They had no ‘breathing space’; the state used this regular imposition to disrupt the family or community’s sense of morality (Feldman 1991, in Motsemme, 2004: 924). The state’s intrusion into their homes resulted in feelings of inadequacy and loss of control over the one space women felt that they did control. Keeping quiet about what was happening around them maintained the illusion of stability of their daily lives (Motsemme, 2004: 909; 920; Ross, 2003: 42-43).

Women spoke of the loss or disappearance of a loved one and the anguish it caused. According to Ross (2003), they were more likely to reflect on the effects violence had on them on a psychological level than men. They described how they searched for their loved ones at police stations, mortuaries and prisons, amongst others. Women testified of the measures they took to protect their loved ones. Some feigned

ignorance about a family member's political activism; others defiantly stood up to the authorities (TRC Report, Vol 4: 293; Motsemme, 2004: 910; Ross, 2003: 43).

According to Ross (2003: 45), silence was employed as a means to survival – to deal with the loss of agency to corrupt and demeaning forces. Women also used silence as a means of protection. According to Motsemme (2004: 919; 921), silence can be regarded as a “form of recognition” among those in similar positions rather than blatant ignorance about one's social position (mother, wife or daughter). Many refused to cooperate with the authorities as a means of subverting the increased pressure the apartheid state was putting on them for information about politically active relatives. Some politically active women even hid their own activism from their family and friends.

Most women who testified at the Commission were older than men – between 37 and 60 years, whereas males were aged between 25 and 48 years. The age difference corroborates research that males between the ages of 13 and 24 had been politically active during the 1980s, a period of intense and violent conflict in the country. Women, on the other hand, testified mainly about their children, mostly about their sons (TRC Report, Vol 1: 170-171; Vol 4: 258ff in Ross, 2003: 19).

This research will look at the testimonies of Mrs Minnie Ferhelst and her son, Faried Muhammed Ferhelst, a former activist. The analysis of Mrs Ferhelst's testimony will include comparing her testimony in Afrikaans with the official English translated version, from the TRC website. The analysis will also look at how she construes herself as a mother, wife, as well as her construal of other participants in her testimony. The analysis of Mr Ferhelst's testimony will reveal how he construed himself as an innocent victim, pursued by the police for no apparent reason.

1.6. CONCLUSION

Apartheid was a system that sought to divide a nation according to race, to ensure white supremacy. It has left many wounds on people who were affected by it. For some, social inequalities, like inadequate housing and unemployment continue to exist (Marks, 2006; TRC Vol 4: 269-280).

The TRC was established to address the injustices perpetrated during apartheid, and to give a voice to those who had been silenced under apartheid. It was established to give a platform to victims, perpetrators and witnesses to share their experiences of the past, in a bid to aid healing and reconciliation. The TRC also wanted people to know about the human rights abuses perpetrated during apartheid, and to prevent those from re-occurring (TRC Report, Vol 1: 48-49; Vol 5: 8). The TRC hearings heard testifiers from all spheres of society. Many of the victims of apartheid were children or youth at the time, who now suffer for their activism, through unemployment, for example. Women, too, suffered the brunt of apartheid, many of whom lost loved ones, or were harassed by the security forces (TRC Report, Vol 4: 248-280; Motsemme, 2004; Ross, 2003).

The TRC hearings were made accessible through the Commission's implementation of an interpretation service, which allowed testifiers to speak in the language of the choice. Though some logistical concerns arose, the simultaneous interpretation service was seen as a success in the time and cost it saved the Commission, as well as the volumes of new terminology that it generated for future interpreters (TRC Report, Vol 1: 147; Vol 6: 749-750; Du Plessis & Wiegand, 1997; Lotriet, 1997; Bock & Mpolweni-Zantsi, 2006).

For many, the effects of apartheid still linger, and the TRC has been criticised for this. Many (Christie, 2000; Henry, 2000; Sarkin, 2004; Doxtader, 2005) believe that the TRC did not succeed in promoting reconciliation and healing. As Yazir Henry (2000: 173) stated, "[t]he TRC has initiated a process. It has not healed a nation. It could never do this." It has succeeded, though, in terms of exposing the truth as told by the many victims and perpetrators at its hearings. The hearings brought therapeutic healing for some, for others it has only uncovered deeply buried hurts and anger. All recognise that the TRC still has a long way to go to bring about reconciliation and healing. It may take many years to undo the damage wrought by apartheid and healing a nation will require patience. The TRC itself states that it should be seen as a small step towards reconciliation, and it only set the process in motion (TRC Report, Vol 3: 271; Graybill, 2002: 83). According to Henry (2000: 173), who wrote an article about his own testimony and his subsequent post-TRC stance:

“... Painful as it is, the truth should not be suppressed. Apartheid affected everybody. Everyone has a story to tell. People need to be given the opportunity to tell these stories, since there are different perceptions of truth. These different perceptions need to be addressed...”

1.7. **OUTLINE FOR THE THESIS**

This chapter has looked at the context of the TRC and the hearings that produced the testimonies. The rest of the thesis is divided as follows:

- Chapter two will provide the theoretical background to the study that will be used for the analysis of the data. This chapter will look at the theories of Systemic Functional Linguistics, narrative and constructing identity through one’s linguistic choices.
- Chapter three will look at the research methodology that will be used for the study.
- In chapters four and five, the testimonies of Faried Muhammad Ferhelst and his mother, Minnie Ferhelst will be analysed respectively. Their testimonies will be analysed using the theory discussed in chapter two.
- Chapter six will be a summary and discussion of the key findings of the analyses.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

People use language to make sense of the world around them, both the physical world and their mental perceptions of it (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 29). Speakers not only position themselves (and others) in relation to a particular event or participant, but place themselves within that particular social situation. This brief description is but an aspect of the theory that underpins this thesis, namely Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). This thesis will look at how speakers construe themselves and their experiences through the linguistic and discursive choices they make. This thesis will also focus on how they construe others, as well as how the same event is construed by different speakers. Also in this chapter will be a discussion of genre, attempts to define the term ‘genre’ and its various constituents. Examples of genre are also discussed, in particular the Narrative, as the testimonies used in this thesis take the form of the Recount narrative genre. Lastly, this chapter will end with a brief summary of the all the relevant discussions and theories.

The section that follows will focus on the revised work on Systemic Functional Linguistics by Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), also Eggins (2004), Ravelli (2000), Lock (1996) and others where noted.

2.2. SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS (SFL)

People use language every day, through speech or writing. People use language to interact with one another in ways that are meaningful (and informative), and to express their experiences of the world (Eggins, 2004: 11). Language is a “system for creating meaning” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999; 511), and is the means through which meaning is expressed (Ravelli, 2000: 29). Language has a semantic purpose in that when we interact, we produce (particular) meanings within particular contexts (Eggins, 2004: 11; Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999: 1).

Language forms the cornerstone of human experience: it expresses our views of the world (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999: 3). Linguists have (long since) tried to establish how speakers (users) use language to encode their experiences of the world (Martin, 2004: 73), i.e. to “equate meaning with function” (Thompson, 2004: 28). This theory was developed (and elaborated) by Halliday (and others) and is referred to as Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL).

SFL is defined in various ways by various linguists and language practitioners. SFL is a “multifunctional theory” (Fairclough, in Martin, 2000: 275) that can be used in the analysis of a variety of different texts, and in relating those texts to their contexts. According to Feez (2002: 44), SFL can be described as the organisation of a language system as a resource for people to construct texts that differ according to different social contexts. SFL is a “contextually sensitive and functional grammar”, which allows movement between language and context in a “mutually predictive way” (Macken-Horarik, 2002: 42); in other words, Systemic Functional linguists look at how language differs from one context to another, thereby establishing a link between language use and context (Feez, 2002: 53; Fairclough, 2004: 5; Macken-Horarik 2002: 19). SFL also explores the relatively invariable organisation of language that makes texts recognisable within a society and culture, which form the underlying theory of genre (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 29). In other words, SFL is used to make sense of everyday interactions (Eggins, 2004: 1).

According to Thompson (2004: 28-30), SFL is not only concerned with individual words, but with all aspects of how those words combine to make meaning, for example, naming things, describing events or expressing ideas. According to Ravelli (2000: 34), meaning can only be interpreted if taken within the context in which it takes place. Meaning is gained by the choices that are made or could have been made (Eggins, 2004: 3). The overall purpose of language is for people to communicate with one another, i.e. “to make meanings with each other” (Eggins, 2004: 11). These meanings are all made simultaneously and can be obtained by looking at the clause. The clause is described by Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 168) as a “multifunctional construct”. The functions of the clause can be separated in terms of three kinds of meaning – Theme, Subject and Actor, each of which carries its own distinctive meaning. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 48-60) refer to these three elements as

Clause as message (Theme), Clause as exchange (Subject) and Clause as representation (Actor). Collectively these are known as **Metafunctions** – the textual metafunction (clause as message), the interpersonal metafunction (clause as exchange), and the ideational or experiential metafunction (clause as representation). Metafunctions are important in language as they are powerful tools for extracting and analysing meaning in a text and relating that meaning to its immediate social context (Martin, 2000: 296).

In the sections that follow, this thesis will attempt to explain each of the three metafunctions (as they pertain to this thesis).

2.2.1. THE IDEATIONAL OR EXPERIENTIAL METAFUNCTION

The ideational or experiential metafunction describes how we perceive the world around us, both the physical (outside) world and the world of our thoughts and feelings. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 29) state that “there is no facet of human experience that can’t be transformed into meaning”, i.e. language is used to define human experience. Experience represents a constant flux of events, or “goings-on” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 170). These events, or “goings-on” form a representation (a ‘figure’) of our experiences of the world, the people we interact with and the circumstances in which these interactions take place (Martin, 2000: 276). This is referred to as **Transitivity**, which can be defined as an organised or structured system of how we make sense of reality.

A figure can be divided into three components (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 175):

- The **process** itself, which is an activity or event that unfolds temporally – “a way of being”;
- The process is brought about by the **participants** involved and affected by it; and
- The **circumstances** surrounding the process, which represent additional information about the event.

The English language construes experience as a semantic configuration: the process, participant and circumstantial components are semantic categories through which experience is construed. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 170) distinguish between “inner” (i.e. our thoughts, feelings, and so on.) and “outer” experience (i.e. the world around us). Our outer experience includes events, people or things that cause things to happen. Our “inner” experience is a reflection of these “outer” events. Halliday & Matthiessen posit that there is a clear distinction between the two processes, which are represented in the grammar of the clause. These two processes are referred to as Material and Mental processes respectively and will be discussed below.

Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 170-171) distinguish between three main types of process in the English language, namely **Material**, **Mental** and **Relational**. There are also other processes which are considered borderline between the (three) main processes, sharing characteristics of at least two processes. These processes are **Behavioural**, **Verbal** and **Existential**.

i) **Material Process**:

The Material process refers to the actual ‘doing’ or ‘action’ performed by a person or ‘thing’. The process reflects the action taking place through time, which is brought about by the participant, the Actor. The Actor typically occurs in the subject position of a clause, and is usually represented by a nominal group. The Actor is the participant who ‘does’ the action. Sometimes, the process extends to another participant – the one who ‘receives’ the action, known as the Goal. The Goal is realised in the position of the direct object, and is also realised by a nominal group (Lock, 1996: 72, 75). Both Actor and Goal can be animate or inanimate, i.e. it can be human, object or thing. A Material process may or may not have a Goal, depending on whether the clause is a ‘happening’ (intransitive) or a ‘doing’ (transitive).

Material processes need not only represent physical action processes; they can be abstract as well, though they are still regarded as action processes grammatically. However, such abstractions make it more difficult to distinguish between Actor and Goal. According to Ravelli (2000: 38), different processes construe different ‘actions’ in a text. Doing a Transitivity analysis (of Material clauses) can reveal how different

participants construe actions differently, by observing (for example) how a particular clustering of Material processes can reveal important segments of action in a text. Combined with particular participants, this allows for more detailed analysis of texts.

ii) **Mental Process:**

Mental processes refer to what goes on in our consciousness. The Mental process refers simply to what is being thought, felt or seen. The process may have two participants, namely the Senser and the Phenomenon.

The Senser is the participant who does the thinking, feeling, and so on; this participant is always human or “human-like” (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 201). The Senser is represented by a nominal group, but can be referred to pronominally. The Senser can also refer to:

1. a group of people as sharing one thought, feeling, and so on.;
2. it can represent a part of a person as being endowed with the ability to sense;
3. it can be the result of human consciousness; and lastly,
4. it can also be an inanimate object that has been “given life” or personified, i.e. an object or thing that is regarded as a conscious being.

The Phenomenon refers to the person or thing that is being felt, thought, perceived or wanted. It is represented by a nominal group that can be anything conceivable (e.g. human, animal or object). The Phenomenon can also be an act or a fact. It can be represented metaphorically, i.e. through a nominalisation that represents the process as a thing. (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 203; Lock, 1996: 105).

Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 208), Lock (1996: 105) and others have divided Mental processes into four sub-types:

- Perception (e.g. seeing, feeling)
- Affection / Emotion (e.g. liking, hating)
- Cognition (e.g. thinking, remembering)
- Volition / Desideration (e.g. wanting, hoping)

Mental processes have the ability to set up one or more clauses as the result of a person's thinking. This result is known as the idea clause, and is regarded as separate from the Mental clause. When the idea clause and Mental clause are combined, they form a Projection: the Mental clause 'projects' the idea clause as a set of ideas that are the product of (a person's) consciousness.

iii) **Relational Process:**

This process indicates a relationship or connection between participants. According to Lock (1996: 126), Relational processes are about "what things are, what they are like, and what they possess". Relational clauses must have two participants which can be either an indefinite nominal group or a prepositional phrase. The reason for this is that "something is said to be something else" in a Relational process, in other words, a relationship is being established between two entities. As with the Phenomenon in Mental clauses, a Relational process can be a thing, act, or a fact.

The Relational process is usually realised by the verb 'to be' or 'to have', functioning on its own or as the main verb of the clause, (but not as an auxiliary), also through other verbs of a similar nature, like 'seems' or 'represents' (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 211, 214; Ravelli, 2000: 40). Relational processes construe experience as 'being' rather than as an action or a thought or feeling. In fact, they are more like Mental processes, in that they describe participants as 'non-active' or stagnant. The difference is located in the tense – Relational clauses are distinctly in the simple present or past tense.

English sub-divides into three main Relational processes, intensive, circumstantial and possessive. Each of these three types consists of an attributive and an identifying mode, which makes six types of Relational clauses altogether. In the attributive mode, something is assigned or attributed to another, and is said to have or belong to a class. One of the participants is referred to as the Attribute – the participant to which a description or attribution is being made. The Attribute can normally be found in the position of the Complement / Object of a clause. The Attribute is usually ascribed to some entity, known as the Carrier. The Carrier is typically found in the position of the

subject of the clause. For example in the clause “I was still young”, “I” is the Carrier and “young” represents the Attribute.

The identifying mode involves ascribing an identity to one entity by comparing it with another entity. The participant which is being identified is the Identified. The entity which is used to make the identification, is referred to as the Identifier. Either one can be the subject of the clause, depending on the voice of the clause. If the clause is in the operative (active) voice, then the subject is the Token; if the voice is in the receptive (passive), then the subject is referred to as the Value.

One important difference between the attributive and identifying modes, is that attributive relational clauses cannot be changed into the passive, whereas the identifying relational clauses have passive forms.

iv) **Behavioural Process:**

The Behavioural process refers to processes that are associated with the physiological and psychological workings of a participant. Examples are sleeping, eating or breathing (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 248; Ravelli, 2000: 39; Lock, 1996: 116).

A Behavioural process, or Mental-Action process (Lock, 1996: 116), is characterised by features of both Material and Mental processes. As with the Sensor of a Mental process, there must be a participant who is animate, usually human, known as the Behaver. A Behavioural process generally only consists of a Behaver and the Process. Sometimes the behaviour is disguised as a participant, referred to as the Behaviour. A Behavioural process is also coupled with certain circumstantial elements – Matter, Manner and Place, of which circumstance of Place usually occurs as a prepositional phrase (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 250-251).

v) **Verbal Process:**

This process refers to the different ways of ‘saying’. According to Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 253), Verbal processes are “symbolic relationships” in the human mind which are played out through language, i.e. by saying or telling. Verbal

processes typically appear in the form of “x said, then y said”, followed by a quote. The verb ‘say’ and other related verbs of saying generally make up the verbal group. What makes Verbal processes important is that they set up dialogic relations, which is especially important in narratives (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 252; Ravelli, 2000: 41; Lock, 1996: 116).

Verbal processes are a combination of the Mental and Relational processes and therefore share characteristics of both, most prominently, the capacity to project. The projection, i.e. “what is said”, forms the secondary clause. Therefore, Verbal processes contain two clauses, similar to the idea clause of a Mental process (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999: 108-114; 129; also 2004: 253; Martin & Rose, 2003: 74-75).

The participant is typically realised by the Sayer, which can be anything represented as saying something. What is said is known as the Saying (Lock, 1996; 116) or the Verbiage (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Verbal processes recognise three different participants, apart from the Sayer. These are:

- The Receiver / Addressee is the entity to whom the Saying is directed; it is represented as a nominal group, which can stand on its own, or may be indicated by a preposition. The nominal group can refer to an animate being, a group or an institution. It may also form the subject in a receptive clause. All of this, though, depends on the verb that realises the Process.
- Verbiage refers to what is said, representing it as a “class of thing”. It may refer to the gist of what is said, or may be in reference to a saying.
- The Target is the participant that is ‘targeted’ by the Saying. A Verbal process that contains a Target does not generally project indirect speech.

vi) **Existential Process:**

This process relates to something that exists or happens. Like Relational processes, the Existential process is realised by the verb ‘to be’, but also other verbs of a similar nature, (e.g. exist, become). Existential processes do not frequently occur in discourse, but may occur in the Orientation stage of a Narrative, where they may serve to

introduce key participants. The ability to orientate is often presented in the form of circumstantial components of time and place. After the Orientation stage they may serve as an introduction into the main narrative. The only participant is the Existent, which is anything that is said to exist; it can be an event, situation, institution, or person – anything that is construed as a ‘thing’. Existential processes are realised by “there”, which is neither a participant nor a circumstance. It serves no purpose in the structure of Transitivity within the clause, and is simply a ‘feature of existence’ (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 256-258; Ravelli, 2000: 41; Lock, 1996: 139).

The processes and their participants are summarised as follows:

Table 2.1		
<u>PROCESS TYPES WITH DESCRIPTIONS & PARTICIPANTS</u>		
<u>Process Type</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Participant</u>
Material	Physical / abstract action	Actor; Goal
Mental	Perception, Affection / Emotion, Cognition, Volition / Desideration	Senser; Phenomenon
Relational	Process of ‘being’ or ‘having’	Carrier; Attribute Identified / Identifier Token / Value
Behavioural	Physiological and psychological process (e.g. breathing, sleeping)	Behaver; Behaviour
Verbal	Process of ‘saying’	Sayer Receiver / Addressee Verbiage Target
Existential	Something that exists or happens	Existent
Table adapted from Halliday & Matthiessen (2004).		

2.2.2. ERGATIVITY

Agency is a complex aspect of human experience. Agency can be found in all different types of processes. According to Halliday & Matthiessen (1999: 559-560), agency is expressed through language as a “fundamental complementarity”: Transitivity distinguishes between two perspectives of English grammar, i.e. between the ‘doer’ and the ‘done to’ (transitive perspective); or the process may present the action as having occurred by itself, or as having been caused by an outside or external agent or causer (ergative perspective) (Thompson, 2004: 135; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 282-284). These two basic perspectives are explained in this

section, with reference to Halliday & Matthiessen (1999; 2004), Lock (1996) and Thompson (2004).

The transitive perspective refers to processes with regards to “actions” which have two participants – the ‘doer’ or Actor who brings about the action. The second participant (Goal) may or may not be affected by the action.

The concept of Ergativity is closely related to that of causation, which refers to one participant portrayed as “causing a state or event” (Lock, 1996: 125). This represents the system of Ergativity, and it is expressed through a special class of verbs (ergative verbs). The ergative perspective refers to a type of analysis that describes participants in terms of Causer and Affected (Lock, 1996: 89). The grammar of English represents Ergativity in terms of “happenings” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999: 559-560), i.e. Ergativity represents one participant as being affected by the action (Affected), which may or may not be caused by another or external participant (Causer). For example, in “[h]e pulled me up”, “he” is the Causer of the action; “me” is the recipient of that action, i.e. the Affected participant.

In the English language one can express an action as having occurred on its own, or as having been caused by someone or something else. The means through which the process is conveyed is referred to as the Medium, and bears a relation to that of Goal in Material processes. The ‘external causer’ of the process is referred to as the Causer or Agent, and is similar to the Actor-role of Material processes (Lock, 1996: 57; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 284; Thompson, 1993: 93). Ergative clauses may feature with or without a Causer.

In terms of the Transitivity system, Ergativity is important in the composition of the message, i.e. the decision on whether or not to add or leave out agency. Sometimes locating agency can be problematic (Martin, 2003: 73). Breaking the text into its processes and participants can help in assigning agency, and to see how agency is distributed in the text. The system of Ergativity carries great importance with regards to the system of voice. Clauses that are construed without agency are known as middle, i.e. they are neither active nor passive. Clauses that carry agency are referred to as non-middle or effective clauses – they can be either active or passive. Non-

middle clauses are realised explicitly (by naming the Agent) or implicitly (by making it passive and omitting the Agent).

These two models, transitive and ergative, form the basis of the Transitivity system in that they complete each other. Both systems, though, have sparked some controversy among grammarians: some (grammarians) believe a single clause can be analysed for both Transitivity and Ergativity; others believe that only one system is conveyed in the clause at a time (depending on the verb) and not both together (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 285).

2.2.3. **THE INTERPERSONAL METAFUNCTION**

The clause expresses three meanings simultaneously. One of these meanings, the ideational metafunction, was discussed in the preceding section, which dealt with how language is used to represent our experiences of the world around us (clause as representation). On another level, the clause expresses how language is used to enact personal relations, or how language is used in terms of information or service exchange(s), i.e. how participants construe themselves in relation to their roles, attitudes and relationships with other participants. This is reflected through the interpersonal metafunction (clause as exchange). As this metafunction is not dealt with in this thesis, a brief description of what it entails follows below.

The interpersonal metafunction refers to an exchange of meaning and the building of relationships between people. This metafunction is realised through speech roles – giving and demanding, information, and goods and services. These four realise the speech functions of offer, command, statement and question. All this is represented in the system of Mood. Mood refers to the level of involvement between speakers and listeners. Mood indicates the mood of the clause, i.e. whether the clause is declarative, interrogative or imperative. Mood also selects for tense, modality and polarity. Modality expresses ‘degrees of uncertainty’ (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 147; Thompson, 2004: 66); it functions as either Modulization (degrees of probability and usuality) or Modulation (degrees of obligation and inclination). Polarity refers to whether a clause is positive or negative.

2.2.4. THE TEXTUAL METAFUNCTION

In order for a text to make sense, it is important that the components of the text follow in a logical or meaning-making order. So far, this chapter has outlined two ways of expressing meaning in the clause: the experiential and the interpersonal metafunctions. These two metafunctions realise that “messages” or interactions are about something and addressing someone (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 30). The third of Halliday’s metafunctions enables us to do that: the textual metafunction (clause as message) allows for the ideational and interpersonal meanings of a clause to be organised in order for the text to make sense. The textual metafunction relates to how language is used to organise the message of a text in relation to its context. The choice of how to structure the message is made as we speak, and is determined by the situation in which it is produced (Ravelli, 2000: 51; Lock, 1996: 9, 220). As with the interpersonal metafunction, the textual metafunction is not dealt with in this thesis, and is summarised below.

The textual metafunction represents the clause as message – how the clause is organised to convey a message. Theme occurs in the first position of the clause – the “point of departure” of the clause, or simply, what the clause is about. The Theme is selected by the speaker or writer. The Theme extends up to and ends with the experiential function; the rest of the clause is known as the Rheme. The experiential constituent of the clause expresses the topical Theme; other Themes, namely the textual and the interpersonal, occur before the topical Theme. Inherently thematic features serve to orientate the clause, while characteristically thematic elements express the attitude and point of view of the speaker in reference to the content of the message.

2.2.5. SUMMARY OF SECTION

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a “contextually sensitive grammar” that is used to make sense of the world around us. SFL looks at the relationship between language and context. Together with genre theory, SFL looks at how people use language to construct texts in different social contexts (Macken-Horarik, 2002: 42).

The clause expresses meaning about the world around us. According to Halliday (1994, 2004) the clause carries with it three distinct meanings or metafunctions – the experiential metafunction (clause as representation), the interpersonal metafunction (clause as exchange), and the textual metafunction (clause as message).

The experiential metafunction expresses how experience is represented – the ‘goings-on’ around us. This is achieved through the system of Transitivity, which allows for the construal of experience. Transitivity consists of six Process types: Material, Mental, Relational, Behavioural, Verbal and Existential. The purpose of a Transitivity analysis is that it allows for the analysis or representation of how people perceive the world around them, and how people make sense of reality (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999; 2004). Reality is construed through what people do or say, i.e. the different actions, events, and relationships between various participants in particular circumstances (Eggins, 1994: 266). The analysis involves determining the processes, participants and circumstances realised by the clause. Analysis can explain how the field of situation is being construed (“what’s being talked about”) and how shifts in field can be achieved (Eggins, 1994: 266). Analysis allows for different perspectives of experience or different representations of the world or the same events.

The interpersonal metafunction refers to the exchange of meaning and the level of involvement between speakers and listeners. An interpersonal analysis can reveal the relationships between and the feelings towards other participants in the testimony. Lastly, the textual metafunction refers to how the clause is organised to communicate a message. Textually, an analysis can reveal how the different speakers organised the different meanings of the clause to present certain information.

Concluding this section is the system of Ergativity. The system of Transitivity is complemented by the system of Ergativity. Ergativity is construed as an action that occurs by itself, or is caused by an external agent or causer. The Medium is the means through which the process is conveyed, while the external entity is referred to as the Agent. Both the transitive and ergative models form the basis of the system of Transitivity.

In terms of this thesis: a Transitivity analysis will reveal how testifiers position themselves in relation to their perpetrators, i.e. as “victims” who were Affected by the police (Agents / Causers). An analysis will reveal the different choices speakers made while testifying: through their testimonies, speakers reveal their own perspectives on certain events, also their feelings and their perceptions of other participants, as well as how different participants view the same events.

2.3. **GENRE**

2.3.1. **INTRODUCTION**

In SFL, language is used to describe speakers or writers’ choices within particular contexts. The purpose of language is to enable speakers to communicate and make meaning with others. By studying genre, theorists attempt to bring together the aspects of context, content and language that are produced in a particular discourse event (Eggins, 1994: 7; Paltridge, 2001: 2; Johns, 2002: 3).

This research will draw on theories from Eggins (2004), Halliday & Hasan (1989), Cortazzi and Jin (2000), Labov (1972), Johns *et al.* (2002), and others where noted.

2.3.2. **DEFINITIONS OF GENRE**

Over the years, genre has been identified in various ways by different practitioners and theorists, such as Halliday & Hasan (1989) and Eggins (2004), to name just two. According to Johns (2002: 3), “genre has become a term that refers to complex oral or written responses by speakers or writers to the demands of a social context”. However, these theorists and practitioners all have different views on how genre should be defined.

What these theorists do agree on, is the fact that genre has not only been widely defined, but that the notion of genre has evolved considerably over the years. Genre is no longer seen as just a definition of written texts; genre encompasses contextual perspectives of genre as well as its formal features. Genre also takes into account that

texts are adaptable, and that users of genre have the ability to mould texts to suit the particular discourse situation, as well as the needs of different audiences and purposes (Johns *et al.*, 2002; Martin & Rose, 2007: 8).

According to Eggins (2004: 74) genres are extensive in their diversity. Genres can be found in many disciplines (including literary studies and films). Genres are also used in and as part of our every day lives, from buying and selling things to recounting an event (Eggins, 2004: 55-56). Genre is characterised as typical responses that arise from situations that are recurring in a specified context (e.g. service encounters). Genres are “complex mental abstractions” that are constantly changing, “socially situated”, and constantly modified to suit the needs of different audiences or purposes (Johns, 2002: 237-238, Coe, 2002: 180; Paltridge, 2001: 3)

One of the most widely cited definitions of genre is that of Martin & Rose (2007: 8): “...a staged, goal-oriented social process; social because we participate in genres with other people; goal-oriented because we use genres to get things done; staged because it usually takes us a few steps to reach our goals.” In other words, genre is a cultural (communal) activity that is aimed towards some goal or purpose in a (generically) patterned way, by members of a culture or community, through the use of language.

Another definition, posited by Swales (1990: 39, 45, 58), is that genre is a “class of communicative events”, in which language plays an important part. In SFL, “social systems” are expressed through language; language, in turn, defines, is defined by, and (can) redefine a society (Martin, 2000: 279). Genre arises wherever language is used in a meaningful way by a particular culture. Membership into a (particular) genre involves sharing in a set of communicative purposes. These communicative purposes are employed by members of a discourse community to achieve their community’s goals. This allows members to create and draw meaning(s) from the text (Eggins, 2004: 55). Analysing particular genres can also reveal (critically) the cultural work or aspect genre is trying to achieve and who will benefit from it (Eggins, 2004: 82).

Meanings that are conveyed through particular texts can reflect certain cultural values that dominate and thus benefit certain sectors. Meaning is derived by identifying the purpose of the text, which tells the reader how to interpret the text. A text therefore

has to be coherent (and cohesive) for it to be understood, or “unproblematic” (Eggins, 2004: 54). Cohesion also depends on the relationship between the text and its context for the text to be understood within a particular culture or community (ibid; also Hasan, 1989: 113). This can only be achieved through a continual sharing of genre knowledge within the given culture. Eggins (2004: 84) states that “genres are about expectation, not about determination”. Genres can be shaped to readers’ needs as well as be accessible and conscious of the needs of readers. According to Hasan (1989: 114), meanings are encoded either implicitly or explicitly, depending on the context of situation.

2.3.3. THE IMPORTANCE OF GENRE ANALYSIS

Genre analysis plays an important part in realising the cultural and social aspects of the language that is being used. According to Eggins (2004: 70), the following points are applications in the systemic analysis of genre:

1. To find out why some texts work and why others are deemed unsuccessful;
2. To differentiate between various genres and their different realisation patterns in service encounters as well as interpersonal situations;
3. To understand similarities or diversities between fiction and non-fiction genres;
4. To perform critical analyses of texts.

It is important for the analysis of texts to distinguish between text types. By looking at the generic identity of a text, we are identifying in what ways particular texts are “similar to, reminiscent of other texts circulating in the culture” (Eggins, 2004: 55). The text is considered problematic if the generic identity is unclear. According to SFL, the generic identity of a text can be found by focusing on: register configuration, schematic structure and realisation patterns. (Eggins, 2004: 56).

Register configuration relates categories of linguistic features with situational features in which they regularly occur, i.e. the “co-occurrence of a particular contextual cluster” (Eggins, 2004: 56).

The theory of register includes three dimensions which constitute the context of situation. These patterns can be found in situations where the interaction is said to recur or is predictable in its use of language (Eggins, 2004: 58; Halliday (1985, 1994, 2004 and others). The context of situation refers to the environment of the text, which includes the situation in which the text was articulated. The context of situation expresses certain variables that are specific to the situation. Together these values construct the register of a text (i.e. the meaning patterns that are associated with the text). These variables have an effect on the language of a text (see also, Swales (1990); Halliday & Hasan (1989) and Paltridge (2001). These variables are:

- i) Field refers to a specified social action, event or circumstance in which discourse is produced in terms of content or ideas based on the language or lexical choices people make. Field refers to “what is going on” (Macken–Horarik, 2002: 19; 24), or what the text is about; the content of discourse comprises one aspect of field.
- ii) Tenor refers to “who” is taking part in a communicative event: it refers to the relationships, attitudes and feelings between participants in a particular situation (Macken–Horarik, 2002: 19; 24).
- iii) Mode refers to “how” the message is represented – how language is used to represent the message, i.e. whether written or spoken. Mode can also be reflected as operating along a scale – from most “spoken” to most “written” (Macken–Horarik, 2002: 19; 24-25). Mode is influenced by two types of semiotic distances: the distance of the speaker / writer from the events being described; and the distance between the participants themselves, i.e. an interaction with plenty of feedback to little or no feedback (Eggins, 2004: 58; Swales, 1990: 40, amongst others).

According to Halliday (1978: 122-123), Hasan (1989: 102) and Swales (1990: 40), these three variables “act as determinants of the text through their specification of the register; at the same time they are systematically associated with the linguistic system through the functional components of the semantics”. What this means is that field, tenor and mode are also related to the semantic components of a text, i.e. ideational, interpersonal and textual. Thus, field is also related to managing ideas; tenor is associated with organising personal relations, and mode is linked with managing discourse itself. These three variables offer a descriptive framework for analysis; they

are not to be seen as types of language use. According to Swales (1990: 40; also Hasan, 1989: 62), the connection between genre and register cannot always be differentiated and should not be confused: genre refers to completed texts, whereas register refers to choices with regard to stylistics. Genre, according to Macken-Horarik (2002: 20) is (just) “another layer of context of situation”.

Genres come about when the values for field, tenor and mode “regularly co-occur” (Eggins, 2004: 58; Hasan, 1989: 70) in specific situations in a culture. This means that interactions within particular contexts become standard or set, and can lead to institutional genres. In other words, when values for field, tenor and mode become standard or set in particular contexts, interactions (in these situations) are seen as “conventionalised”; these conventionalised interactions then become the preferred type of interaction within these recurring situations. Thus, the concept of register is related to the environment in which the text is produced, i.e. the context of situation (Halliday, 1985: 6) and genre relates to the social purpose and distinguishing schematic structure of a text.

Genres are made up of a number of predictable elements or stages that occur in sequence. A stage can only really ‘exist’ if it is ascribed a functional label. The label must describe what the stage is doing or what the stage is about (i.e. its function) in relation to the text as a whole, as well as being as specific as it can be to the particular genre (Eggins, 2004: 64). Genres are staged because one cannot make all the meanings one wants to make at the same time. The meaning of the text as a whole is furthered by each stage, therefore ensuring successful interpretation of the genre. These functional stages, referred to as the **schematic structure** of a genre, are developed through our constant mediation with others within particular situations. Schematic structure refers to the “staged, step-by-step organisation of genre” (Eggins, 2004: 59). The schematic structure is a way of moving from one point to another in a way that is culturally specific as well as accomplishing its culturally specific functions.

A schematic structure of a genre can have defining or obligatory elements. These can be determined by asking which stages can be left out and still perform a complete function within the specific genre. The obligatory elements of a genre help the sender

or audience determine whether or not a text is complete or incomplete (Hasan, 1989: 109). Optional stages only occur if it is necessary for the comprehension of a text; a text can therefore function without the optional stages (Hasan, 1989: 111). One definition of genre can thus be found by looking at its obligatory structure, as well as its optional elements (Eggins, 2004: 64; also Hasan, 1989: 62).

There are two important notions that come about when describing the schematic structure of a genre: constituency and functional labelling. **Constituency** refers to the constituent stages that make up a genre. When describing its schematic structure, we are describing its constituent stages, i.e. the layers that the genre is made up of. **Functional labelling** refers to formal criteria, which refers to breaking the text into units of the same type according to the form of each constituent part (e.g. text into paragraphs, paragraphs into sentences, and sentences into words); and functional criteria, which refers to how each constituent connects to the text as a whole on a functional level; the text is broken into the different functions of each constituent stage (Eggins, 2004: 60).

Important to the functional approach to language is the relation between context and the types of meaning in language. This means that “each dimension of social context is related in predictable and systematic ways to each type of meaning” (Eggins, 2004: 65-66). According to functional analysis, language is an integral and naturally occurring part in social life.

Although identifying the schematic structure of a text is important to the generic analysis of a text, this analysis cannot be performed without an analysis of the realisation patterns of each constituent element of the schematic structure (Eggins, 2004: 65). Realisation is the “way a meaning becomes encoded or expressed in a semiotic system” (Eggins, 2004: 65).

Eggins (2004: 66) explores two consequences of the relation between language and social life. Firstly, different genres have differing **realisation patterns**. This would mean that speakers employ different choices in grammar for each genre that they participate in to achieve their desired goals. Secondly, each genre’s schematic stages will differ in their realisation patterns. According to Eggins (2004: 66), if each stage is

comprised of different elements, then each stage will employ different lexico-grammatical choices.

To ascertain how many stages should be present, one has to look closely at the language that the text uses. Language will reveal that each schematic structure is connected to particular kinds of lexico-grammatical features, and, through determining the grammatical formations of each schematic structure, both the number of stages required and the boundaries between stages can be determined. This also applies to the connection between stages and realisation patterns of any text that one wishes to analyse (Eggins, 2004: 68-69).

Some stages have a fixed set of realisation patterns while others are constrained by linguistic structures and groupings of specific linguistic options. Some stages can also be realised through non-verbal actions.

Grabe (2002: 250-251) states that the evolution of the notion of genre has overlooked two important concepts that need to be included within the (new) changing theories of genre. Basically, Grabe defines **macro-genres** as including two text types, narratives and expository texts.

Martin (2002: 269) argues that genre refers to clustering texts together; for Grabe, macro-genre refers to grouping genres together. Martin contests this view of Grabe's – that there are only two macro-genres. Examples of macro-genres then, according to Martin (2002: 270-274), include service encounters and interviews, amongst others. Examples of narrative genres include personal recounts, observations and Western news stories. Narrative is regarded as the most fundamental genre within a context of culture (Rothery & Stenglin, 1997: 239). Bhatia (2002: 280) suggests that what Grabe refers to as macro-genres are best termed Genre colonies, which are “firmly grounded in specific, though to some extent, flexible, rhetorical contexts”. Genre colonies include various members, roughly brought together in terms of their communicative purpose, “rhetorical standards” and contexts they seem to share, as well as in terms of their lexico-grammatical and discoursal features.

Grabe's so-called macro-genres all share some characteristics with regard to their intended communicative purpose, how they go about communicating and the degree to which they are associated with relating rhetorical contexts and traditions.

The factor that determines whether a genre belongs to a narrative family is not the order in which the events follow, but how they convey or evaluate the speaker's experience (Martin, 2002: 270).

To summarise: genre has been identified and defined in various ways by various theorists. It is a complex term that refers to oral as well as written structures by speakers or writers, according to the social context they find themselves in. Genre can be identified by looking at its generic structure, register configuration and schematic structure and realisation patterns.

2.3.4. STORYTELLING GENRES

SFL theories of genre draw heavily on Labov & Waletzky's (1967) theory of Narrative, in particular Systemic Functional linguists such as Martin & Plum (1997). Martin & Plum state that Labov & Waletzky's work has provided the foundation for much genre research on Narrative: their work enables researchers to analyse how people use language in their everyday lives in their communities and with people around them.

Labov & Waletzky's (1967) main premise was that simple narrative structures can be found in the stories people tell. They believed that all forms of narratives have a combination of simple or basic narrative structures; they wanted to relate these simple structures to the functional features of language by looking at a range of stories told by ordinary speakers. To do this, they looked at the most basic unit of language that could realise those functions, i.e. the clause (Labov & Waletzky, 1967: 13), by relating a series of sequential clauses to the sequence of events as they unfold in the narrative (Labov & Waletzky, 1967: 20).

As mentioned above (Rothery & Stenglin, 1997), Narratives are regarded as a fundamental genre within a culture. The following section will look at and discuss the Narrative genre, as well as its stages and other examples of genre.

As mentioned previously, genres are defined by their obligatory stages (as well as their optional stages). Martin & Plum (1997) state that narratives fall under the heading of story genres, as do Recounts, Observations, Anecdotes and Exemplums. These are all examples of (story) genres in that they foreground stages through which a story goes to achieve a social purpose. Each of these story genres are described below.

2.3.4.1. **Narrative:**

People use language to tell their stories and make sense of the world around them. According to Abbott (2002: 17; Middleton & Edwards, 1994: 36), stories are “always mediated” and “something that we construct”. Narratives are produced when these stories are used to express people’s experiences and feelings (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 29). Many ‘victims’ were encouraged to tell their stories at the public hearings of the TRC. Many of these testimonies can be seen as storytelling genres, according to their generic structure.

The testimonies of the TRC took the form of informal storytelling, so that the testifiers could express their experiences to the best of their knowledge and capabilities. Many testimonies were told in the form of a narrative (Graybill, 2002: 81). Narratives are a way of describing events that occurred in the past and “involve people accounting for their decisions retrospectively” (Garfinkel (1967), in Watson, 1996: 260). According to Billig (1994: 62), narratives are “jointly reconstructed through discourse”, and therefore take the past as its subject. Narratives have to do with ‘protagonists’ or characters who have to resolve a problematic situation (Labov, 1972: 359). Narratives brings together “human agency and activity” (Watson, 1996: 260) and have to do with human “action”, “intention” and “potential” (Grabe, 2002: 253).

The SFL theory of Narrative genre is based on Labov & Waletzky (1967) and Labov's (1972) six-part structure. This section will also refer to work done in this field by Toolan (1991), Eggins & Slade (1997), Martin & Plum (1997), and others where noted.

The Stages of a Narrative:

One approach to describing past experience is to match the sequence of events to the sequence of clauses, in the order that the events actually occurred. Labov & Waletzky (1967) and Labov's (1972) work on narrative revealed that Narrative can be looked at in terms of six distinct, functional stages: Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, Evaluation, Resolution, and Coda. These stages are detailed below.

Abstract:

The Abstract is found at the beginning of the narrative, indicating that a story is about to be told, and why the story is worth telling. The Abstract usually comprises one or two clauses (Labov, 1972: 370). According to Toolan (1991: 152-154) the Abstract is an optional stage, and may give a shortened account of the narrative itself. Abstracts are requests for longer talking turns, by summarising the story in an 'inflated' way.

Orientation:

The Orientation section indicates the setting of a story, by revealing the participants, time, place and the activities that participants find themselves in. The Orientation section is usually located at the beginning of a narrative – between the Abstract and Complicating Action; it is (usually) characterised as a set of free clauses (before the first narrative clause of the Complicating Action). Free clauses are defined as free-moving clauses in a narrative and are “not confined by any temporal juncture” (Labov, 1972; 361). These clauses have the potential to be moved around freely in the text, without distorting the meaning thereof (Toolan, 1991: 150). A narrative clause refers to clauses that are ordered according to the sequence of events as it happened. Unlike free clauses, narrative clauses cannot be shifted around without distorting the meaning potential of the text. They must occur in sequence; it is impossible to tell the

same story if the clauses of the text are reordered (Labov, 1972: 361; Toolan, 1991: 148-149). In theory, all free clauses can be placed at the beginning of the narrative. Free clauses may be found at many significant points throughout the narrative. There they serve a different role in the narrative – by deferring the action, i.e. evaluating the story. (Labov & Waletzky, 1967: 32)

Complicating Action:

The Complicating Action of a narrative is where the problem or crisis that had been described in the Abstract or Orientation sections is told. Clauses are arranged in sequence of how the event unfolds. The problem usually escalates into a crisis that needs to be resolved. A narrative can comprise of several Complicating Action sections (Eggins & Slade, 1997: 239-240).

Evaluation:

Narratives are usually a response to some “outside stimulus”, and create a “point of personal interest” (Labov & Waletzky, 1967: 34). The structure of a narrative is influenced by what the narrative is set out to achieve.

According to Labov (1972: 366) Evaluation is perhaps the most important stage of a narrative. According to Cortazzi & Jin (2000: 105), evaluation “marks the part of the narrative, giving it prominence in any way that shows a departure from the local norm of the text”. In other words, Evaluation makes a text noteworthy, worth telling, and is conventional for narratives of personal experience.

Labov & Waletzky (1967: 40) define Evaluation as groups of free clauses, multi-coordinated or restricted clauses. Evaluation “suspends” or delays the action, by interrupting the narrative’s flow of events at a critical stage. Although Evaluation is usually found between the Complicating Action and Resolution stages, Evaluative comments can be found throughout a narrative; therefore, a narrative can have more than one Evaluation section. Evaluation often reveals the attitude of the narrator towards what is being retold, and how the narrator expects the story to be interpreted (Labov, 1972: 374). In order to recognise the Evaluation section of a narrative, it is

important to know why the events were told in the first place, i.e. why the events were worth telling.

Cortazzi & Jin (2000: 107) state that there is often more than one level of Evaluation. To them, Evaluation is an ambiguous term. Firstly, what they term the “primary” or structural element of Evaluation is its position between the Complicating Action and the Resolution. Here, Evaluation delays the action sequence, preventing the story from going forward (temporarily). It also reveals the “point” of the story – why it was told in the first place. Secondly, Evaluation can be found at almost any point in the narrative, and can coincide with other stages of the narrative (e.g. Evaluation can also merge with the Resolution stage). This secondary Evaluation device is a “rhetorical underlining”: it indicates the part that was evaluated semantically, prosodically or grammatically. Almost any element in the narrative can be signalled in this way by the narrator. These two points are important because without it, the narrative will not make sense, in other words, it will lack “structural definition” (Labov & Waletzky, 1967: 39; Eggins & Slade, 1997: 240).

The problem of classifying Evaluation as a secondary structure, argue Cortazzi & Jin (2000: 107) is that Evaluation does not have a readily identifiable position in a text, and therefore can appear almost anywhere in a text, and may be accomplished through any linguistic means, i.e. phonologically or grammatically, for example. Interpretation of Evaluation is also derived from the listener’s acquired cultural and contextual knowledge.

Labov (1972) distinguished between two types of Evaluation: those that occur inside (internal) the text, and those that occur outside the text (i.e. external). These devices are briefly listed below (Labov, 1972: 371-380; Toolan, 1991; Labov & Waletzky, 1967).

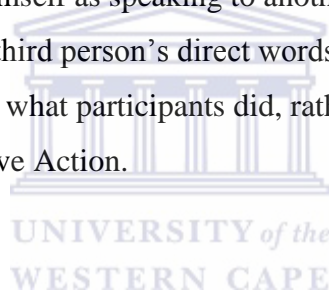
Internal Evaluation typically takes the form of:

- intensifiers (quantifiers, repetition),
- comparators (negatives, questions, imperatives),

- correlatives (progressives) and
- explicatives, which are clauses that usually begin with “while” or “although” (qualification), or “since” / “because” (causal).

Toolan (1991: 156) and Labov (1972: 370-374) disclose five ways of supplying External or Embedded Evaluation, which do not disrupt the succession of narrative clauses. These range from:

1. The wholly external Evaluation, where the narrator interrupts the flow of the narrative to address the audience directly to evaluate his or her own thoughts or feelings on the events being retold.
2. The narrator quotes himself or something he may have said, thought or felt at the time of the event retold, rather than addressing it (directly) to the audience;
3. The narrator quotes himself as speaking to another participant;
4. The narrator quotes a third person’s direct words;
5. The narrator describes what participants did, rather than what they said. This is referred to as Evaluative Action.



Resolution or Result:

The Evaluation is typically followed by the Resolution, in which the crisis (which was suspended through the Evaluation) is resolved. The narrative generally returns to sequentially ordered clauses in the past tense (Eggins & Slade, 1997: 240). The Resolution may coincide with the Evaluation section, if the Evaluation forms the last element of the narrative (Labov & Waletzky, 1967: 39).

Coda:

The Coda is a set of free clauses that indicate the end of the narrative. The audience is brought back to the present, as the narrator reiterates what was expressed at the beginning of the narrative, i.e. “the point at which they entered the narrative” (Labov, 1972: 365; Eggins & Slade, 1997: 243). Its main function is to return the narrative to

the present. This is accomplished through a number of ways (Toolan, 1991: 161-162; Labov, 1972: 365):

- By stating explicitly that the narrative is over;
- Through the use of deixis; linguistically, codas frequently make use of demonstratives such as ‘that’, ‘there’ or ‘those’ to refer to someone or something, instead of mentioning the thing or person explicitly. This is typical of narratives of personal experience. By using “the” or “that”, the narrator indicates a switch to the present tense, and the end of the narrative;
- By following the actions of the main character of the story up to the present.

According to (Labov & Waletzky, 1967: 40), a narrative may end with the Resolution; therefore the Coda is an optional stage. Codas also function as an Evaluation of the events that were told in the Complicating Action, and indicate how those events have subsequently (or consequently) impacted on the narrator’s life.

The Complicating Action is the only stage necessary in recognising a text as a narrative though (Labov, 1972: 370; Toolan, 1991: 147). The Abstract, Orientation and Resolution stages form the referential function of a narrative, while the Evaluation section is functional in nature, answering the question: “why was story told in the first place?”

SFL theorists have identified four other storytelling genres. These are the Recount, Observation, Anecdote and Exemplum, all of which are discussed below.

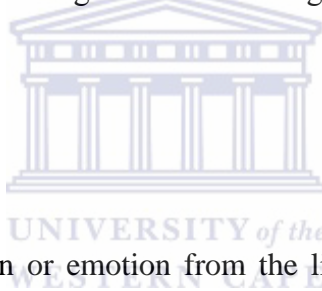
2.3.4.2. **The Recount:**

The Recount has two obligatory stages, namely the Orientation stage, which orients the listener to the time, place, circumstances and participants of the event in question; and the Record of Events stage, in which the main events unfold relatively unproblematically. This stage is similar to the Complicating Action of a narrative – it deals with a sequence of events that culminates in a crisis. The Record of Events is typically realised by Material processes. The Reorientation stage of the Recount is

optional; it serves the same function as the Coda in a narrative, and brings the reader / listener back to the present.

2.3.4.3. **The Observation:**

The (obligatory) stages for Observation are the Orientation, Event Description and the Comment as middle and end stages respectively. The latter two stages can come about discretely and can be spread throughout the text. What makes the Observation different from the other genres is that the Events Description stage does not follow according to a temporally ordered sequence of events, as with the Recount and Narrative. It is a description of a (single) moment in time. It realises the experiential meaning of the text. The Comment stage gives the Events Description stage importance as it realises interpersonal meanings. According to Rothery & Stenglin (1997: 240-242), the Comment stage “focuses on significance and interest in local events for its own sake”.



2.3.4.4. **The Anecdote:**

The Anecdote evokes reaction or emotion from the listener, by relating unusual or noteworthy events. The Reaction stage is where the narrator draws on the listener’s shared experience, and is also where it affects an emotional response through repetition of the extraordinary event of the previous stage, the Remarkable Event.

2.3.4.5. **The Exemplum:**

In the Exemplum, the narrator expresses a “judgment” of the extraordinary event being told, though it is not used to evoke an emotional response. It is similar to the Narrative in that both describe a disruption to people’s lives. It invites listeners to agree or disagree with story participants.

The table below summarises the schematic structure of the above-mentioned story genres. The optional stages are presented in brackets.

Table 2.2	<u>SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES OF STORY GENRES</u>
Narrative	(Abstract) ^ Orientation ^ Complicating Action ^ Evaluation ^ Resolution ^ (Coda)
Recount	(Abstract) ^ Orientation ^ Record of Events ^ (Reorientation)
Observation	(Abstract) ^ Orientation ^ Events Description ^ Comment ^ (Coda)
Anecdote	(Abstract) ^ (Orientation) ^ Remarkable Event ^ Reaction ^ (Coda)
Exemplum	(Abstract) ^ (Orientation) ^ Incident ^ Interpretation ^ (Coda)
Table adapted from Egging & Slade (1997), Martin & Rose (2007).	

2.4. SUMMARY OF SECTION

Genre has a wide range of definitions, but the most commonly held view is that it is staged and goal-oriented with a social purpose. A genre can be distinguished by looking at its generic features, by focusing on its register configuration, schematic structure and realisation patterns. Register constitutes the three aspects of the context of situation – field, tenor and mode. Register can also be described as referring to the stylistics of a text (Swales, 1990: 40; Hasan, 1989: 62). Schematic structure refers to the predictable stages of a genre. These determine whether a genre is complete or incomplete. It describes a genre's obligatory and optional stages.

There exists a highly disputed view on macro-genres. Martin (2002) defines macro-genres as grouping genres; Grabe (2002) defines it as grouping texts. Bhatia (2002) states that macro-genres should be referred to as genre colonies. There are more than two macro-genres, examples are service encounters and interviews.

This chapter also looked at storytelling genres, in particular narratives and other storytelling genres. Narrative is the most fundamental of the genres. It is a description of past events, by relating and resolving the protagonist's problem. It is described as dealing with human interaction.

Other examples of genres that were discussed include the Recount, Observation, Anecdote and Exemplum. The Recount is particularly important for the analysis of the TRC testimonies, as discussed in chapters four and five. However, before turning to the analyses, the next chapter presents the research methodology followed in this thesis.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will discuss the research methodology used for this thesis. This chapter will look at the subjects and data drawn on for this research, including how the data was collected and prepared for analysis.

3.2. PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

This thesis aims to explore how different narrators construe themselves, other participants, as well as their beliefs, attitudes and feelings in the stories they tell. This study will also look at how the two narrators construe their experiences, and how they represent and organise information.

Researchers rely on prior knowledge when doing research. Researchers need to use this prior knowledge or “pre-understanding” when they want to distinguish between what Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006: 378) refer to as the speaker’s intended meaning and the receiver’s interpreted meaning. Researchers can only offer interpretations of the speaker’s intended meaning, as it is difficult to know exactly what it is that the speaker meant to convey. Speaker’s meaning here refers to what was ‘lost’ during the interpretation process. It is therefore necessary to look at what meanings were lost or affected during the interpretation process when the narrators testified in Afrikaans, and their testimonies were transcribed into English.

Receiver’s interpretation refers to knowledge or understanding of the context which they bring to bear on the interpretation process. Context influences the linguistic choices that speakers make. In terms of this research, it is essential to know and take into account the context in which the events in question took place and to offer, as far as is possible, accurate interpretations.

According to Watson (1996: 261):

“...Whenever we wish to understand ‘what actually happened’ in the lives of people we are studying (or of people we know socially), we have little to go on other than the words that are spoken to us by these people themselves or by people who know them. To reach our own interpretation of ‘what happened’, it is therefore vital to recognize the importance of interpretive work which the individuals themselves have engaged in when constructing their accounts. Part of what each of us is, as a unique individual with a distinctive self-identity, is the outcome of the stories which we construct to make sense of ourselves and others of who we are and where we have come from. These stories emerge out of culturally constructed meanings but they also help us to reconstruct and change these meanings.”

3.3. **AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF STUDY**

This study aims to reveal how the two narrators construe their experiences (of the same events) differently through the linguistic choices that they make. The theoretical basis for this research will be Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Transitivity and genre, in particular the storytelling genres, Narrative and Recount. The aim is to reveal how the different narrators position themselves and other participants when recalling the same set of events. This thesis will also explore the differences and similarities between the original (Afrikaans) texts and the transcribed online English texts, in an attempt to identify what meanings were lost or affected during the interpretation process.

The objectives of this study are thus:

- How testifiers construe themselves and their experiences in their testimonies, as well as other participants;
- whether these testimonies were accurately interpreted or captured in the official (online) translation.

3.4. **DATA ANALYSIS**

3.4.1. **Research Procedure**

The texts used for this research are the testimonies of Faried Muhammad Ferhelst and his mother, Minnie Louisa Ferhelst. Both Ferhelst and his mother’s testimonies were

transcribed from the SABC video recordings of the TRC, with both the original language used by the testifier and the English voice over. The testimonies were translated simultaneously from Afrikaans into English during the hearing. Minnie Ferhelst's testimony was given only in Afrikaans, while only a section of Muhammad Ferhelst's testimony was in Afrikaans, the rest in English.

3.4.2. Analysis of the Data

The respective testimonies were (both) broken up into clauses for the analyses. A Transitivity analysis was done using SFL, and the processes and participants for each clause were identified. The participants were identified and counted. The processes that occurred more frequently were identified and also the participants who occurred mainly within those particular clauses and processes. All the processes were counted up and tabulated to give a complete transitive analysis of both testimonies. This was complemented by an ergative analysis which explored the extent to which the main participants were in the roles of Causer or Affected.

A genre analysis was done according to the theories posited by analysts such as Eggins & Slade (1997), and Martin & Plum (1997). The genre analysis revealed that both testimonies took the form of a Recount, with its constituent stages of Orientation, Record of Events, Reorientation and Coda. The Record of Events was further divided into segments and labelled for an easier and in depth analysis of both testimonies. The Transitivity and generic patterns are then discussed to ascertain how Mrs Ferhelst and her son construe their experiences and position themselves and their audiences in relation to these patterns.

One of the research aims already mentioned is to see if there are any similarities or differences between the testimony in the original language and the English interpreted versions. This thesis will attempt to show that very little meaning was lost during the interpretation of the Afrikaans into English, with exceptions, which will be discussed in the respective chapters (four and five).

3.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to outline the research methodology of this thesis. The methods discussed were that of Transitivity and genre analysis, as well as brief descriptions of the participants of the study, and the methods used for the preparation and analyses of the respective testimonies.



CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF TESTIMONY: FARIED MUHAMMAD FERHELST

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Muhammad Ferhelst was a member of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing (BMW) during the 1980s when he was an adolescent. As a member of BMW, he sought to oppose the government by actively resisting them, which resulted in his eventual arrest in the late 1980s. Ferhelst gave his account at the TRC hearings, held at the University of the Western Cape in 1996. In his testimony, Ferhelst revealed how he and other members of BMW were harrassed, detained and tortured by the Security police, and the consequent effects his political activism has had on him personally. He also appealed for the plight of his former BMW comrades, who are struggling to adjust to life outside of the military organisation.

In this chapter, I will argue that the Transitivity, Ergativity and genre analysis reveals the following:

- Ferhelst's testimony takes the form of a Recount, with stages Orientation, Record of Events and Reorientation. The analysis is presented stage by stage, with each stage appearing as a sub-section in this chapter. The text is broken into separate clauses and numbered. The overall clause structuring is based on Halliday & Matthiessen (2004).
- A Transitivity analysis of the Record of Events reveals how Ferhelst positions himself in terms of other participants, which follows a Causer and Affected pattern. Ferhelst thus ascribes the identity of 'innocent victim' (Affected) to himself, and that of aggressor (Causer) to the Security Branch (SB). This is most evident in the number of MAT clauses in which the SB's appear as the Causers, while Ferhelst is the main participant in MEN and VERB clauses.
- Throughout the rest of the testimony, Ferhelst details the current situation of his fellow BMW comrades. He uses mostly MEN and REL processes to describe their inner and real world conflicts, as well as his own.

- Both the English (online) and the Afrikaans are similar in content, with a few exceptions, which will be discussed.

This chapter ends with a summary and a table containing the overall process counts for both the English and the Afrikaans versions of the testimony.

4.2. ORIENTATION [1–38]

In the orientation, Ferhelst orientates the audience as to the time, place, participants and circumstances of his involvement in the liberation struggle; he uses REL clauses to illustrate his and BMW’s innocence and youth, giving the impression they were harassed for no apparent reason. This is thus typical of an Orientation section (see Chapter two). Ferhelst starts by giving an account of the political situation in the country from 1984 to 1986, expressed through mostly MAT (22) and REL processes (10).

The table below shows the participant count for the orientation section. The participants listed are the Causers of the action, and the numbers in the respective columns show how many times these participants occurred within a particular process. The participant count for the Orientation section can thus be broken up as follows:

Table 4.1	ORIENTATION					
	No. of Clauses	Ferhelst	BMW	Police	You*	Other
MAT	22	2	10	5	1	4
MEN	5	1	3	1	/	/
REL	10	2	6	/	/	2
BEH	1	/	1	/	/	/
TOTAL	38	5	20	5	1	6
					* imperative use	
Table adapted from: Rothery & Stenglin (1997), Martin & Rose (2003), Halliday & Matthiessen (2004)						

He describes himself as being “young” at that time, and refers to himself and the other activists as “children” (clauses 7–9) – implying innocence, vulnerability and helplessness through a series of REL clauses (16–19). Ferhelst presents this background as if it was usual, even customary for “children” of his age to be

politically active. (Note: the words that are in square brackets are not in the original testimony but have been re-inserted to aid the analysis.)

Extract 4.1	'Orientation'	
1.	Um [2] uh my involvement started in 1984... late 1984 uh...	MAT
2.	I came home from school one day	MAT
3.	and the cops were looking for me	MAT
4.	why... up till today I don't know.	MEN
5.	Uh 1985 in the beginning... I joined like SRC's on the schools [2] uh BISCO	MAT
6.	and like we were on the run.	REL
7.	I was still young	REL
8.	and I [<i>was</i>] like... any child	REL
9.	who was afraid	REL
10.	what this people was gonna do	REL
11.	an'... the information [<i>that</i>] we got from other children	MAT
12.	[<i>who</i>] were caught	MAT
13.	is [<i>that</i>]	REL
14.	they gonna kill us [2] like	MAT
15.	we didn't know what to do [3]	MEN
16.	um [2] in 1985... where [<i>we?</i>] like basically had nowhere to go,	REL
17.	[<i>we had</i>] nobody to turn to in fact [2].	REL
18.	At night we don't – didn't have places to sleep,	REL
19.	'cause we [<i>were</i>] afraid. [3]	REL
20.	Sometimes we went without food for days 3, 4 days.	BEH

Ferhelst creates distance early on between himself and the Security police. In clause 3, he refers to them as “the cops”, an informal reference to the police. After that initial introduction, he refers to them as “they”, ascribing the SBs a group identity. In effect, Ferhelst establishes early on that it was “us” (those fighting against apartheid) against “them” (those upholding apartheid):

Extract 4.2	'Orientation'	
29.	and we thought,	MEN
30.	well... what can we do to protect us against these people...	MAT

Most notably throughout the orientation is Ferhelst's switch from first person (“I”) to the plural form “we”. The pronoun “we” occurs in seven MAT clauses. This creates a group identity with BMW. “We” also occurs in five REL clauses, which express shared group sentiments – as a group they all stood for the same things, and all underwent the same treatment at the hands of the Security police. “I” occurs three

times in clauses 1–5 (two MAT; one MEN), and once as an evaluation in clauses 7 and 8.

4.3. **RECORD OF EVENTS STAGE** [39–251]

After setting the background in the Orientation section, Ferhelst starts his main narrative in the Record of Events. In this section, Ferhelst details how he was pursued and eventually arrested by the Security Branch, who then tortured him to gain information. This section has been broken up into sub-sections or phases and labelled for ease of reference, which are:

- ‘First Arrest’ [39–118];
- ‘First Arrest and Interrogation’ [119–164];
- ‘First Court Appearance’ [165–185];
- ‘Second Detainment and Second Interrogation’ [186–208]; and
- ‘Torture’ [209–251].

4.3.1. ‘First Arrest’ [39–118]

Ferhelst appears (as Actor) in 11 MAT process clauses, but he is not acting against the police (e.g. clause 44 below). This is in contrast to the police (eight MAT) and Van Brakel (nine MAT), who do act against him (e.g. pulling him up or bursting into the room). Although these numbers are quite similar, Ferhelst represents the police as having physically acted against him as Causers, resulting in him receiving that action, i.e. being the Affected participant.

Table 4.2	RECORD OF EVENTS: First Arrest [39–118]						
	No. of Clauses	Ferhelst	BMW	Van Brakel	Police	You	Other
MAT	37	11	3	9	8	/	6
MEN	11	7	/	1	1	1	1
REL	14	1	/	1	1	1	10
VERB	9	3	/	5	1	/	/
BEH	6	4	/	/	2	/	/
TOTAL	80	37	3	16	13	2	17

Ferhelst, however, relies on describing his thoughts as he was not able to act physically: he appears in seven MEN process clauses, most notably clauses 45–50 (below), where MEN clause 45 signals an evaluation sequence. A feature of Ferhelst’s testimony was that he created distance between himself and the police, as well as his own emotions, mostly through the use of the impersonal pronoun “you”:

Extract 4.3	‘First Arrest’	
44.	but I got back into bed.	MAT
45.	I heard the cars pull up.	MEN
46.	Your – at that time your senses are so developed,	REL
47.	you can hear a car a mile for uh	MEN
48.	when it brakes,	MAT
49.	like your senses – everything becomes –	REL
50.	you become suspicious of everything and everybody...	REL

Ferhelst uses the pronoun as a form of detachment. Also, “you” and “everything and everybody” (50) are used in a very generic sense: it describes his state of vigilance, of constantly having to be alert or aware of “everything and everybody”. This state of alertness is also a feeling that he shared with the other activists.

Another MEN clause signals external evaluation when Ferhelst contemplates the reasons why the police would pursue him. This extract is also indicative of how Ferhelst viewed the police. He takes himself out of the action (so to speak) – he is the implied Affected, as the police were there for him:

Extract 4.4	‘First Arrest’	
62.	I thought,	MEN
63.	is all this people just coming for me?	MAT
64.	What did I do wrong?	MAT
65.	What did I do SO badly	MAT
66.	that this people want me so?	MEN
67.	Um I then realise that,	MEN
68.	well, all the threats we got...	MAT
69.	from uh all the information we got from other children	MAT
70.	who were caught,	MAT
71.	well this people are going to kill me,	MAT
72.	that’s	REL
73.	what they said	VERB
74.	an’ ... um I got back into bed	MAT
75.	and [I] laid. [2]	BEH

In these clauses (62–75), Ferhelst steps away from the story to evaluate what he had thought (at that time). According to Tannen (2007: 117) the “casting their thoughts as dialogue allows a dramatization based on the state of their understanding of events at the time, rather than on the clarity of hindsight” (also in Watson, 1996: 260; Wetherall, 1996: 305). He expresses confusion, fear and perplexity as to why the police wanted him through two MEN clauses and three MAT clauses (64, 65 and 71). Ferhelst had already summarised the situation as inevitable (clause 56: “but it was too late”) – he could not run because the house was surrounded by armed policemen.

Ferhelst introduces change through two EXIST clauses (78–79): the police enter the house. Ferhelst mentions Van Brakel for the first time in clause 80, but only implicitly – his name is only mentioned in clause 90. Ferhelst refers to Van Brakel very seldom by name – throughout the Record of Events, the name “Van Brakel” occurs only three times (see, for example, clauses 90, 137 and 201). From introducing Van Brakel as “this captain” (in clause 80), until the end of the main narrative (i.e. clause 377), Ferhelst regularly refers to him by using the pronoun “he” (21 times), as well as “This captain” (80, 173), “that man” (87), “die kaptein” (335). These references act as strategies to distance him from Van Brakel. Ferhelst’s anger and hatred comes to the fore in clauses 85–89, where he disrupts the flow of activity sequence to express the direct words Van Brakel told him that day he was arrested. He addresses the audience directly, signalled through three VERB processes.

Extract 4.5	‘First Arrest’	
78.	and there was this... uh commotion in the dining room. [2]	EXIST
79.	Um there was approximately... 20 to 30 cops in the dining room,	EXIST
80.	and this captain burst into the room	MAT
81.	that I was laying.	BEH
82.	I was still in a shorts [2].	REL
83.	He pulled me up	MAT
84.	he said uh...	VERB
85.	can I use the exact words	VERB
86.	because like it’s hard for me to forget	REL
87.	what that man said that day	VERB
88.	and like I tried to forget	MEN
89.	but it’s always there.	REL
90.	Uh this captain his name is Van Brakel uh	REL
91.	he he came into that room, he and about four, five other SB’s.	MAT
92.	He said to me,	VERB

93.	“you - jou slym etter gemors. Ons het jou. (you piece of trash, we have you now,)”	REL
94.	Ons gaan jou nou vrek maak.” (Now we going to kill you.)	MAT
95.	And like... there was uh one of the other guys was with me in the room.	EXIST
96.	His name is Mymoona Begg	REL
97.	but he doesn't know –	MEN
98.	he wasn't politically active or anything like that.	REL
99.	They took him out of the room	MAT
100.	and then they started to hit me	MAT
101.	[they] smack me around...	MAT

The pronoun “ons” (“we”) is used when Ferhelst recalls more of Van Brakel’s exact words in clauses 92–94. This is one example of how Van Brakel, according to Ferhelst, never referred to himself in the singular – throughout the Record of Events, Van Brakel is quoted as using the plural pronoun to show off his superiority and that he never acted alone. This use of external evaluation and the use of quotation reveal Ferhelst’s impressions of Van Brakel. Quotations, according to Koven (2001: 514), can be used to assign particular types of identities to specific individuals. Koven (2001: 518) states that “speakers make their quoted characters use particular languages to inhabit, position themselves relative to, or even juxtapose linguistically embodied social identities”. Speakers also do this when quoting themselves. Therefore, by quoting Van Brakel’s direct words, Ferhelst positions him as a specific identity type, i.e. as a smug and rude individual.

4.3.2. ‘First Detainment & Interrogation’ [119–164]

In this part of the Record of Events, Ferhelst is interrogated by the police for the first time. This is evident from the number of VERB processes (11) in this section, as Ferhelst refused to answer Van Brakel’s questions. Once again, references to the police dominate: they are mentioned in 17 of the 22 MAT process clauses. Ferhelst does not appear in any MAT clauses (he cannot act, he is in police custody); he is the Senser in four MEN and the Sayer in four VERB clauses, therefore confined to his thoughts and words.

Table 4.3	<u>RECORD OF EVENTS</u> First Detainment & Interrogation				
	No. of Clauses	Ferhelst	Van Brakel	Police	Other
MAT	22	0	3	17	2
MEN	6	4	/	1	1
REL	4	/	1	/	3
VERB	11	4	3	3	1
BEH	3	2	/	1	/
TOTAL	46	10	7	22	7

Another example of how Ferhelst used dialogue to construe Van Brakel is contained in clauses 125-126:

Extract 4.6		'First Detainment & Interrogation'
125.	He said,	VERB
126.	“ag, hou hou jou bek donner” (shut up, bastard)	VERB

His words are in the imperative, but can be interpreted as being more dismissive of Ferhelst's pleas than as a direct order to keep quiet. The interjection “ag” achieves this (dismissiveness), relegating the imperative to a statement. The meaning of “ag”, though, is not carried over into the English translation (it could be roughly translated as “oh”). In the English, the imperative directly orders Ferhelst to shut up, therefore, the meaning of this expression is lost.

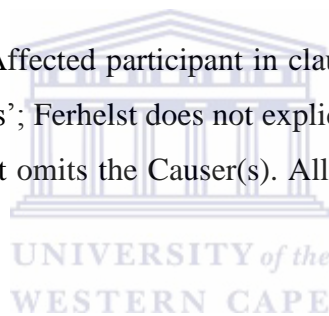
4.3.3. 'First Court Appearance' [165–185]

Clauses 165–185 are dominated by MAT processes, with Ferhelst the Actor (but not Causer) – “I” comes across in eight of the 13 MAT processes. Ferhelst briefly switches from the first person to the plural form “we” in clauses 170–171. Ferhelst establishes a group identity, by using words such as “we”, and “our [Section 29 papers]”. In clause 173–174, however, he reverts to the singular after he is confronted by Van Brakel (presumably), as his focus of his testimony shifts from references to a shared activist experience to his own personal narrative.

Extract 4.7		'First Court Appearance'
165.	Then I went to court [2] uh	MAT
166.	I was denied bail.	MAT
167.	For that ten days I can say	VERB

168.	I was like interrogated for say about seven days. [2]	VERB
169.	Then I got bail.	MAT
170.	Uh before we got bail –	MAT
171.	the day before we got bail,	MAT
172.	our Section 29 papers were there uh	REL
173.	this captain reckons to me	VERB
174.	[<i>that</i>] he’s gonna detain me under Section 29	MAT
175.	so I said,	VERB
176.	“well you must do	MAT
177.	whatever you want to,”	MEN
178.	but as soon as I walk out of the court	MAT
179.	I started running	MAT
180.	because I know	MEN
181.	what what were on their minds. [2]	REL
182.	Luckily I got away	MAT
183.	but... and I got a date to appear later –	MAT
184.	when I – at a later date I came to court	MAT
185.	the charges were dropped against me,	MAT

Ferhelst also appears as the Affected participant in clause 185: Agency demonstrates the ‘done to’ versus the ‘doers’; Ferhelst does not explicitly state who did or gave him what – he is the Affected, but omits the Causer(s). All can be inferred from the text, though.



4.3.4. ‘Second Detainment & Interrogation’ [186–208]

In this section, the story takes a twist – a policeman that Ferhelst knew points him out and he is rearrested. The police (Causers) take him from one police station to another, i.e. Ferhelst is still in the role of Affected. When Van Brakel enters the room, he becomes the sole aggressor (clause 201–208) and the narrative focuses on the contest between Ferhelst and Van Brakel. (In this sense, Ferhelst’s testimony is similar to that of other young activists, who frequently depicted themselves as heroes pitted against the police adversaries. See, for example, the analysis of Colin de Souza in Bock & Duncan, 2006, and Bock, 2010).

Extract 4.8	‘Second Interrogation’	
201.	uh at about 7 or 8 Van Brakel came.	MAT
202.	He started asking me questions	VERB
203.	[<i>he started</i>] smacking me around what	MAT
204.	and then left again,	MAT

205.	and he said uh,	VERB
206.	“ons maak jou nog vrek, voor jy uit die tronk uit.” [They told me they would kill me.]	MAT
207.	Um [2] I thought	MEN
208.	[that] everything was okay for the night.	REL

Van Brakel does all the talking (two VERB – 201, 205) and the hitting (one MAT – 203). Ferhelst represents this rather nonchalantly, as if being smacked around by the police was a common thing. In clause 206, Ferhelst quotes Van Brakel’s direct Afrikaans words; he uses the pronoun “ons” to intimidate, scare Ferhelst, as well as to display his power. The English translation, however, is in indirect reported speech and tones down the original meaning (Bock *et al.*, 2006), and “voor jy uit die tronk uit” (own translation – “before you leave prison / jail”) is omitted.

4.3.5. ‘Torture’ [209–251]

In clauses 209–251, Ferhelst’s story comes to a climax. As with the beginning of the Record of Events, he orientates the audience to the time and place of his incarceration, and the physical state that he was in before the police entered the cell. The SBs were the only Causers of the situation, as is evident from the high number of MAT clauses with the SBs as Subject. Of the 27 MAT clauses in this section, they appear in 21 of them. Ferhelst appears in two MAT clauses, but once again only as the Affected. He does not explicitly state who the Causers are (although this is inferred from the context). Ferhelst’s responses are confined to four MEN clauses and one REL clause, as he was obviously unable to defend himself against the very physical nature of the torture.

Table 4.4	<u>RECORD OF EVENTS</u> Torture [209 – 251]				
	No. of Clauses	Ferhelst	Police	You	Other
MAT	27	2	21	/	4
MEN	5	4	/	1	/
REL	7	1	/	/	6
VERB	1	1	/	/	/
BEH	2	1	/	1	/
EXIST	1	/	/	/	1
TOTAL	43	9	21	2	11

In clauses 237–251, Ferhelst evaluates the situation by describing the physical and mental torture he went through, by using the pronoun “you”. In the context, Ferhelst detaches himself from the mental and physical pain by generalising it. The use of the non-referential “you” downplays the event emotionally by making it less personal.

Extract 4.9	‘Torture’	
237.	Um like, the majority of the time when they hit you	MAT
238.	your didn’t – you didn’t even feel the pain	MEN
239.	because you passed out or something.	BEH
240.	It went uh...	MAT
241.	as I can say	VERB
242.	that went on for [2] for that period.	MAT
243.	After that night it was every night, half past 2, 3 o’clock every night.	REL
244.	They came to fetch me.	MAT
245.	Um [3] I can’t remember for how long	MEN
246.	that went on,	MAT
247.	but to me... it felt like...	REL
248.	it ... went on for...	MAT
249.	it felt like a – almost a couple of years, just that short period	REL
250.	because what – of what people – the way they handle you,	MAT
251.	the way they hit you.	MAT

4.4. **REORIENTATION** [252–255] & **CODA** [256–257]

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In the Reorientation, Ferhelst brings the audience back to a time after the torture. He does not mention exactly how long was held and tortured (even though it was only for a “short period” (249)). He mentions his fellow comrades in clauses 254–255 (explicitly), who were detained and released with him. He is still the Affected, and the Agent of his release (i.e. the police, law) are omitted and treated as if these events had occurred by themselves.

In the Coda, Ferhelst signals the end of his account with a REL clause (256–257), indicating that he has finished his story.

Extract 4.10	Reorientation & Coda	
REORIENTATION [252–255]		
252.	Um after that, they took me to uh Victor Verster [2]	MAT
253.	where I was [2] originally detained.	MAT
254.	Uh later on I was released on [2] bail with the other fellow comrades	MAT
255.	who was with me...	MAT

CODA [256–257]		
256.	I think	MEN
257.	that's about it.	REL

4.5. SUMMARY

In his testimony, Ferhelst gives his account of his harassment and torture endured at the hands of the Security police. He describes what happened in the Record of Events, which is structured in a chronological sequence of events. The participants are mainly Ferhelst, Van Brakel and the Security police. In the Orientation stage, mostly REL processes are attributed to BMW, through which Ferhelst establishes his activist identity. In the Record of Events stage, most of the MEN clauses are attributed to Ferhelst, on the one hand, and most of the MAT clauses are attributed to the police and Van Brakel. Ferhelst has an almost equal number of MEN and MAT processes, an indication of how his 'agency' is increasingly limited to his thoughts and feelings.

This table is a summary of the participant distribution of the main testimony according to section and process.

		Ferhelst	BMW	Van Brakel	Police	You / Jy	Other	TOTALS
Orientation	MAT	2	10	0	5	1	4	22
	MEN	1	3	0	1	0	0	5
	REL	2	6	0	0	0	2	10
	BEH	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
		5	20	0	6	1	6	38
Record of Events	MAT	24	5	17	52	0	13	111
	MEN	20	0	2	2	2	2	28
	REL	4	0	2	2	1	21	30
	VERB	11	0	11	5	0	1	28
	BEH	7	0	0	4	1	0	12
	EXIST	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
		66	5	32	65	4	41	213
Reorientation	MAT	2	0	0	1	0	1	4
		2	0	0	1	0	1	4
Coda	MEN	1	0	0	0	0		1
	REL	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
		1	0	0	0	0	1	2
TOTALS		74	25	32	72	5	49	257

This section demonstrates clearly how Ferhelst construes Van Brakel in relation to himself (i.e. how Ferhelst assigns identity roles). Ferhelst construes himself in the role of Affected – he is always being ‘done to’. The principal Causers are always either Van Brakel or the SBs. Almost the entire testimony is construed in this way. Ferhelst’s portrayal also serves to demonstrate his innocence, youth and lack of understanding of how dangerous it was to be politically active during that time.

4.6. **THE REST OF THE TESTIMONY** [285–377]

After his main narrative, Ferhelst proceeded to respond to the questions asked by the panel of Commissioners.

4.6.1. **Introduction & ‘Personal Effect (1)’** [258–274]

This section of Ferhelst’s testimony is significant because he switches to Afrikaans to answer some of the Commissioners’ questions (his main testimony was entirely in English). The shift is triggered by the interlocutor (Potgieter) and the acoustics. This section aims to show whether there are any discrepancies between the online translated version and the original transcribed testimonies.

Ferhelst explains the effect the events had on him then and how they still affect him in the present. After his release from prison, he quickly realised that the political situation in the country had changed, and that there was no longer a need for the extreme means of self-defence that they as a group had trained for. They had suffered mentally and physically for their cause, and now they were left to fend for themselves. He feels he and his comrades were abandoned and forgotten after their release from prison. For many of them, integrating back into society was difficult, as they were highly “militarised” as a result of their struggle involvement (Marks & McKenzie, 1995).

4.6.2. ‘Doctor’s Visit’ [275–285] & ‘Asking about Ashley Kriel’ [286–323]

At some point during his torture, Ferhelst was taken to a doctor to see to his injuries. Ferhelst is prompted by the Commissioner to describe his physical and mental abuse inflicted by the Security police in clauses 275–285. The direct words of the doctor in clause 284–285 below, do not appear in the translated version on the official website. This could be translated as either “There is nothing (fuck-all) wrong with the bastard” or “The bastard is fine”.

Extract 4.11		‘Doctor’s Visit’
283.	and he reckons to the SB,	VERB
284.	“die donner makeer fok all.	REL
285.	Vat hom hier weg”.	MAT

Ferhelst switches to Afrikaans from clauses 286–323. As with the main story, the MAT processes in this section reflect the actions of the SBs. Van Brakel does not have a physically active role even though he appears in two MAT clauses, as he is the one who interrogates Ferhelst (three VERB processes in Afrikaans). The only actions available to Ferhelst were through his thoughts and words.

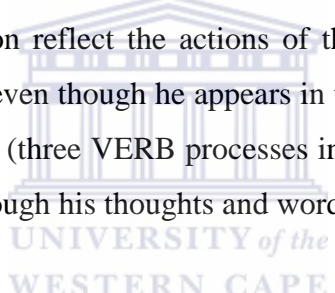


Table 4.6		Asking About Ashley Kriel [286–323]					
	No. of clauses	Ferhelst	BMW	Van Brakel	Police	Jy	Other
MAT	17	2	1	2	9	/	3
MEN	6	3	/	/	1	2	/
REL	6	1	/	/	1	/	4
VERB	8	/	1	3	3	/	1
BEH	1	/	1	/	/	/	/
TOTAL	38	6	3	5	14	2	8

In clause 291A, the interpreter opts for a less aggressive-sounding translation, “in my gesig gedruk”, which is interpreted as the SB “giving” the gun to him. The meaning is lost in the translation, as one can interpret the English as the SB giving the gun to Ferhelst willingly, instead of forcefully persuading him to take his own life before they do it.

In clause 297 of the Afrikaans, Ferhelst relates that he was “opgetel” (“picked up”). The Afrikaans translates roughly to “when I was picked up” (i.e. jailed). No mention

is made of this in the English (online) version, which only refers to his initial days of interrogation.

Extract 4.12		'Asking about Ashley Kriel'		
286.	Um, like uh in die eerste – die eerste en tweede aand, was dit oor my kop gewees.	REL	Like - in the first and second evenings the bag was over my head	REL
287.	Like die derde aand toe hulle die sak [gebruik],	MAT	but on the third night one of the policeman took off the bag.	MAT
288.	uh het een van die polisiemanne die sak afgehaal...	MAT		
289.	Ek was like, half... unconscious um.	REL	I was virtually unconscious	REL
290.	Hy't toe die haelgeweer gevat,	MAT	and he then took the rifle	MAT
291.	in my gesig gedruk	MAT	and <u>gave</u> it to me	MAT
292.	en gesê	VERB	and said	VERB
293.	“hoekom trek jy nie self die trigger nie?	MAT	“why don't you pull the trigger	MAT
294.	Want ons gaan jou tog vrek maak”.	MAT	because we going to kill you anyway.”	MAT
295.	Um en ook um... toe hulle – toe hulle vir my interroge...	VERB	And when they interrogated me –	VERB
296.	<u>dis</u> um vir die eerste tien dae	REL	I am talking now of the first ten day period	VERB
297.	wat ek... opgetel was,	MAT		
			Van Brakel made a statement that –	VERB

In the Afrikaans, clauses 301–302 are transcribed as Ferhelst using Van Brakel's direct words, whereas the English (online) uses reported speech, which results in a loss of narrative immediacy (Schiffrin, 1981).

Extract 4.13		'Asking about Ashley Kriel'		
301.	en hy't OOK gesê...	VERB	[He] also said that	VERB
302.	“Ons weet	MEN	they knew	MEN
303.	waar hy is,	REL	where Ashley was	REL
			and that they would find him	MAT
304.	en ons gaan hom vrek skiet”.	MAT	and kill him.	MAT

Internal evaluation comes in the form of repetition in clauses 313–314. These MAT clauses serve to strengthen the specific action (i.e. the shooting of Ashley Kriel) and also delay the action. In the English (online) version, Ashley Kriel's shooting is only mentioned once. Once again, this leads to some loss of evaluative meanings (Bock *et al.*, 2006).

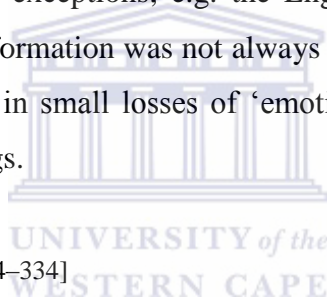
Extract 4.14		'Asking about Ashley Kriel'		
313.	toe skiet hy vir Ashley.	MAT	They shot Ashley	MAT
314.	Toe toe SKIET hulle vir Ashley.	MAT		

“Jy” (319–323) is used in the same way as “you” in English in the previous section (the Record of Events); it appears as a means of distancing himself from the physical

and mental effects of his torture and political involvement by making the situation more general. He also creates a ‘picture’ in the minds of the audience of the police, by describing the police as “mense van daad” (316) (men of action) – as people who carried out their threats and therefore dangerous.

Extract 4.15		‘Asking about Ashley Kriel’		
319.	Uh in... in die interrogation, maak jy so peace met jouself	MEN	And during the interrogation you make a sort of peace with yourself	MEN
			and you you realise that	MEN
320.	dat... wat gebeur,	MAT	what must be,	MAT
321.	moet gebeur. [2]	MAT	must be.	MAT
322.	Um, om dit so te stel	VERB	To – if I can put it this way	REL
323.	dat... jy prepare jouself... vir die ergste.	MEN	you you actually prepare yourself for the worst.	MEN

To summarise: this section focused on some of the translation issues of the testimony. The interpretation and translation of the Afrikaans testimony into the English is more or less verbatim, with a few exceptions, e.g. the English online version tended to avoid repetition, and some information was not always interpreted from the Afrikaans to the English. This resulted in small losses of ‘emotional meanings’ which do not significantly alter the meanings.



4.6.3. ‘Laying Charges’ [324–334]

What is significant in this section is what was omitted by the interpreter in the English (online) version. Clause 328 (“Hulle wat ek by daai tyd was?...”) is not in the translated version, but is replaced with a statement, “the police could do whatever they wanted to” (MAT). Also, the Afrikaans is a description of the way the police were in those days, hence the question and REL process. Clause 334 is a repetition of clause 324, and is not mentioned in the English. Again the English is translated as a statement, whereas the Afrikaans is stated as a rhetorical question: the issue was not whether he was able to lay charges against his perpetrators, but rather to whom. The rhetorical question expresses more his subjective feelings of powerlessness or helplessness as opposed to the English ‘statement of fact’.

Extract 4.16		‘Laying Charges’		
324.	Het ek klagtes gelê? Um... nie eintlik nie.	MAT	Did I lay charges? Well, not really.	MAT
325.	Like, daai tyd as ons kan kyk...	MEN	At the time, you know,	MEN
326.	wat kon wie doen?...	MAT	what could we really do,	MAT

327.	Niemand kon niks doen nie.	MAT	nobody could really do anything.	MAT
			The police could do whatever they wanted to.	MAT
				MEN
328.	Hulle wat ek by daai tyd was?...	REL	Who who would I make the charge to, to the police?	MAT
329.	Aan wie lê ek –	MAT		
330.	aan wie sê ek	VERB	Who could I tell	VERB
331.	wat met my gebeur,	MAT	what was happening to me?	MAT
332.	môre doen hulle dieselfde ding	MAT	The same thing would happen the day – they very next day.	MAT
			Nothing would happen.	MAT
333.	niemand gaan niks doen daaraan nie.	MAT	There was nobody to investigate my complaint.	EXIST
334.	Waarom moet ek ‘n klag maak?	BEH		

4.6.4. ‘The Way Forward’ [335–365]

In this section, he expresses the effects that the struggle has had on all of those affiliated with BMW, mostly through REL (11) and MEN (10) processes. They feel betrayed, ignored and rejected, not just by the government but by society as well. In these (REL) clauses, Ferhelst expresses his sense of responsibility towards those he had recruited. He does not name his comrades. He refers them as “mense” (341) (“people”), which is quite general. The English translates to “our people”, which is more specific. “Ons” is used to create a group identity (343–344). Here, “hulle” (345) is a reference to BMW members.

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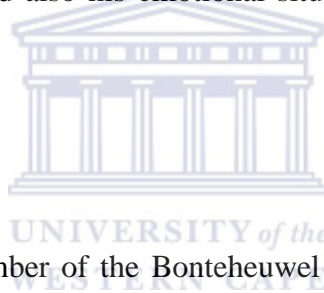
Extract 4.17		‘The Way Forward’		
			And secondly, what I would like to say	VERB
341.	hierso’s mense buitekant... um	REL	is that our people outside –	REL
342.	ek was nie alleen nie.	REL	I was not alone.	REL
343.	Ons was... ‘n military wing,	REL	We were a military wing. A whole group of us.	REL
344.	ons was ‘n klomp. [3]	REL		
345.	As ek na hulle kyk	MEN	If I look at them –	MEN

Afrikaans has slightly more MAT processes (8) than English (6), but these clauses do not necessarily describe physical action. Verbs such as ‘kon kry’ (could get), ‘ge-recruit’ (recruited), ‘gewen’ (won), ‘opgeoffer’ (sacrificed), ‘kan doen’ (can do), and ‘omkyk’ (look after) – do not all refer to actual physical action, but can be interpreted both ways. For example, the verb ‘opgeoffer’ (sacrificed) could mean the act of having pledged themselves to their cause, or as having given up their lives for their cause. This is significant if compared with MAT processes associated with the police throughout his testimony, which described (more) overtly physical actions (e.g. hitting, taking, cuffing, pulling).

To summarise: Ferhelst uses this platform (i.e. the Commissioner's question) to highlight the plight of his fellow comrades, whom he feels have been forgotten. He does this through a series of REL (11) and MEN clauses (13 / 7). He expressed his feelings of discontent for them and not so much for himself. He re-establishes a group identity, but only briefly (341-345). He does not assign blame or responsibility (other than to himself) – he does not say who is supposed to take care of his comrades. He simply appeals for help.

4.6.5. **Summary & 'Personal Effect (2)'** [336–377]

Lastly, in the last 12 clauses, Ferhelst reverts to speaking English. Ferhelst is the only participant (in ten of the 12 clauses). The three REL clauses describe his current situation (of employment) and also his emotional situation. The Commissioner then concludes proceedings.



4.7. **CONCLUSION**

Ferhelst was a founding member of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing (BMW) in the 1980s. They fought against the injustices of the apartheid government. Many were in their early teenage years. They received military training and recruited members in the community. In 1985, Ferhelst was arrested by the Security police, interrogated and tortured (TRC Report, Vol 3: 482; Vol 4: 278; Marks & McKenzie, 1995: 224; 225).

Ferhelst's story takes the form of a Recount. In the Record of Events stage, Ferhelst takes us through his arrest, interrogation, re-arrests and subsequent torture and release. His story takes the form of 'us' against 'them', with the Security police as the aggressors and Ferhelst as the affected party; therefore the police, and references to them, are mostly MAT processes. The majority of Ferhelst's responses to them are MEN and VERB, as these were the only actions available to him in a situation of extremely unequal physical power.

The Transitivity analysis of this testimony can be summarised as follows:

Table 4.7		<u>OVERALL COUNT-UP OF PARTICIPANT & PROCESS FOR FERHELST'S TESTIMONY</u>						
		Ferhelst	BMW	Van Brakel	Police	You / Jy	Other	TOTALS
Orientation	MAT	2	10	0	5	1	4	22
	MEN	1	3	0	1	0	0	5
	REL	2	6	0	0	0	2	10
	BEH	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
		5	20	0	6	1	6	38
Record of Events	MAT	24	5	17	52	0	13	111
	MEN	20	0	2	2	2	2	28
	REL	4	0	2	2	1	21	30
	VERB	11	0	11	5	0	1	28
	BEH	7	0	0	4	1	0	12
	EXIST	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
		66	5	32	65	4	41	213
Reorientation	MAT	2	0	0	1	0	1	4
		2	0	0	1	0	1	4
Coda	MEN	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	REL	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
		1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Rest of The Testimony	MAT	13	4	4	11	1	12	45
	MEN	11	1	1	1	2	7	23
	REL	13	7	0	2	0	13	35
	VERB	4	2	3	3	0	3	15
	BEH	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
SUB TOTAL		42	15	8	17	3	35	120
TOTALS		116	40	40	89	8	84	377

What follows the main narrative, is a series of questions asked by the panel of Commissioners. Here, Ferhelst pleads for the plight of his fellow comrades, whose roles in the struggle have been forgotten and ignored. This is seen in the high number of MEN and REL clauses, which reflects the emotional, mental and physical consequences of their political involvement and consequent struggle to reintegrate into society.

Another important point is Ferhelst's switch from English to Afrikaans. Even though the interpretation of his testimony into English does not greatly differ from that of the Afrikaans, some exceptions do occur where the meaning is lost in the translation. At times, these result in small losses to the emotional meanings expressed in his testimony.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF TESTIMONY: MINNIE LOUISA FERHELST

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Minnie Louisa Ferhelst is the mother of Muhammad Ferhelst, a political activist and member of the anti-apartheid group BMW. She was not politically active, but was aware of her son's activities. She testified with him at the Tygerberg TRC hearings, and detailed her own harassment at the hands of the police. Mrs Ferhelst's testimony starts at a point before Ferhelst's, and continues until his re-arrest (after his second court appearance). Mrs Ferhelst testified before Ferhelst, but as Ferhelst was the political activist and 'victim', his testimony was analysed first (Chapter four). Mrs Ferhelst's testimony is about Ferhelst, and her description of the police, and her emotional and psychological struggles to see her son. In this sense, her testimony is typical of the majority of other women who testified at the TRC in that her testimony was about a male member of her family (Ross, 2003).

Mrs Ferhelst's original testimony was in Afrikaans, which was simultaneously translated into English during the TRC hearing. In terms of this analysis, Mrs Ferhelst's testimony (also) takes the form of a Recount, with the relevant constituent stages. Each stage has been further labelled for ease of analysis. Each testimony has been broken up into clauses and each clause has been numbered. Each process has been analysed in terms of Transitivity. Because this thesis deals with both the original Afrikaans and English (online) testimonies, this thesis will distinguish between the Afrikaans and English clauses, by putting either "A" (Afrikaans) or "E" (English) after the relevant clause number (e.g. 1A / 2E). It is important to distinguish between the two testimonies, as not all clauses correspond, e.g. a clause that appears in the Afrikaans testimony may not necessarily have been translated into the English (and vice versa).

In this chapter, I will argue that the Transitivity, Ergativity and genre analysis reveal the following:

- How Mrs Ferhelst positions herself, Ferhelst, as well as the police, i.e. as with Ferhelst, she is the Affected; this should be reflected through the high number of MEN, REL, VERB and BEH clauses; the police are the Causers, reflected through the high number of MAT clauses that they appear in; and
- Both the Afrikaans testimony and the English (online) testimonies are similar in content and translation, the exceptions will be discussed.

This chapter will end with a summary of the major processes.

5.2. ORIENTATION [1–27A; 1–23E]

In the Orientation section, Mrs Ferhelst orientates the audience to the time in question and her roles as mother and housewife. The Afrikaans testimony has 27 clauses, with 12 MAT clauses and 12 REL clauses. The high number of REL clauses is not uncommon for an Orientation section, as Mrs Ferhelst is giving background information to the testimony. This is also true for the English testimony, which has 23 clauses of which ten are MAT and nine REL clauses. Mrs Ferhelst shifts the story in clause 3 (both testimonies) to introduce the police who were looking for Ferhelst:

Extract 5.1			ORIENTATION		
AFRIKAANS TESTIMONY			ENGLISH ONLINE TRANSLATION		
1.	Ek was eintlik by die huis, altyd maar	REL	1.	I was at home,	REL
2.	en Donovan was Standaard 9 gewees by Spes Bona Hoërskool.	REL	2.	Donovan was in Standard 9 at Spes Bona High School	REL
3.	En um... dit het so gebeur	REL	3.	and it so happened	MAT
4.	dat die polisie vir hom gesoek het	MAT	4.	that the police were looking for him.	MEN
5.	en um hulle het	REL	5.	And they would come every week at least once a week.	MAT
6.	elke week het hulle gekom, omtrent twee keer per week.	MAT			
7.	Um my kinders was baie klein gewees	REL	6.	My children were still very small at the time.	REL
8.	en um en uh ek het een dogter gehad	REL	7.	I had one daughter	REL
9.	wat gewerk het	MAT	8.	who was working	REL
10.	en die anders was nog klein gewees	REL			
11.	hulle't skool gegaan	MAT	9.	and the others were still at school.	REL
12.	en dan het hulle oggend ure kom klop daar	MAT	10.	And they would come	MAT
			11.	and knock in the early morning hours.	MAT
13.	en dan moet ek die deur oopmaak.	MAT			
14.	Die polisie wat gekom het	MAT	12.	The policeman that came	MAT
15.	was meeste um Kaptein Van Brakel	REL	13.	were mostly Captain Van Brakel and others,	REL
16.	en dan het hulle my huis deursoek.	MAT	14.	and they would search my house,	MAT

REL clauses serve to describe her anguish as a mother. From clauses 5–11A / 5–9E, Mrs Ferhelst describes her everyday life, and her children through REL clauses (four each). Clause 9 of the English testimony deviates from the Afrikaans (clauses 10–11)

5.3. RECORD OF EVENTS [28–365A; 24–329E]

The Record of Events is the main part of the Recount, i.e. where the action unfolds. The Record of Events for this testimony has been analysed according to phases for ease of analysis, which are:

- ‘Ferhelst’s Arrest’ [28–73A; 24–70E];
- ‘At The Police Station’ [73–236A; 71–219E];
- ‘House Search’ [239–276A; 221–253E] and ‘Ferhelst’s Second Arrest’ [277–319A; 254–289E]; and
- ‘Ferhelst’s Torture’ [320–365A; 290–329E].

5.3.1. ‘Ferhelst’s Arrest’ [28–73A; 24–70E]

In this section, Mrs Ferhelst describes what Motsemme (2004: 920) refers to as “illusions of stability”. Mrs Ferhelst presents a normal family situation, with Ferhelst at home (28–30A; 24–26E). This “illusion” is quickly shattered when the police come and arrest Ferhelst and he has to flee again. The Afrikaans section contains 46 clauses of which 18 are MAT, and 13 are VERB. The English testimony has 19 MAT, and 13 VERB out of 47 clauses. Both sections are signalled by an EXIST clause, indicating a change of direction from the previous (Orientation) section.

		RECORD OF EVENTS Ferhelst’s Arrest													
		No. of Clauses		Mrs Ferhelst		Ferhelst		Van Brakel		Police		Lawyer		Other	
Language		E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A
MAT		19	18	5	5	6	3	0	0	8	9	0	0	0	1
MEN		4	5	3	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
REL		9	8	3	3	6	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
VERB		13	13	9	5	0	0	0	1	1	4	2	2	1	1
BEH		1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
EXIST		1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS		47	46	20	17	13	9	0	1	10	14	2	2	1	2

In the Afrikaans testimony, clause 33 signals the first of 13 VERB clauses. This is a typical feature of Mrs Ferhelst’s testimony, where VERB clauses (whether direct or indirect) are second only to MAT clauses. This reflects her role as a concerned parent who was continuously questioned by the police as well as constantly asking about her

son and his whereabouts. The first VERB clause is signalled by clause 32 in English when Mrs Ferhelst reports what the police had said.

Extract 5.2		'Ferhelst' Arrest'			
AFRIKAANS TESTIMONY			ENGLISH ONLINE TRANSLATION		
28.	En daar was 'n tyd	EXIST	24.	There was a stage	EXIST
29.	toe Donovan by die huis gewees het	REL	25.	where Donovan was at home	REL
30.	toe't ek hom winkel toe gestuur saam met my tweeling dogters	MAT	26.	and I sent him to the shop with my twin daughters	MAT
31.	en toe hulle terug kom	MAT	27.	and when he came back	MAT
32.	en toe het die polisie vir hom gevat.	MAT	28.	the police arrested him.	MAT
33.	En en toe vra ek vir hulle	VERB	29.	And I wanted to know	MEN
34.	hoekom vat hulle hom.	MAT	30.	why they were arresting him,	MAT
35.	Hy't niks gedoen nie.	MAT	31.	he hadn't done anything	MAT
36.	Toe sê hulle	VERB	32.	and they said	VERB
37.	hulle vat hom vir ondervraging	MAT	33.	they were taking him for questioning him.	MAT
38.	en daar't hulle hom gehou.	MAT	34.	They kept him	MAT

Mrs Ferhelst is the Sayer ("ek") in five VERB clauses, the police in four VERB clauses, in the Afrikaans testimony. In English, Mrs Ferhelst is the Sayer ("I") in nine VERB clauses, with the police in one VERB clause. Another feature of Mrs Ferhelst's testimony is that she used a lot of direct speech, which was then interpreted as reported speech. The shift from direct into indirect speech is one of the ways in which some of the emotional intensity of her story is lost (Schiffrin, 1981; Bock, 2010). Again, the police are described as the aggressors (e.g. 32A; 28E above), Mrs Ferhelst or Ferhelst those affected by the action. Mrs Ferhelst's fear is expressed through MEN clauses (four in Afrikaans; three in English). Basically the only 'action' available to Mrs Ferhelst is through VERB clauses, as the majority of the VERB clauses (throughout her testimony) are attributed to her.

The police are introduced in clause 32A and 28E; thereafter they are referred to as "hulle" / "they" (as with Ferhelst). In this case, the pronoun is used as an impersonal tool to create distance between her and the police. Again, as with Ferhelst in Chapter four, it is "us vs. them". The police are Causers in nine of 18 MAT clauses in the Afrikaans testimony, and seven (of 21) MAT clauses in English. They are always referred to in the plural or as a unit, except where individuals are mentioned (Van Brakel, Strydom, certain police officers), in contrast with herself and Ferhelst as individuals. In this way, they are positioned as the 'other' in her testimony.

Mrs Ferhelst refers to Ferhelst in three MAT clauses in Afrikaans and six MAT clauses in English. He is not an Actor though, as actions are being done to him, for example, the police arrest him and charge him. Throughout her testimony, Ferhelst is never an active participant, for example, clauses 30A / 26E, and 32A / 28E in Extract 5.2 above. Ferhelst is described through REL clauses (five for Afrikaans, six for English). He is always described in terms of his youth, innocence or his whereabouts.

In summary: this section details how uncooperative the police were at that time, as well as the lack of resources available to Mrs Ferhelst, and how normal family life was just an “illusion” (Motsemme, 2004: 920) to those who were politically active. This section shows how similar the English and Afrikaans testimonies are in terms of their Transitivity patterns (see Table 5.2 above). Mrs Ferhelst also features in nine Afrikaans and five English VERB clauses, as her words (and thoughts) were the only ‘actions’ she could perform. The police are described through mostly MAT clauses, while Mrs Ferhelst and Ferhelst are affected by their actions.

5.3.2. ‘At The Police Station’ [73–236A; 71–219E]

This section of the Record of Events is the main section of Mrs Ferhelst’s testimony and therefore the focus of her testimony. This section details Mrs Ferhelst’s interrogation at the hands of Van Brakel and Strydom; how they tried to coerce her into implicating Ferhelst and other members of BMW by threatening her, particularly using her child as leverage to obtain information (Ross, in TRC Report, Vol 4, 291). Mrs Ferhelst shows “displays of defiance” (Motsemme, 2004: 919) as she refused to comply with the police. This section contains a total of 165 clauses in Afrikaans, and 150 in English, with the dominant participants being Mrs Ferhelst, Van Brakel and the police, as reflected in the table below.

Table 5.3	RECORD OF EVENTS At the Police Station															
	No. of Clauses		Mrs Ferhelst		Ferhelst		Van Brakel		Ref: Police		Ref: Lawyer		Imperatives		Other	
Language	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A
MAT	56	62	18	22	1	4	10	9	16	17	2	0	6	6	1	1
MEN	21	20	15	14	1	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
REL	18	22	5	5	5	4	1	2	1	0	2	3	0	1	4	6
VERB	43	49	19	16	0	0	11	20	7	8	0	0	2	1	0	0
BEH	9	10	7	8	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
EXIST	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	150	165	64	65	8	9	23	32	27	27	4	3	8	9	5	8

The high number of MAT clauses for Mrs Ferhelst (22 Afrikaans; 18 English) does not, however, indicate that she had any control of the situation – merely her attempts at locating her son. She (and Ferhelst) are receiving the action from the police or Van Brakel, hence the high number of MAT clauses that the police occur in as Actor (see Table 5.3). She is resigned thus to her thoughts and feelings, represented by MEN clauses (14 Afrikaans; 15 English) – the most compared to the police (one Afrikaans; two English) and Van Brakel (one English).

Mrs Ferhelst's uses a high percentage of VERB clauses in this section – dialogue forms an integral part of her testimony, as this section of the Record of Events will show. Mrs Ferhelst is the “Sayer” in 16 clauses in Afrikaans and 19 in English – more or less the same as Van Brakel (20 Afrikaans; 11 English) but more than the police (eight Afrikaans; seven English). These VERB clauses come in the form of reported speech (direct and indirect).

There are various reasons why a speaker would incorporate reported speech into a story. According to Tannen (2007: 39), reported speech creates a sense of involvement with the listener, used to invoke the listener's imagination – to place them in time and space of the events being told; in this way, the message being conveyed by the speaker comes across more effectively (Tannen, 2007). Reported speech is also used as a means to evaluate or express the speaker's thoughts or feelings towards the participant whose speech they are recreating. Kuo's research (2001, in Tannen, 2007: 18) has found that reported speech is used to create a sense of “... credibility as they present positive images of themselves and negative images of their opponents, as well as to evade responsibility and distance themselves from the purported source of the information they thus impart”. This is (what I believe) Ferhelst and Mrs Ferhelst are doing in their testimonies, i.e. by representing what the police said (and did) in a particular way, they are establishing a negative picture of the police.

This section contains the most clauses of direct and indirect speech of the testimony. In Afrikaans, Mrs Ferhelst quotes directly in 11 clauses, and indirectly reports in six clauses. In English, the interpreter interpreted this as direct quotes in seven clauses,

and reports in 13 clauses. There is a discrepancy between Afrikaans and English: the interpreter did not always interpret direct speech Mrs Ferhelst used as direct speech. This explains the higher number of reported speech clauses in the English online version. The resultant effect is a loss of immediacy in the narrative (Schiffrin, 1981).

This extract below shows a series of “he said, she said” type of responses. Mrs Ferhelst employs various forms of **External Evaluation** (Labov, 1972) as she recalls exactly what she said, as well as the direct words of Van Brakel, Strydom and other members of the police (e.g. 80–83A; 76–80E). External Evaluation refers to evaluation that occurs ‘outside’ the text, and do not disrupt the flow of the narrative (Toolan, 1991; Labov, 1972). The extract below serves as an example of how Mrs Ferhelst used reported speech to relay the type of things Van Brakel would have said.

Extract 5.3		'At The Police Station'			
AFRIKAANS TESTIMONY			ENGLISH ONLINE TRANSLATION		
79.	Ek het gekom by Bishop Lavis se polisieostasie	MAT	75.	And when I got to Bishop Lavis police station,	MAT
80.	en ek het gevra by die polisiekantoor	VERB	76.	I asked	VERB
81.	of ek vir hom die skoon klere kan gee,	MAT	77.	if I could give him clean clothes	MAT
82.	en um hulle het vir my gesê	VERB	78.	and they refused	MEN
83.	nee, hulle kan dit nie vat nie.	MAT	79.	saying that	VERB
84.	Um ek het toe gevra	VERB	80.	they couldn't take it.	MAT
85.	of ek met die kaptein [kan] praat.	VERB	81.	I asked	VERB
86.	Hulle het vir my gesê	VERB	82.	if I could speak to the captain,	VERB
87.	“gaan na Kaptein Van Brakel.”	MAT	83.	and I was sent to captain Van Brakel's office,	MAT
88.	Hulle het my gestuur na kamer nommer.	MAT	84.	I was given the office number.	VERB
89.	Ek het gegaan	MAT			
90.	en ek het sy – uh Donovan se klein broertjie saam gehad	REL	85.	And Donovan's younger brother was with me.	REL
91.	en um toe ek klop daar aan die deur	MAT	86.	When I knocked on the door,	MAT
92.	toe sê hy	VERB	87.	I was told to come inside	VERB
93.	ek moet inkom	MAT			
94.	en toe was Kaptein Van Brakel en 'n Mnr Strydom daar.	REL	88.	and Captain Van Brakel and a Mr Strydom were there.	REL
95.	En toe sê Kaptein Van Brakel, um	VERB	89.	Captain Van Brakel then said	VERB
96.	“mevrou, ons wag al so lankal vir jou.	BEH	90.	“ma'am we have been waiting for you for a long time	BEH
97.	Um ek's bly	REL	91.	I am happy	REL
98.	jy't gekom.”	MAT	92.	that you have come.”	MAT
99.	Ek sê toe vir hom,	VERB	93.	I then told him	VERB
100.	“ek wil net die skoon klere vir my kind gee,	MAT	94.	that I just want to give my child these clean clothes	MAT
101.	want die kind moet voor die hof verskyn.”	MAT	95.	because he is due to appear in Court.	MAT
102.	En uh hy sê toe vir my	VERB	96.	He then said	VERB
103.	“nee, nee kom in.”	MAT	97.	“please come inside”	MAT
104.	En um toe het ek daar gesit	BEH	98.	and I sat there	BEH
105.	en toe het hy vir my gesê	VERB	99.	and he said to me	VERB

106.	“jy gaan nie huis toe nie.	MAT	100.	“you are not going home,	MAT
107.	Ons gaan jou toesluit.”	MAT	101.	we are going to lock you up.”	MAT
108.	Maar ek wou toe weet	MEN	102.	I then wanted to know	MEN
109.	wat het ek gedoen	MAT	103.	what I had done	MAT
110.	en hy sê	VERB	104.	and he said	VERB
111.	“ek sê	VERB	105.	“I told you,	VERB
112.	jy gaan nie huis toe nie.”	MAT	106.	you are not going home.”	MAT

In the above extract Mrs Ferhelst is adding (creating) suspense or a “sense of drama” (Tannen, 2007: 106) by attempting to recreate a scene through dialogue. According to Koven (2001: 514), dialogue is a means through which the speaker attempts to convey or establish “particular kinds of local, quotable identities” – of themselves and those being quoted (Koven, 2001: 513). Also, dialogue is “an important source of emotion in discourse” (Tannen, 2007: 39).

The words that are quoted as someone’s direct speech may not necessarily be what was said by the person being quoted, but these words may resemble “credible utterances” (Koven, 2001: 514) attributed to actual people to construe them as “linguistically stereotypable kinds of people” (Koven, 2001: 517). In other words, the quoted person is made to speak in a certain way so as to convey how the speaker remembered or perceived the quoted person. By conveying the direct words of the police, for example, Mrs Ferhelst is describing the type of people the police were, as representatives of the apartheid state; how they tried to coerce her into implicating her son and other BMW members, with the type of things they would have said (but might not necessarily have said) – i.e. by positioning them and herself as positive and negative people (Kuo (2001), in Tannen, 2007: 18; also Koven 2001: 518).

Below is another example of Mrs Ferhelst quoting someone’s direct words, this time, Strydom, the other policeman who was with Van Brakel in his office.

Extract 5.4		'At The Police Station'			
AFRIKAANS TESTIMONY			ENGLISH ONLINE TRANSLATION		
142.	en uh Strydom sê toe vir my – die ander polisieman um	VERB	131.	Strydom the other policeman said to me	VERB
143.	“mevrou kyk hier,	MEN	132.	“ma'me you must remember	MEN
144.	jy moet ophou um speel saam met ons	MAT	133.	play the game with us	MAT
145.	en dan sal ons jou seun laat uitkom (inaudible)	MAT	134.	and we will release your son,	MAT
146.	maar as jy nie saam met ons speel nie	MAT	135.	but if you do not play the game,	MAT
147.	dan gaan ons hom hier hou vir 6 maande.	MAT	136.	we will keep him here for six months	MAT
148.	Ons sal hom nooit weer terug laat kom	MAT	137.	and will not let him come out again.”	MAT

	nie.”				
149.	En um, ek was toe baie hartseer,	REL	138.	My heart was very sore	REL
150.	want Donavan was ‘n skoolkind	REL	139.	because Donovan was a school child	REL
151.	en hy was nog nooit in die gevangenis nie.	REL	140.	who had never been in jail.	REL

Strydom tries to coerce her into implicating her son and the other members of BMW. Coercion and threats against loved ones were a common means by police to obtain information from people at the time, women in particular (Ross, TRC Vol 4: 291). He does this through a number of MAT clauses (five for both English and Afrikaans), implying that her refusal to cooperate was not “playing the game” (144A; 133E).

Clauses 191–192A are not translated into English, and represent one of the few omissions in the interpreted English version. Note that the gist of 190–192A is captured by the indirect quote in English “that you are still going to cry much more”. The direct speech and more elaborated Afrikaans utterance has more emotional appeal, and thus these meanings are lost in the interpreted (official) version. Also, Mrs Ferhelst “was told” (174E; also 176E) that she was going to cry – the agent who said those words is inferred from the context.

Extract 5.5		‘At the Police Station’			
AFRIKAANS TESTIMONY			ENGLISH ONLINE TRANSLATION		
186.	en hy sê	VERB	171.	And they said	VERB
187.	hy’s (inaudible) vir Donavan Ferhelst nie.	REL	172.	that there was nothing of Donovan.	EXIST
188.	En op daai moment het ek gehuil	BEH	173.	I was then crying	BEH
189.	en hy sê	VERB	174.	and I was told	VERB
190.	“jy sal nog sommer huil, mevrou.	BEH	175.	that you are still going to cry much more	BEH
191.	Dis nog trane	REL			
192.	wat jy gaan stort!”	BEH			
193.	En hy’t ook gesê	VERB	176.	and I was told	VERB
194.	“daai prokureur wat jy het,	REL	177.	that the attorney – “the attorney you have is a crook,	REL
			178.	but we will –	MAT
195.	hy’s ‘n ou skelm,	REL	179.	who robs poor people,	MAT
196.	maar ek sal hom kry.	MAT			
197.	Uh hy’s ‘n ou skelm	REL	180.	he is a crook	REL
198.	wat die arme mense so beroof.”	MAT	181.	he robs poor people.”	MAT

Van Brakel continued his verbal harassment, this time attacking the lawyer. She recalls Van Brakel’s direct words, “hy sal hom kry” (MAT, 196A). This clause is not in the English version, and roughly translates into he will “get” him. Van Brakel

attempts to discredit the lawyer, by describing him through REL clauses (three in Afrikaans; two in English) as a “skelm” or “crook” (194–198A; 177–181E).

Also worth mentioning is the high number of BEH clauses with Mrs Ferhelst as the Behaver – of the ten BEH clauses in the Afrikaans section, eight BEH clauses belong to Mrs Ferhelst. She cries (188A / 175E) and sits (181A / 167E), i.e. roles that are not associated with ‘agency’.

In summary: this section is the main section of the Record of Events. Mrs Ferhelst was interrogated by Van Brakel and Strydom, who tried to coerce her into implicating Ferhelst and his fellow comrades. Even though Mrs Ferhelst appears in 22 of the 62 MAT clauses in the Afrikaans testimony, and 18 in the English, she is by no means the ‘doer’ of the actions: she is giving clothes, being sent, sitting and so on, which is reflected in 16 MAT clauses in Afrikaans and 14 MAT clauses in English that she appears as the Affected. As she is giving a near verbatim account of the events, VERB processes also tend to dominate this section of her testimony, in both the Afrikaans and English versions (see Table 5.3).

5.3.3. **‘House Search’** [239–276A; 221–253E] & **‘Ferhelst’s Second Arrest’** [277–319A; 254–289E]

The section labelled ‘House Arrest’ is a description of what happened after Mrs Ferhelst’s initial confrontation with Van Brakel and Strydom. This section shows how the police were the Causers of the action, and Mrs Ferhelst the Affected and unable to act against them, even though she appears in seven MAT clauses. This is reflected in the type of verbs Mrs Ferhelst used here: Van Brakel “let” her go (i.e. ‘allowed’ her to go), or she “had to” get back into the car.

Extract 5.6		‘House Search’			
AFRIKAANS TESTIMONY			ENGLISH ONLINE TRANSLATION		
255.	En um en toe het Van Brakel –	REL	235.	They eventually let me - let me go	MAT
256.	ek het uitgeklim toe hy –	MAT	236.	but I couldn't go too far	MAT
257.	hy het my toe laat loop,	MAT			
258.	en uh maar ek mag nie ver gaan nie.	MAT			

In the section marked ‘Ferhelst’s Second Arrest’, Ferhelst and Mrs Ferhelst’s testimonies overlap. Mrs Ferhelst describes a time after one of Ferhelst’s court appearances, and his consequent re-arrest. Two more participants are introduced, the magistrate and Gary Harris. It is important to remember (here) that Ferhelst testified after his mother, but because their stories coincide at this point, it can be assumed that it is the same policeman that Ferhelst mentioned, i.e. Gary Harris. This section does not show any significant differences, except that clauses 280–282A are in indirect speech which was translated as direct speech in the English. Ferhelst appears as the Affected in four MAT clauses (Afrikaans and English):

Extract 5.7		‘Ferhelst’s Second Arrest’					
AFRIKAANS TESTIMONY				ENGLISH ONLINE TRANSLATION			
277.	Maar... die die – ‘n tyd daarna het Donavan toe – het hy nou voorgekom,	MAT	254.	But a while later Donovan appeared again	MAT		
284.	het HY – Donavan vooruit geloop.	MAT	260.	Donovan was walking in front	MAT		
304.	Hy’t nou net uitgekome.”	MAT	277.	he has just been released.”	MAT		
313.	Hy was opgesluit by uh Brackenfell se polisieostasie.	MAT	284.	he was locked up at Brackenfell police station.	MAT		

His ‘actions’ are described from Mrs Ferhelst’s point of view, with the police doing all the physical actions (e.g. taking him, or locking him up).

To summarise this section: the processes that dominate are MAT and VERB, though the role of the participants differ: the police are physically doing the action to Mrs Ferhelst and Ferhelst, e.g. ‘taking’ him, ‘locking him up. Mrs Ferhelst has the most VERB clauses – she is speaking or pleading with the police or shouting or screaming as her son is re-arrested. A summary of these patterns follows in the table below:

Table 5.4	RECORD OF EVENTS Ferhelst’s Second Arrest													
	No. of Clauses		Mrs Ferhelst		Ref: Ferhelst		Ref: Police		Ref: Lawyer		Magistrate		Other	
Language	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A
MAT	19	20	7	8	4	4	4	5	1	1	2	1	1	1
MEN	4	6	4	3	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	2	/	1
REL	3	4	/	/	1	2	/	/	/	/	/	/	2	2
VERB	7	9	4	5	/	/	1	1	1	1	1	1	/	/
BEH	1	2	/	/	/	/	1	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
EXIST	2	2	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	2	2
TOTALS	36	43	15	16	5	6	6	6	2	2	3	4	5	6

5.3.4. ‘Ferhelst’s Torture’ [320–365A; 290–329E]

In this final section of the Record of Events, Mrs Ferhelst discovers that her son is being tortured. This section consists of 46 clauses for the Afrikaans testimony, and 40 clauses for the English. Mrs Ferhelst appears in nine of the 21 MAT clauses for the Afrikaans, and in eight of the 20 MAT clauses in the English. She is resigned to actions, such as going, giving or opening his clothes. She is also the main participant in most of the VERB clauses of this section – in the Afrikaans, she appears in four of the eight VERB clauses, as well as four clauses of the nine VERB clauses in the English translation. The roles of the participants (in this section) are thus very similar.

RECORD OF EVENTS Ferhelst’s Torture												
Language	No. of Clauses		Mrs Ferhelst		Ref: Ferhelst		Ref: Police		Ref: Lawyer		Other	
	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A
MAT	20	21	8	9	1	1	5	3	1	1	5	7
MEN	4	6	4	4	/	/	/	2	/	/	/	/
REL	4	8	1	1	/	/	1	2	/	/	2	5
VERB	9	8	4	4	/	/	3	2	2	2	/	/
BEH	1	1	1	1	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
EXIST	2	2	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	2	2
TOTALS	40	46	18	19	1	1	9	9	3	3	9	14

In clauses 347–354A / 312–318E, she describes how she discovered that Ferhelst was being tortured. The construction of these clauses allows for the agent of the torture to be omitted, even though this information is inferred from the context of the testimony (not just the agent, but also, in a sense, the Affected). It is only in the last clause (365A / 329E) that she mentions explicitly that her child is being tortured – “[dat] my kind ge-torture word” (“[that] my child was being tortured”).

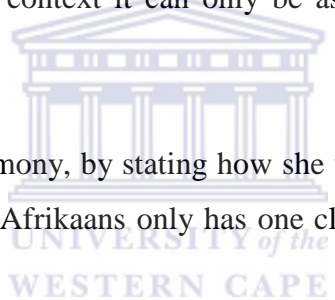
‘Ferhelst’s Torture’					
AFRIKAANS TESTIMONY			ENGLISH ONLINE TRANSLATION		
347.	By die huis gekom um...	MAT	312.	and when I got home,	MAT
348.	toe ek die klere oopmaak,	MAT	313.	when I opened up the clothes,	MAT
349.	toe sien ek	MEN	314.	I saw	MEN
350.	daar’s bloed...	EXIST	315.	that there were –	EXIST
			316.	the clothes were bloodstained	REL
351.	maar dit was uitgewas	MAT	317.	although it had been rinsed.	MAT
352.	maar die stains is nog daar.	REL			
353.	Ooe [en dit was seker die dag	REL			
354.	wat] ek vreeslik gehuil het.	BEH	318.	I cried that day,	BEH

In summary: in this section, Mrs Ferhelst describes how she discovered that Ferhelst was being tortured. Although MAT clauses are in the majority, neither Mrs Ferhelst nor the police are actually acting upon the other, therefore their roles (here) are fairly similar. Once again MEN clauses describe her inner anguish, and VERB clauses show the contrast between the two policemen who tried to help her, and other policemen (Van Brakel, Strydom) mentioned previously in her testimony.

5.4. **REORIENTATION** [366–372A; 330–336E] & **CODA** [372A; 337–338E]

In this section, Mrs Ferhelst primarily quotes what the lawyer said to her the day she went to take Ferhelst’s bloodstained clothes to him. She construes him as very helpful and kind, as well as determined to get some answers for her. Here he is referred to as “hy” / “he” (366A; 330E). In clause 336E in the English translation there is a reference to “they” – in this context it can only be assumed that this refers to the Security police.

The Coda concludes her testimony, by stating how she was eventually allowed to see her son after her ordeal. The Afrikaans only has one clause whereas the English has two clauses.



Extract 5.9		REORIENTATION & CODA			
AFRIKAANS TESTIMONY			ENGLISH ONLINE TRANSLATION		
REORIENTATION [366–372]			REORIENTATION: [330–336]		
366.	En uh hy’t gesê	VERB	330.	And he said to me	VERB
367.	“gaan nie hier weg nie	MAT	331.	“you are not going to leave here	MAT
			332.	even if it means	REL
368.	al moet jy heeldag vandag hier sit	BEH	333.	you have to sit here all day,	BEH
369.	dan moet ons uh uh ‘n [hofsak?] kry	MAT			
			334.	we are –	REL
370.	en na die en (inaudible) supreme court toe gaan,	MAT	335.	and we have to go to the Supreme Court,	MAT
371.	maar vandag moet hulle [na die kind] gaan kyk.”	MEN	336.	but today they must allow us to see this child.”	MEN
CODA [372]			CODA: [337–338]		
			337.	And I spent the whole day there	MAT
372.	So het ek daai dag tot ons nou vir hom gaan kyk het.	MEN	338.	until we got to see him.	MEN

5.5. CONCLUSION

Mrs Ferhelst's testimony is a typical example of the types of information that was conveyed by women during the TRC testimonies (Ross, 2003; Motsemme, 2004). As was characteristic of women's testimonies, she spoke of the political involvement and mistreatment of a family member (and herself) at the hands of the Security police, and the psychological effects this had on her as a mother and caregiver.

Mrs Ferhelst's testimony was given in Afrikaans, and translated into English simultaneously during the hearing. This chapter attempted to show the differences between the (original) Afrikaans testimony and the English version that is available on the TRC website. Though the loss of meaning was minimal, the emotional meanings of Mrs Ferhelst's testimony were at times not carried over into the English online version.

In terms of the Transitivity analysis, this chapter has attempted to show how the police were (mostly) the Causers of the actions, with Mrs Ferhelst and her family the Affected. Although Mrs Ferhelst (and Ferhelst) appears in a number of MAT clauses, their actions are not those associated with people who are in the more powerful position. Mrs Ferhelst is also the main participant in the majority of VERB clauses, which means that her 'actions' were mainly restricted to her words and thoughts as she could not physically act against the police. Rather, her role was defined by her verbal interactions with the police and her anxieties and fears as mother of an activist on the run.

Table 5.6		OVERALL COUNT-UP OF PARTICIPANT AND PROCESSES AS PER THE STAGES OF THE RECOUNT													
		Mrs Ferhelst		Ferhelst		Van Brakel		Police		Attorney		Other		TOTALS	
	Language	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A
Orientation	MAT	0	1	1	1	0	0	8	8	0	0	2	2	11	12
	MEN	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
	REL	3	4	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	3	5	8	12
	BEH	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2
	SUB TOT	4	3	3	3	0	0	10	10	0	0	6	8	23	27
Record of Events	MAT	45	51	12	13	10	10	45	47	4	2	17	21	133	144
	MEN	29	27	1	1	1	0	5	6	0	0	0	5	36	39
	REL	9	9	13	11	1	3	3	4	2	3	11	17	39	47
	VERB	38	34	0	0	12	23	18	22	5	5	4	3	77	87
	BEH	9	10	2	1	0	0	2	4	0	0	0	0	13	15
	EXIST	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	7	8	7
	SUB TOT	130	131	28	26	24	36	73	83	11	10	40	53	306	339
Reorientation	MAT	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	3	3
	MEN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	REL	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0
	VERB	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
	BEH	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
	SUB TOT	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	3	1	0	7	6
Coda	MAT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
	MEN	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
	SUB TOT	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	1
TOTALS		136	139	31	29	24	36	84	94	14	13	49	61	338	372

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

6.1. INTRODUCTION

The TRC set out to give “as complete a picture as possible” (TRC Report, Vol 3: 24) with its hearings, giving a voice to those who were previously silenced. During these hearings, South Africans were able to hear of and experience the atrocities that were done to those who actively sought to oppose the apartheid government. The TRC permitted testifiers to speak freely of their experiences, allowing for their stories to be heard. According to Graybill (2002: 81-82), victims felt ignored and abandoned. Public storytelling was an important aspect of the TRC, as it allowed victims to tell their own stories, or tell of those who were otherwise affected by apartheid. Narratives are a way of retelling past events, and refer to a succession of events (Labov, 1972: 359; Abbott, 2002). The main storytelling genre that was used in this thesis was that of the Recount, which can be seen as a typical genre for this kind of extended narrative of personal experience.

This thesis has attempted to explore how people position themselves and represented their individual experiences, by looking at the testimonies of two ‘victims’ of the apartheid regime. A Transitivity analysis allowed for the comparison of the testimonies by revealing how narrators presented their experiences of the same event differently or similarly, according to the linguistic choices they made during their testimonies. A genre analysis of the testimonies attempted to bring together aspects of context, content and language within the particular discourse event. A genre analysis also revealed that texts are adaptable and suited to a specific context to attend to the needs of particular audiences and purposes (Johns *et al.*, 2002). (In this case, from the point of view of the ‘victims’ of apartheid and to reveal the brutality of the police and state). Also explored in this thesis was how the original Afrikaans testimonies differed from the English version available online on the TRC website. This chapter will attempt to discuss and compare the findings of the analyses done throughout this thesis.

6.2. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS:

Mrs Ferhelst testified first, and recounted for the most part, her emotional state during a time when her son was arrested and tortured, as well as her harassment at the hands of the Security police. This was common for family members (mothers) of politically active youth (Ross, 2003: 17). Her testimony is indicative of how apartheid “insinuated itself” into people’s everyday lives, and how violence and disruption was a normal everyday occurrence for most people (Motsemme, 2004: 910). Her emotions and feelings are reflected through Transitivity mostly through MAT, MEN and VERB processes (as shown in Table 6.1 below). She, as with Ferhelst, is for the most part the Affected participant, with the police obviously the Causers of her distress. Their ‘agency’ is reflected in the high number of MAT (and VERB) processes attributed to them, with Van Brakel more often taking the role of the ‘Sayer’ and leaving the ‘doings’ of physical torture to the other nameless SBs. Thus Mrs Ferhelst positions herself as a mother, caregiver, also as a victim, in that she could not act against the police to help her son; but also as defiant in resisting them and not being coerced. She positions the police as rude, crass, and threatening, uncaring people. Ferhelst is positioned as a young and innocent “child”. The fact that she makes a number of comments describing him is reflected in the relatively high number of REL processes attributed to him.

Table 6.1	<u>COMPLETE TALLY FOR MRS FERHELST’S TESTIMONIES</u>													
	No. of Clauses		Mrs Ferhelst		Ferhelst		Van Brakel		Police		Attorney		Other	
Language	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A	E	A
MAT	148	159	46	53	13	14	10	10	54	55	5	4	20	23
MEN	39	41	30	29	1	1	1	0	6	6	0	0	1	5
REL	49	59	12	13	14	12	1	3	4	6	3	3	15	22
VERB	78	88	38	34	0	0	12	23	18	22	6	6	4	3
BEH	16	18	10	11	3	2	0	0	2	4	0	0	1	1
EXIST	8	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	7
TOTALS	338	372	136	140	31	29	24	36	84	93	14	13	49	61

Mrs Ferhelst appears as Senser in 30 MEN clauses in the English testimony, as Sayer in 38 English and 34 Afrikaans VERB clauses, and Behavior in 10 English and 11 Afrikaans BEH clauses. What this reflects is merely that her ‘actions’ were confined to her thoughts, words and even physiological behaviour (e.g. sitting or crying), as she could not physically act against the police as the law at the time did not allow this

(Motsemme, 2004: 919; Ross, 2003: 43). She did however attempt to defy the police, by for example, refusing to answer their questions, not giving them the information that they wanted. She helped her son in this way, as she may have been aware of his political activities. Mrs Ferhelst testified in such a way that she never mentioned her awareness of her son’s political involvement (Ross, 2003: 45; Motsemme, 2004: 919; Marks & McKenzie, 1995: 228).

Ferhelst’s testimony relates to his ordeal at the hands of the Security police. Ferhelst’s testimony is typical of that of an activist. His testimony is more physical and action-oriented, hence the high number of MAT clauses present (in his testimony). Ferhelst describes himself (and other members of the BMW) as innocent victims, and having no choice but to defend themselves against the police, who were typically described as the aggressors, perpetrators of the action against them. Ferhelst is the Senser in 33 MEN clauses, and detaches himself emotionally from the activities described in his testimony with the pronoun “you”. (He uses pronouns to detach himself from the police (even himself) at times – see Table 6.2) He also appears in 15 VERB clauses, and just as with Mrs Ferhelst, could only respond through his thoughts and words, as he feared retribution if he acted physically. REL clauses (19) are also prevalent, particularly after the main narrative, where he describes the plight of his BMW comrades who are struggling to adapt to life after apartheid. Ferhelst is generally the Affected participant throughout his testimony. The police are described as the Causers of the action against them and appear in 69 MAT clauses in his testimony.

	Ferhelst	BMW	Van Brakel	Police*	You / Jy	Other*	TOT
MAT	41	19	21	69	2	30	182
MEN	33	4	3	4	4	9	57
REL	19	13	2	4	1	37	76
VERB	15	2	14	8	0	4	43
BEH	8	2	0	4	1	0	15
EXIST						4	4
TOTAL	116	40	40	89	8	84	377
				* including Gary Harris		*Including the doctor	

Ferhelst’s testimony takes the form of “us” (BMW) against “them” (the police), and he assigns group identities to the police and Van Brakel, as well as himself and BMW.

At times, Ferhelst does not reveal ‘agency’ – the Causer of the action is omitted and treated as if it happened by itself (e.g. when he used the pronoun “you”) in both the English and Afrikaans sections of his testimony.

One important feature of Mrs Ferhelst’s testimony is her use of dialogue, compared to Ferhelst, who used it far less. According to Tannen (2007: 39) the “casting of ideas as speech of others is an important source of emotion in discourse”. This explains the high number of VERB clauses that have Mrs Ferhelst as Sayer, as she attempted to add credibility to her testimony by attempting to recreate the types of responses that the police would have given her during that time. It must be taken into account that dialogue in a retelling of an event cannot be taken as the actual words that the quoted person, but rather as “icons of credible utterances from culturally specific types of personas” (Koven, 2001: 517-518). Mrs Ferhelst is thus attempting to attach a particular kind of identity to the police, by quoting them in a certain way (e.g. as rude, uncooperative, threatening).

Ferhelst used fewer reported speech or dialogue than Mrs Ferhelst: he quoted directly in 12 clauses and indirectly in four clauses; Mrs Ferhelst used direct speech in 11 Afrikaans and seven English clauses; she also reported a participant’s words in six Afrikaans and 13 English clauses. Ferhelst quoted Van Brakel a similar number of times (13 direct) throughout his testimony. The same goes for indirect speech (five clauses). Ferhelst’s testimony however, was more about the physical actions against him by the police, and he used quotes mainly to describe the kinds of people the police were by quoting the types of things they would have said to him. His quoted responses showed him to have been typically nonchalant and defiant.

In terms of the translating and interpreting issues, this thesis has shown that not a lot of meaning was lost during the interpreting processes for both Mrs Ferhelst and Ferhelst’s testimonies. Minor discrepancies did occur, e.g. with (some) direct quotes that were translated as reported speech (Chapters four and five); the English interpretation tended to avoid repetition that occurred in the Afrikaans testimony; the English reported speech may have the agent of the action omitted (e.g. Mrs Ferhelst, clauses 87–88A / 83–84E; 93A / 87E – see Chapter five). The translation of the testimonies was thus fairly accurate and close to the original testimonies.

Even though they testified about the same events, they perceived the same events differently by focussing on different areas. Ferhelst construed himself as an activist, fighting for his country's freedom, but also as an innocent victim harassed for no reason; Ferhelst does not mention his mother in his testimony. Mrs Ferhelst does not construe him in this way, but rather as a child and a victim of police brutality. Ferhelst's perspective was shaped by his role as an activist, whereas Mrs Ferhelst's role was that of a family member. However their construal of the police is the same. They both construe the police as brutal, dangerous and intrusive.

6.3. LIMITATIONS OF STUDY:

Due to the brevity of this thesis, research was limited to only two testimonies for analysis. Focus was thus restricted to aspects of the Ideational metafunction, as this thesis in part attempted to establish how participants construed their experiences of the world around them (by positioning themselves in particular ways). Focusing on segments or chunks of testimony allowed for the analyses to be as in depth as was possible, as well as for the sake of clarity and facilitating understanding.

Future research may, for example, undertake an even more in depth look and cross-examination of similar testimonies, by including analyses of the interpersonal and textual aspects of the text, and how these contribute to and elaborate the meanings within particular texts.

6.4. CONCLUSION

This thesis has attempted to explore how people position themselves and others in the stories that they tell. A genre analysis of the testimonies revealed that both took the form of a Recount, with its constituent stages. A Transitivity analysis revealed how participants positioned themselves and others, and how they construed their experiences of the same events. What this revealed was that both Mrs Ferhelst and Ferhelst construed themselves as the Affected participant (through MAT, MEN, VERB clauses) and construed the police as the Causers (mostly through MAT clauses). This thesis has also looked at what was lost during the interpretation of the

Afrikaans testimonies into the English online versions of both testimonies. The conclusion (with regards to the two testimonies analysed) is that not a lot of information or meaning was lost, except for a few discrepancies. It is the opinion expressed in this thesis that the translation of both testimonies into English was fairly accurate.

Lastly, it is not the position of this thesis to establish ‘truth’, but merely to represent versions of it from the points of view of the participants. Middleton & Edwards (1994: 36) suggest that people’s description of events should not just be seen as attempts to recount past events, but should be seen within the “social, conversational context” in which they take place. Therefore language is an essential tool for doing this, as it “mediates” understanding of the past and relates those past events to the present. According to Watson (1996: 260) “people do not necessarily ‘know’ and reveal ‘real’ reasons for their choices and actions” – they merely attempt to give reasons as to why they are the way they are in the present. By establishing their identities, they are trying to establish a link between their current lives and their past lives, to make sense of who they are, and how they have come to be that way (Wetherall, 1996: 302; 305).

Through my analysis of these testimonies, I have attempted to understand how these testifiers tried to make sense of their experiences on the occasion of this TRC hearing.

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APPENDIX

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION UWC HEARING - DAY 1 - MONDAY 5 AUGUST 1996

CASE NO: CT/00666

VICTIM: Faried Muhammad Ferhelst [son]

NATURE OF VIOLENCE: Severe Assault

TESTIMONIES FROM: Faried Muhammad Ferhelst
Minnie Louisa Ferhelst

MR FERHELST: Ja.

CHAIRPERSON: You are both you and your mother.

MS FERHELST: Yes.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much indeed.

MR FERHELST: Ja.

MS FERHELST: Yes.

CHAIRPERSON: Ms Burton is going to lead you in a moment and she'll discuss with you who should speak first. But before I ask her to take over from me, would you both please stand for the taking of the oath.

FARIED MUHAMMAD FERHELST Duly sworn states

MINNIE LOUISA FERHELST Duly sworn states

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you, will you please be seated. Now you are going to tell us about detention and torture. It's not an easy thing to talk about, it's sometimes difficult to relive those moments. But I am very grateful to you for coming and doing that because it's very important. If we are going to have any kind of future in this country, that we understand what has happened so that we can built a better future. Thank you, and I'll hand over to Ms Burton.

MS BURTON: Thank you Chairperson, good morning again Ms Ferhelst. Ms Ferhelst are you going to speak first.

TESTIMONY OF MINNIE LOUISA FERHELST:
Process count: Afrikaans

Mrs Ferhelst:

ORIENTATION [1 – 27]

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 1. | Ek was eintlik by die huis, altyd maar | REL |
| 2. | en Donovan was Standaard 9 gewees by Spes Bona Hoërskool. | REL |
| 3. | En um... dit het so gebeur | REL |
| 4. | dat die polisie vir hom gesoek het | MAT |
| 5. | en um hulle het | REL |
| 6. | elke week het hulle gekom, omtrent twee keer per week. | MAT |
| 7. | Um my kinders was baie klein gewees | REL |
| 8. | en um en uh ek het een dogter gehad | REL |
| 9. | wat gewerk het | MAT |
| 10. | en die anders was nog klein gewees | REL |
| 11. | hulle't skool gegaan | MAT |
| 12. | en dan het hulleoggend ure kom klop daar | MAT |
| 13. | en dan moet ek die deur oopmaak. | MAT |
| 14. | Die polisie wat gekom het | MAT |
| 15. | was meeste um Kaptein van Brakel | REL |
| 16. | en dan het hulle my huis deursoek. | MAT |
| 17. | Hulle't my kinders oopgetrek | MAT |
| 18. | en torches geskyn in hulle gesigte [in] van kamer tot kamer. | MAT |
| 19. | My hele yard was vol polisie gewees. | REL |
| 20. | En uh ons kon nooit eintlik rus nie, | BEH |
| 21. | want dit was elke week | REL |
| 22. | het hulle gekom um [2] | MAT |
| 23. | Ek is – | REL |
| 24. | ek het nie geweet wat om te gedoen het nie. | MEN |
| 25. | Um toe het Donovan nooit by die huis gebly nie, | MAT |
| 26. | want hy was maar altyd buite geslaap het. | BEH |
| 27. | Ek is omtrent ge-worried gewees oor hom. | REL |

RECORD OF EVENTS [28 – 365]

'Ferhelst's Arrest' [28 – 73]

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------|
| 28. | En daar was 'n tyd | EXIST |
| 29. | toe Donovan by die huis gewees het | REL |
| 30. | toe't ek hom winkel toe gestuur saam met my tweeling dogters | MAT |
| 31. | en toe hulle terug kom | MAT |
| 32. | en toe het die polisie vir hom gevat. | MAT |
| 33. | En en toe vra ek vir hulle | VERB |
| 34. | hoekom vat hulle hom. | MAT |
| 35. | Hy't niks gedoen nie. | MAT |
| 36. | Toe sê hulle | VERB |
| 37. | hulle vat hom vir ondervraging | MAT |
| 38. | en daar't hulle hom gehou. | MAT |

39.	En ons het opgegaan	MAT
40.	en toe die aand klere geneem het	MAT
41.	en um hulle het hom laat los die next dag	MAT
42.	en uh toe het Donovan maar weer so in die ronde geslaap	BEH
43.	en het hulle hom gevat	MAT
44.	en toegesluit vir public violence,	MAT
45.	maar toe um het die mense vir my gesê	VERB
46.	dat hy opgesluit is.	MAT
47.	Um ek het nie geweet wat om te doen nie.	MEN
48.	Ek het 'n prokureur toe in kontak met hom gekom.	MAT
49.	Ek was by al die polisiestasies	REL
50.	gebel – Athlone, Mowbray, enige polisiestasie	VERB
51.	maar hulle sê	VERB
52.	hy's nie daar nie	REL
53.	en Bishop Lavis [sê]	VERB
54.	“nee, ons het hom gevat,”	MAT
55.	maar nie een van die polisiestasies weet	MEN
56.	waar hy is nie.	REL
57.	Hy was so omtrent 10 uur uh die oggend gevat	MAT
58.	en by 3 uur toe weet ek nog nie	MEN
59.	waar hy was nie.	REL
60.	Um ek was so desperate	REL
61.	ek weet nie wat om te doen nie en um ...	MEN
62.	Toe't ek die prokureur gebel	VERB
63.	en hy't vir my gesê	VERB
64.	ek moet Kaap toe bel na 'n Mnr Smit toe of Swart	VERB
65.	en hy't gesê	VERB
66.	ek moet weer Lavis bel	VERB
67.	en op daai manier het uh –	REL
68.	by 4 uur die middag kon ons eers 'n 'n verduideliking kry	MAT
69.	dat hy in Bishop Lavis was.	REL
70.	Kaptein van Brakel het eintlik self met my gepraat.	VERB
71.	Um ek het gaan uitvind	MEN
72.	hoekom het hulle hom gevat	MAT
73.	en toe sê hulle public violence.	VERB

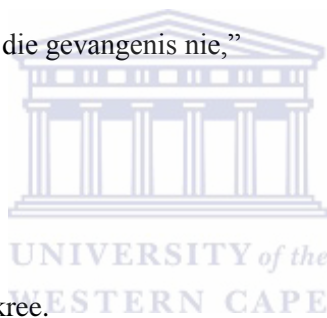
'At the Police Station' [74 – 238]

74.	Um [2] Hy was toe toegesluit gewees	MAT
75.	en um die oggend toe hy moet verskyn in die hof	MAT
76.	um het ek die oggend 7 uur gegaan om vir hom skoon klere te neem by die polisiestasie sodat,	MAT
77.	hy kan ordentlik kan wees,	REL
78.	want hy was omtrent 2 dae al toegesluit.	MAT
79.	Ek het gekom by Bishop Lavis se polisiestasie	MAT
80.	en ek het gevra by die polisiekantoor	VERB
81.	of ek vir hom die skoon klere kan gee,	MAT
82.	en um hulle het vir my gesê nee,	VERB
83.	hulle kan dit nie vat nie.	MAT
84.	Um ek het toe gevra	VERB

85.	of ek met die kaptein [kan] praat.	VERB
86.	Hulle het vir my gesê	VERB
87.	“gaan na Kaptein van Brakel.”	MAT
88.	Hulle het my gestuur na kamer nommer.	MAT
89.	Ek het gegaan	MAT
90.	en ek het sy – uh Donavan se klein broertjie saamgehad	REL
91.	en um toe ek klop daar aan die deur	MAT
92.	toe sê hy	VERB
93.	ek moet inkom	MAT
94.	en toe was Kaptein van Brakel en ‘n Mnr Strydom daar.	REL
95.	En toe sê Kaptein van Brakel, um	VERB
96.	“mevrou, ons wag al so lankal vir jou.	BEH
97.	Um ek’s bly	REL
98.	jy’t gekom.”	MAT
99.	Ek sê toe vir hom,	VERB
100.	ek wil net die skoon klere vir my kind gee,	MAT
101.	want die kind moet voor die hof verskyn.	MAT
102.	En uh hy sê toe vir my	VERB
103.	“nee, nee kom in.”	MAT
104.	En um toe het ek daar gesit	BEH
105.	en toe het hy vir my gesê	VERB
106.	“jy gaan nie huis toe nie.	MAT
107.	Ons gaan jou toesluit.”	MAT
108.	Maar ek wou toe weet	MEN
109.	wat het ek gedoen	MAT
110.	en hy sê	VERB
111.	“ek sê	VERB
112.	jy gaan nie huis toe nie.”	MAT
113.	En uh [2] um hy’t leërs uitgehaal	MAT
114.	waar hy vir my seuns se gesigte gewys het	MAT
115.	en gevra het	VERB
116.	of ek ken	MEN
117.	en ek het gesê	VERB
118.	“nee ek ken nie vir hulle nie.”	MEN
119.	Um hy het later begin te skree op my	VERB
120.	en gesê	VERB
121.	“jy lieg,	VERB
122.	jy ken hulle.	MEN
123.	Um hulle’s gewoonte by jou huis kom.	REL
124.	Ons het foto’s van hulle daar –	MAT
125.	wat ons daar – uh op jou yard gevat het.”	MAT
126.	En ek het gesê	VERB
127.	“nee, ek ken nie vir hulle nie.”	MEN
128.	En hy vra toe vir my dat um	VERB
129.	“ja, hoekom lieg jy so?	VERB
130.	Jou seun en daar’s nog ‘n ander seun –	EXIST
131.	hulle twee is die twee um gunmans van Bonteheuwel.”	REL
132.	En ek sê	VERB
133.	“Mnr van Brakel, jy’t my huis al honderde kere en yard deursoek,	MAT



134. hoekom het julle dan nooit ‘n gun – wapen gekry nie?”	MAT
135. En um hy sê	VERB
136. “maar ek sê vir jou” –	VERB
137. hy sê vir my, –	VERB
138. soos ek met hom praat	VERB
139. het hy geskrywe...	MAT
140. en soos hy geskrywe het, –	MAT
141. het ek gesien	MEN
142. en uh Strydom sê toe vir my – die ander polisieman um	VERB
143. “mevrou kyk hier,	MEN
144. jy moet ophou um speel saam met ons	MAT
145. en dan sal ons jou seun laat uitkom (inaudible)	MAT
146. maar as jy nie saam met ons speel nie	MAT
147. dan gaan ons hom hier hou vir 6 maande.	MAT
148. Ons sal hom nooit weer terug laat kom nie.”	MAT
149. En um, ek was toe baie hartseer,	REL
150. want Donovan was ‘n skoolkind	REL
151. en hy was nog nooit in die gevangenis nie.	REL
152. En ek weet toe nou nie wat om te maak nie,	MEN
153. maar ek vra toe vir hulle,	VERB
154. ““seblief, my kind ken nie die gevangenis nie,”	MEN
155. en hulle sê toe vir my	VERB
156. “kyk hierso,	MEN
157. um vertel die waarheid”	VERB
158. en so meer ek gesê het	VERB
159. ek weet niks	MEN
160. waarvan hulle vra nie,	VERB
161. so meer het hulle my verskree.	VERB
162. Dit was van 7 uur af die oggend tot na omtrent amper 11 uur.	REL
163. En um [2] hy sê toe vir my – um	VERB
164. hulle het my so lelik gesê	VERB
165. hy sê	VERB
166. “mevrou, jy lyk so mooi en en skoon van buite	REL
167. maar binne-in is jy so vrot en so sleg soos jou seun.”	REL
168. En um ek het gevra	VERB
169. “mag ek ‘n sigaret rook?”	MAT
170. Want, toe kan my senuwees dit nie meer hou nie.	MEN
171. En hy’t gekap op die tafel	MAT
172. en geskree	VERB
173. “jy rook nie in my kantoor nie!	MAT
174. Ons sluit jou toe vanoggend!”	MAT
175. Ooe dit was –	REL
176. ek kan net sê	VERB
177. ek het deur hel daai oggend gegaan.	MEN
178. En hulle het my uitgeneem uit daai kamer	MAT
179. en in nog ‘n kamer gaan sit	MAT
180. waar ‘n ander polisieman moet dan nou kyk na my.	MEN
181. En daar het ek gesit	BEH
182. maar voor daai het hulle gesê	VERB



183.	hulle stop my kind se bail	MAT
184.	en daar het ek begin te huil.	BEH
185.	En um ek sit voor hom	BEH
186.	en hy sê	VERB
187.	hy's (inaudible) vir Donovan Ferhelst nie.	REL
188.	En op daai moment het ek gehuil	BEH
189.	en hy sê	VERB
190.	“jy sal nog sommer huil, mevrou.	BEH
191.	Dis nog trane	REL
192.	wat jy gaan stort!”	BEH
193.	En hy't ook gesê	VERB
194.	“daai prokureur wat jy het,	REL
195.	hy's 'n ou skelm,	REL
196.	maar ek sal hom kry.	MAT
197.	Uh hy's 'n ou skelm	REL
198.	wat die arme mense so beroof.”	MAT
199.	En um hulle het my in 'n ander kamer gesit	MAT
200.	en daar het hulle gesê	VERB
201.	die polisie moet op [dophou?] na my.	MEN
202.	Gelukkig het ek eintlik die polisieman geken,	MEN
203.	en hy was so jammer vir my.	REL
204.	Um hy't gesê	VERB
205.	ek kan maar rook in sy kamer,	MAT
206.	hy't by my gesit	BEH
207.	hy't vir my ook 'n papier gegee	MAT
208.	waar hulle wou ook gehad het	MEN
209.	ek moet teken.	MAT
210.	Um [2] Die woorde wat hy geskryf het –	MAT
211.	daar was 'n opening gelos	EXIST
212.	dan moet ek onder daai opening teken.	MAT
213.	Ek het geweet	MEN
214.	as ek sou teken	MAT
215.	dan sou hulle ingeskrywe het.	MAT
216.	En ek wou nie teken nie,	MAT
217.	dis hoekom	REL
218.	hulle my wou opgesluit het.	MAT
219.	En ek het in die kamer gesit met die papier –	BEH
220.	ek wou nie teken nie.	MAT
221.	Hulle het my weer kom uithaal daar	MAT
222.	en hulle het my gevra	VERB
223.	“het jy al geteken?”	MAT
224.	En ek sê “nee”	VERB
225.	en hulle het GESKREE	VERB
226.	en hy sê	VERB
227.	“vat haar	MAT
228.	en sluit haar toe!” (inaudible)	MAT
229.	Ek weet	MEN
230.	ek het so kwaad geword.	REL
231.	Ek het gesê	VERB

232.	“ek is nie bang vir julle nie! (inaudible)	REL
233.	Vat my	MAT
234.	en sluit my sommer op!”	MAT
235.	Ek kan [kon] dit nie vat nie.	MEN
236.	En um hy het my geneem na die selle se kant toe,	MAT
237.	en by die deur van die selle het hulle my weer teruggevat.	MAT
238.	En um hulle het my toe uitgeneem.	MAT

‘House Search’ [239 – 276]

239.	Um daar het ek buitekant gekom	MAT
240.	dit was baie warm daai oggend,	REL
241.	en um van Brakel se kar het daar gestaan,	MAT
242.	en hy’t ‘n nog ‘n poliseman ge-bevel om my dop te hou.	VERB
243.	Ek moet in daai kar klim	MAT
244.	en daar moes ek [sit] buitekant daai polisiestatie,	BEH
245.	en dis SO warm.	REL
246.	En uh... ek het toe met die polisieman gepraat.	VERB
247.	Ek het vir hom gevra	VERB
248.	“jinne hoekom is die mense so?”	REL
249.	Ek sê	VERB
250.	“waarom moet hulle so aangaan?”	MAT
251.	Kan ek nie maar loop nie?”	MAT
252.	Hy sê	VERB
253.	“nee mevrou. Ek moet jou in die kar hou (inaudible)	MAT
254.	Ek kan jou nie laat loop nie.”	MAT
255.	En um en toe het van Brakel –	REL
256.	ek het uitgeklim toe hy –	MAT
257.	hy het my toe laat loop,	MAT
258.	en uh maar ek mag nie ver gaan nie.	MAT
259.	En weer in die polisiestatie ek het net gevoel	MEN
260.	hulle moet my vanoggend net opsluit.	MAT
261.	[En toe kom] van Brakel en Strydom uit	MAT
262.	en hulle sê	VERB
263.	ek moet mos weer in die kar klim	MAT
264.	en dan [vat hulle ons] – ry.	MAT
265.	En uh by die hof gestop	MAT
266.	en ek vra	VERB
267.	“jinne my kind kom voor	MAT
268.	kan ek nie maar... ingaan nie?”	MAT
269.	En [hulle / hy] sê	VERB
270.	“nee nee – gaan!”	MAT
271.	En Strydom moes vir my huis toe ry.	MAT
272.	Toe ons by die huis kom	MAT
273.	het Strydom my huis weer van voor af geskud	MAT
274.	[en] hulle soek eintlik ‘n matchjie boksie	MAT
275.	wat ‘n telefoon nommer op het.	REL
276.	En um [2] wel daarvandaan af... het ek toe nou nie weer van hulle gehoor nie.	MEN

‘Ferhelst’s Second Arrest’ [277 – 319]

277. Maar... die die – ‘n tyd daarna het Donovan toe – het hy nou voorgekom,	MAT
278. en buitekant die hof um het polisiemanne gesit.	BEH
279. En um uh uh die magistraat het gesê	VERB
280. hulle is vry om te loop	REL
281. daar is nie ‘n saak –	EXIST
282. dis teruggetrek teen hulle.	MAT
283. En toe ons buite kom,	MAT
284. het HY – Donovan vooruit geloop.	MAT
285. En uh... ek het baie stadig aangekom.	MAT
286. Ek het opgekyk,	MEN
287. die magistraat gesien so loop...	MEN
288. en dit het vir my so snaaks gevoel:	MEN
289. hoekom sal die magistraat dan DAAR loop?	MAT
290. En hy kyk so na ons toe.	MEN
291. En uh die polisie het eenkant gesit	BEH
292. daar was ‘n polisieman daar	EXIST
293. wat ek geken het.	MEN
294. En ek sien	MEN
295. hy wys na my seun.	MAT
296. En op daai oomblik en toe vat hulle vir hom	MAT
297. en ek roep my seun	VERB
298. en ek sê “Donavan”	VERB
299. en hulle vat hom	MAT
300. ek skree	VERB
301. en ek sê	VERB
302. “nee maar julle gaan hom nie vat nie!	MAT
303. Hy’s dan nou vry.	REL
304. Hy’t nou net uitgekom.”	MAT
305. En hulle sê “mevrou nee”	VERB
306. en ek sê	VERB
307. “ek gaan SAAM met my seun”	MAT
308. en hulle sê	VERB
309. “nee mevrou, jy kan nie saam met hom nie.	MAT
310. Dis ‘n State of Emergency.”	REL
311. En daar het hulle hom toe gevat.	MAT
312. Hy was opgesluit by uh Brackenfell se polisiestatie.	MAT
313. Um ek het gepro[beer] –	MAT
314. ek – ons um kon toe nie na hom kom nie.	MAT
315. Ek het na die prokureur gegaan	MAT
316. en uh hulle het gesê	VERB
317. hulle sal als in hulle ver-vermoë doen om vir hom te gaan (inaudible)	MAT
318. maar ons kon nie [gaan nie]	MAT
319. want dit was State of Emergency.	REL

‘Ferhelst’s Torture’ [320 – 365]

320. En toe op ‘n sekere [dag] daar het ek gegaan na die polisiestatie van Brackenfell.	MAT
321. Ek het skoon klere vir Donovan geneem	MAT

322.	en uh toe ek die oggend daar kom	MAT
323.	het ek so gepleit, om net vir hom te sien en sy klere af te gee.	VERB
324.	Daar was eintlik 'n Kleurling um...	EXIST
325.	ek weet nie uh uh um	MEN
326.	of hy die komandant of wat hy was nie, maar anyway.	REL
327.	Ek het by hom gepleit	VERB
328.	of ek nie uh skoon klere vir my kind kan gee nie en nog goed	MAT
329.	en uh hy wou dit nie vat nie.	MAT
330.	En twee blanke polisiemanne het die klere gesien	MEN
331.	en gesê	VERB
332.	“mevrou gee hier”	MAT
333.	en die twee blanke[s] het die klere gevat en cigarettes	MAT
334.	en dit toe vir Donovan gegee.	MAT
335.	En ek was so bly	REL
336.	en ek sê	VERB
337.	“gee sy vuil klere vir my,”	MAT
338.	en hulle gee sy vuil klere (inaudible)	MAT
339.	Hulle't so mooi gevra	VERB
340.	“laat die vrou maar na haar seun toe gaan	MAT
341.	is maar net hier	REL
342.	is maar net 'n paar minute, vir die klere” vir die Kleurling.	REL
343.	Hy wou nie hê nie –	MEN
344.	hulle was blankes.	REL
345.	Maar anyway, ek het so hartseer daar weggegaan.	MAT
346.	Ek het huis toe gekom.	MAT
347.	By die huis gekom um...	MAT
348.	toe ek die klere oopmaak,	MAT
349.	toe sien ek	MEN
350.	daar's bloed...	EXIST
351.	maar dit was uitgewas	MAT
352.	maar die stains is nog daar.	REL
353.	Ooe [en dit was seker die dag	REL
354.	wat] ek vreeslik gehuil het.	BEH
355.	En ek het die prokureur gebel.	VERB
356.	Ek kon dit nie meer vat nie	MEN
357.	en hy sê	VERB
358.	ek moet dadelik inkom.	MAT
359.	Ek het die volgende oggend ingegaan, MET die klere.	MAT
360.	En uh eintlik vir hom gewys het.	MAT
361.	Al die prokureurs het nader gekom [om] te kom kyk	MAT
362.	en gesê	VERB
363.	nee dit IS bloed.	REL
364.	En... toe weet ek	MEN
365.	dat my kind ge-torture word.	MAT

REORIENTATION [366 – 371]

366.	En uh hy't gesê	VERB
367.	“gaan nie hier weg nie	MAT
368.	al moet jy heeldag vandag hier sit	BEH

369. dan moet ons uh uh 'n [hofsak?] kry MAT
370. en na die en (inaudible) supreme court toe gaan, MAT
371. maar vandag moet hulle [na die kind] gaan kyk.” MEN

CODA [372]

372. So het ek daai dag tot ons nou vir hom gaan kyk het. MEN



MINNIE LOUISA FERHELST:
Process Count (English Online)

...

Ms Ferhelst:

ORIENTATION: [1 – 23]

1.	I was at home,	REL
2.	Donovan was in standard 9 at Spes Bona High School	REL
3.	and it so happened	MAT
4.	that the police were looking for him.	MEN
5.	And they would come every week at least once a week.	MAT
6.	My children were still very small at the time.	REL
7.	I had one daughter	REL
8.	who was working	REL
9.	and the others were still at school.	REL
10.	And they would come	MAT
11.	and knock in the early morning hours.	MAT
12.	The policeman that came	MAT
13.	were mostly Captain Van Brakel and others,	REL
14.	and they would search my house,	MAT
15.	uncover the children	MAT
16.	who were sleeping	BEH
17.	and look through my house and my property with torches.	MAT
18.	We never had any peace,	REL
19.	because they would come every week.	MAT
20.	I didn't know what to do,	MEN
21.	Donovan never stayed at home,	MAT
22.	he always had to sleep outside, elsewhere	BEH
23.	and I was always worried about him.	REL

RECORD OF EVENTS: [24–329]

'Ferhelst's Arrest' [24 – 70]

24.	There was a stage	EXIST
25.	where Donovan was at home	REL
26.	and I sent him to the shop with my twin daughters	MAT
27.	and when he came back	MAT
28.	the police arrested him.	MAT
29.	And I wanted to know	MEN
30.	why they were arresting him,	MAT
31.	he hadn't done anything	MAT
32.	and they said	VERB
33.	they were taking him for questioning him.	MAT
34.	They kept him	MAT
35.	and we went there the evening to take him a change of clothes.	MAT
36.	And the next day he was released.	MAT
37.	Donovan had to sleep around at other people's homes once again	BEH
38.	and they discovered him at somebody's home at some stage	MAT

39.	and charged him with public violence.	MAT
40.	But then the people came to tell me	VERB
41.	that he had been arrested.	MAT
42.	I did not know what to do,	MEN
43.	I contacted an attorney	VERB
44.	and I had been to all the police stations, Athlone, Mowbray	REL
45.	and was told	VERB
46.	that he wasn't there.	REL
47.	And I was told	VERB
48.	that Bishop Lavis policeman had arrested him,	MAT
49.	but none of the policeman knew	MEN
50.	where he was.	REL
51.	He was arrested at about ten o'clock the morning	MAT
52.	and by three o'clock I had still no idea	REL
53.	where he was.	REL
54.	I was extremely desperate	REL
55.	and I didn't know what to do.	MEN
56.	I contacted the attorney	VERB
57.	and he told me	VERB
58.	that I should phone Cape Town	VERB
59.	and speak to a Mr Smit or Swart	VERB
60.	and he said	VERB
61.	that I should again contact Bishop Lavis	VERB
62.	and by four o'clock the afternoon we got an explanation that	MAT
63.	and established	MAT
64.	he was in Bishop Lavis.	REL
65.	I spoke to Captain Van Brakel,	VERB
66.	I went to try and establish	MAT
67.	why he had been arrested	MAT
68.	and was told	VERB
69.	that he was being charged with public violence	MAT
70.	and he was custody.	REL

'At The Police Station' [71 – 220]

71.	The morning on which he was suppose to appear in court,	MEN
72.	I went there at seven o'clock to take him a change of clothes to the police station	MAT
73.	so that he could look decent	BEH
74.	because he had been in custody for two days.	REL
75.	And when I got to Bishop Lavis police station,	MAT
76.	I asked	VERB
77.	if I could give him clean clothes	MAT
78.	and they refused	MEN
79.	saying that	VERB
80.	they couldn't take it.	MAT
81.	I asked	VERB
82.	if I could speak to the captain,	VERB
83.	and I was sent to captain Van Brakel's office,	MAT
84.	I was given the office number.	VERB

85.	And Donovan's younger brother was with me.	REL
86.	When I knocked on the door,	MAT
87.	I was told to come inside	VERB
88.	and Captain Van Brakel and a Mr Strydom were there.	REL
89.	Captain Van Brakel then said	VERB
90.	“ma’am we have been waiting for you for a long time	BEH
91.	I am happy	REL
92.	that you have come.”	MAT
93.	I then told him	VERB
94.	that I just want to give my child these clean clothes	MAT
95.	because he is due to appear in Court.	MAT
96.	He then said	VERB
97.	“please come inside”	MAT
98.	and I sat there	BEH
99.	and he said to me	VERB
100.	“you are not going home,	MAT
101.	we are going to lock you up.”	MAT
102.	I then wanted to know	MEN
103.	what I had done	MAT
104.	and he said	VERB
105.	“I told you,	VERB
106.	you are not going home.”	MAT
107.	He took out some files	MAT
108.	and showed me some photo's	MAT
109.	asking me to identify some of the children.	VERB
110.	I said	VERB
111.	that I don't know anybody,	MEN
112.	he then said to me	VERB
113.	“you are lying	VERB
114.	you know them,	MEN
115.	they are use to coming to your house,	MAT
116.	we have taken pictures of them near your yard.”	MAT
117.	And I then said	VERB
118.	“I don't know them.”	MEN
119.	And then asked me	VERB
120.	“why are you lying like this,	VERB
121.	your son and another boy are the two gunmen of Bonteheuwel.”	REL
122.	I then said to him	VERB
123.	“Mr Van Brakel you have been to my house	MAT
124.	and you've searched my yard hundreds of times,	MAT
125.	how come you haven't come any weapons there.”	MAT
126.	And he then said to me,	VERB
127.	while I was talking to him,	VERB
128.	he was writing.	MAT
129.	And when he was writing	MAT
130.	I saw –	MEN
131.	Strydom the other policeman said to me	VERB
132.	“ma'me you must remember	MEN
133.	play the game with us	MAT



134. and we will release your son,	MAT
135. but if you do not play the game,	MAT
136. we will keep him here for six months	MAT
137. and will not let him come out again.”	MAT
138. My heart was very sore	REL
139. because Donovan was a school child	REL
140. who had never been in jail.	REL
141. And I didn't know what to do,	MEN
142. so I asked them	VERB
143. “please tell me	VERB
144. my child is not familiar with this - with this kind of thing.”	REL
145. And they said to me	VERB
146. “tell us the truth”	VERB
147. and the more I said	VERB
148. that I do not know anything,	MEN
149. the more they yelled at me	VERB
150. and this is from seven o'clock the morning until about eleven o'clock.	REL
151. He then said to me –	VERB
152. “you know	MEN
153. you look so nice and clean on the outside,	REL
154. but on the inside you are as dirty and rotten as your son.”	REL
155. I asked them	VERB
156. if I could please smoke a cigarette	MAT
157. because my nerves were shattered.	REL
158. And he banged on the table	MAT
159. and shouted	VERB
160. “you are not going to smoke in my office	MAT
161. and we will lock you up until tomorrow.”	MAT
162. And I must say	VERB
163. that I went through hell that morning.	MEN
164. They took me out of that room into another room	MAT
165. where there was another policeman	EXIST
166. who was suppose to watch over me.	MAT
167. I then sat there	BEH
168. and they told me	VERB
169. that they were not going to grant my son bail	MAT
170. and I then burst into tears.	BEH
171. And they said	VERB
172. that there was nothing of Donovan.	EXIST
173. I was then crying	BEH
174. and I was told	VERB
175. that you are still going to cry much more	BEH
176. and I was told	VERB
177. that the attorney – “the attorney you have is a crook,	REL
178. but we will –	MAT
179. who robs poor people,	MAT
180. he is a crook	REL
181. he robs poor people.”	MAT
182. And I was put in this room,	MAT

183. and the police were told to watch me.	VERB
184. Fortunately I knew this policeman	MEN
185. and he felt very sorry for me	MEN
186. and he said	VERB
187. that I could smoke	MAT
188. and I could sit there.	BEH
189. And they gave me a piece of paper	MAT
190. which they wanted me to sign.	MAT
191. The words he had written there –	MAT
192. there was an opening below	EXIST
193. what he had written	MAT
194. and he wanted me to sign below that opening	MEN
195. and I knew	MEN
196. that if I signed	MAT
197. that they would fill something in there.	MAT
198. And I refused to sign	MEN
199. and they wanted to lock –	MEN
200. they threatened to lock me up.	VERB
201. I refused to sign	MEN
202. and they then took me out of this room	MAT
203. and wanted to know	MEN
204. if I had signed,	MAT
205. I said no	VERB
206. and they shouted at me	VERB
207. and said	VERB
208. “take her,	MAT
209. lock her up”	MAT
210. and I cried	BEH
211. and I got so angry	REL
212. and I said	VERB
213. “I am not afraid of you,	REL
214. take me,	MAT
215. lock me up	MAT
216. I am not afraid to go to jail.”	REL
217. And I couldn't stand it anymore.	MEN
218. And they took me towards the cells	MAT
219. and at the cell door they took me back	MAT
220. and took me out.	MAT



‘House Search’ [221 – 253]

221. It was very hot that morning	REL
222. and Van Brakel's car was outside	REL
223. and he ordered another policeman to watch over me	VERB
224. and that I should get into that car	MAT
225. and sit outside that police station	BEH
226. and it was so hot.	REL
227. I spoke to this policeman	VERB
228. and asked him	VERB

229.	“why are these people like this,	REL
230.	why do they have to go on like this,	MAT
231.	can't I just go?”	MAT
232.	and he said	VERB
233.	“no ma'me I have to keep you in this car as prisoner,	MAT
234.	I cannot let you go.”	MAT
235.	They eventually let me - let me go	MAT
236.	but I couldn't go too far	MAT
237.	and I went back into the police station.	MAT
238.	I just felt	MEN
239.	that they had - rather had to lock me up.	MAT
240.	Then Van Brakel and Strydom came	MAT
241.	and I had to get back into the car	MAT
242.	and from there we left.	MAT
243.	At Court they stopped	MAT
244.	and I wanted to know	MEN
245.	“please my child is appearing	REL
246.	can't I go in?”	MAT
247.	and they said	VERB
248.	“no-no go.”	MAT
249.	And Strydom had to take me home	MAT
250.	and when I got home,	MAT
251.	Strydom searched my house	MAT
252.	looking for a match box with a telephone number.	MAT
253.	From there on I didn't hear from them again.	MEN

‘Ferhelst’s Second Arrest’ [254 – 289]

254.	But a while later Donovan appeared again	MAT
255.	and outside Court there were policemen sitting there	EXIST
256.	and the Magistrate said	VERB
257.	“you are free to go,	REL
258.	the case against you is withdrawn.”	MAT
259.	And when we got outside,	MAT
260.	Donovan was walking in front	MAT
261.	and I was walking very slowly	MAT
262.	and I looked back	MEN
263.	and I saw the Magistrate walking in a certain direction	MEN
264.	and it seems strange to me	REL
265.	that the Magistrate should walk in that direction	MAT
266.	and he still turned around to look at us.	MAT
267.	The policeman was sitting one side	BEH
268.	and there was a policeman sitting there	EXIST
269.	who I knew	MEN
270.	and I saw him pointing to my son	MEN
271.	and then took my son	MAT
272.	and I shouted “Donovan”.	VERB
273.	They took him	MAT
274.	and I screamed,	VERB

275. I said	VERB
276. “you are not going to take him	MAT
277. he has just been released.”	MAT
278. I said	VERB
279. “I am going with my son”	MAT
280. and they said	VERB
281. “no ma’am you may not go with him,	MAT
282. it is a State of Emergency.”	REL
283. And they took him,	MAT
284. he was locked up at Brackenfell police station.	MAT
285. We couldn't get to him,	MAT
286. I went to the attorney	MAT
287. and they assured me	VERB
288. that they would do all that they could to see him,	MAT
289. but we couldn't due to the State of Emergency.	MEN

‘Ferhelst’s Torture’ [290 – 329]

290. And on a certain day I went to the police station at Brackenfell	MAT
291. taking a change of clothes for Donovan.	MAT
292. And when I got there the morning	MAT
293. I pleaded with them to please just let me see him and give him these clean clothes.	VERB
294. There was a coloured person there	EXIST
295. I am not sure	MEN
296. if he was the Commander or whatever	REL
297. but I pleaded with him to please allow me to give my son these clean clothes	VERB
298. and he wouldn't take it.	MAT
299. Two white policeman then said to me	VERB
300. “ma’am give the clothes here”	MAT
301. and they then took the clothes and cigarettes	MAT
302. and gave them to Donovan.	MAT
303. I was very happy	REL
304. and I said	VERB
305. “please give me his dirty clothes”	MAT
306. and they then gave me the - his dirty clothes	MAT
307. and said to him,	VERB
308. “allow her to see her child just for a few minutes”	MAT
309. and they - this - they were saying to this coloured policeman,	VERB
310. but he wouldn't.	MAT
311. I left there very heartbroken	MAT
312. and when I got home,	MAT
313. when I opened up the clothes,	MAT
314. I saw	MEN
315. that there were –	EXIST
316. the clothes were bloodstained	REL
317. although it had been rinsed.	MAT
318. I cried that day,	BEH
319. I phoned the attorney,	VERB
320. I just couldn't stand it anymore	MEN

321. and he said to me	VERB
322. “come in immediately.”	MAT
323. The following morning I went in with the clothes	MAT
324. and showed it to him	MAT
325. and all the attorneys came closer	MAT
326. and confirmed that	VERB
327. it was blood	REL
328. and I knew	MEN
329. that my child was being tortured.	MAT

REORIENTATION: [330 – 336]

330. And he said to me	VERB
331. “you are not going to leave here	MAT
332. even if it means	REL
333. you have to sit here all day,	BEH
334. we are –	REL
335. and we have to go to the Supreme Court,	MAT
336. but today they must allow us to see this child.”	MEN

CODA: [337 – 338]

337. And I spent the whole day there	MAT
338. until we got to see him.	MEN



TESTIMONY OF FARIED MUHAMMAD FERHELST
Own Transcribed Version

...

Mrs Burton: Thank you [Mr Pieterse]. You told – have told us – told our statement takers about your years as a student activist and your involvement then you were recruited with MK... and about the number of times that you were arrested and questioned so please tell us about your experiences.

ORIENTATION [1 – 38]

Mr Ferhelst: [*moves chair forward*]

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| 1. | Um [2] uh my involvement started in 1984... late 1984 uh... | MAT |
| 2. | I came home from school one day | MAT |
| 3. | and the cops were looking for me | MAT |
| 4. | why... up till today I don't know. | MEN |
| 5. | Uh 1985 in the beginning... I joined like SRC's on the schools [2] uh BISCO | MAT |
| 6. | and like we were on the run. | REL |
| 7. | I was still young | REL |
| 8. | and I [<i>was</i>] like... any child | REL |
| 9. | who was afraid | REL |
| 10. | what this people was gonna do | REL |
| 11. | an'... the information [that] we got from other children | MAT |
| 12. | [who] were caught | MAT |
| 13. | is [<i>that</i>] | REL |
| 14. | they gonna kill us [2] like | MAT |
| 15. | we didn't know what to do [3] | MEN |
| 16. | um [2] in 1985... where [we?] like basically had nowhere to go, | REL |
| 17. | [<i>we had</i>] nobody to turn to in fact [2]. | REL |
| 18. | At night we don't – didn't have places to sleep, | REL |
| 19. | 'cause we [<i>were</i>] afraid. [3] | REL |
| 20. | Sometimes we went without food for days 3, 4 days. | BEH |
| 21. | Uh... and then a climax uh the struggle started to climax um... | MAT |
| 22. | we formed a a group – | MAT |
| 23. | a group of us came together uh | MAT |
| 24. | and started forming organisation to protect ourselves from the cops | MAT |
| 25. | because uh for some of us – some of us it was like | REL |
| 26. | they were shooting on sight, | MAT |
| 27. | whenever they saw you in in Bonteheuwel | MEN |
| 28. | they started shooting, | MAT |
| 29. | and we thought, | MEN |
| 30. | well... what can we do to protect us against these people... | MAT |
| 31. | uh then we formed uh BMW, uh Bonteheuwel Military Wing uh [2] | MAT |
| 32. | Um ... from there just went on, on a day to day basis like... | MAT |
| 33. | we met with uh MK (inaudible – <i>cadres</i>) ¹ | MEN |
| 34. | who trained us | MAT |
| 35. | [<i>we</i>] went out of the areas | MAT |

¹ From the online transcription.

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 36. | came back in the areas | MAT |
| 37. | and then you could recruit other people to HELP with this defence unit structure | MAT |
| 38. | [that] we built. [2] | MAT |

RECORD OF EVENTS: [39 – 251]

'First Arrest' [39 – 118]

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------|
| 39. | It went on for '85, '86... | MAT |
| 40. | till 1987 the cops caught me [2] on a Friday morning. | MAT |
| 41. | That was [4] about 10 o'clock. | REL |
| 42. | I was like still sleeping – | BEH |
| 43. | actually I wasn't sleeping, | BEH |
| 44. | but I got back into bed. | MAT |
| 45. | I heard the cars pull up. | MEN |
| 46. | Your – at that time your senses are so developed, | REL |
| 47. | you can hear a car a mile for uh | MEN |
| 48. | when it brakes, | MAT |
| 49. | like your senses – everything becomes – | REL |
| 50. | you become suspicious of everything and everybody... | REL |
| 51. | Uh on a Friday morning yes [2] when I heard the brakes of a car uh | MEN |
| 52. | I stood up | MAT |
| 53. | I went to the uh back window... see | MAT |
| 54. | what was going on | MAT |
| 55. | what car it was whatsoever | MAT |
| 56. | but it was too late | REL |
| 57. | the whole house was surrounded by cops | MAT |
| 58. | sitting on the wall with guns... uh | BEH |
| 59. | in the yard was about... something like 25 to 30 cops in the yard... | REL |
| 60. | uh two sharpshooters were sitting on the roof. [3] | BEH |
| 61. | Um... Casspirs and stuff were parked say... three or four blocks away... | MAT |
| 62. | I thought, | MEN |
| 63. | is all this people just coming for me? | MAT |
| 64. | What did I do wrong? | MAT |
| 65. | What did I do SO badly | MAT |
| 66. | that this people want me so? | MEN |
| 67. | Um I then realise that, | MEN |
| 68. | well, all the threats we got... | MAT |
| 69. | from uh all the information we got from other children | MAT |
| 70. | who were caught, | MAT |
| 71. | well this people are going to kill me, | MAT |
| 72. | that's | REL |
| 73. | what they said | VERB |
| 74. | an'... um I got back into bed | MAT |
| 75. | and [I] laid. [2] | BEH |
| 76. | I heard a a knock on the door like ... | MEN |
| 77. | I heard a BANG on the door | MEN |
| 78. | and there was this... uh commotion in the dining room. [2] | EXIST |
| 79. | Um there was approximately... 20 to 30 cops in the dining room, | EXIST |

80.	and this captain burst into the room	MAT
81.	that I was laying.	BEH
82.	I was still in a shorts [2].	REL
83.	He pulled me up	MAT
84.	he said uh...	VERB
85.	can I use the exact words	VERB
86.	because like it's hard for me to forget	REL
87.	what that man said that day	VERB
88.	and like I tried to forget	MEN
89.	but it's always there.	REL
90.	Uh this captain his name is van Brakel uh	REL
91.	he he came into that room, he and about four, five other SB's.	MAT
92.	He said to me,	VERB
93.	"you - jou slym etter gemors. Ons het jou. (you piece of trash, we have you now,)" ²	REL
94.	Ons gaan jou nou vrek maak." (Now we going to kill you.) ²	MAT
95.	And like... there was uh one of the other guys was with me in the room.	EXIST
96.	His name is Mymoona Begg	REL
97.	but he doesn't know -	MEN
98.	he wasn't politically active or anything like that.	REL
99.	They took him out of the room	MAT
100.	and then they started to hit me	MAT
101.	[they] smack me around...	MAT
102.	They closed the door	MAT
103.	and like he reckons to me,	VERB
104.	"why don't you run?" ...	MAT
105.	So I said,	VERB
106.	"why must I run?"	MAT
107.	I did nothing wrong."	MAT
108.	Um what he then did was = =	MAT



Mrs Burton: Can I just stop you one moment. You were staying in the house of Mymoona Begg. Is that right?

Mr Ferhelst: Excuse me?

Mrs Burton: You were staying in the HOUSE of Mymoona?

Mr Ferhelst: Ja.

Mrs Burton: That's why he was there with you.

Mr Ferhelst:

109.	Ja. Uh [2] uh he then cuffed me	MAT
110.	[he] didn't want me to put on clothes or anything	MEN
111.	he just cuffed me there.	MAT
112.	I asked him	VERB
113.	if I can put on my clothes	MAT
114.	he says,	VERB

² English translation from the online transcription.

115. “no you can put it on at the police station.” MAT
 116. Uh he then put me in a van MAT
 117. [*he*] took me to the police station MAT
 118. and [*he*] threw me in a cell. MAT

‘First Detainment & Interrogation’ [119 – 164]

119. Uh that Friday afternoon at – they also took Mymoona like MAT
 120. I protested BEH
 121. I said VERB
 122. “he doesn’t – he doesn’t know anything about me MEN
 123. I’m just sleeping here BEH
 124. why are you taking him?”... MAT
 125. He said, VERB
 126. “ag, hou hou jou bek donner” (shut up, bastard)² VERB
 127. and he pushed me into the van whatsoever. MAT
 128. [*He*] took me up to the police station. MAT
 129. Uh at about – if I can judge – MEN
 130. it was about two hours later REL
 131. they threw in... uh MAT
 132. somebody I knew uh Christopher Routledge he’s... MEN
 133. and say about 4 o’clock, they started calling us out one at a time, VERB
 134. [*they started*] taking us into the cell, for interrogation. [2] MAT
 135. Um when it was my turn... REL
 136. two SB’s – I can’t remember the names MEN
 137. but van Brakel was in that room REL
 138. and two of the SB’s stood next to me one on each side. BEH
 139. He started asking me questions VERB
 140. well, I denied everything VERB
 141. [*that*] he asked VERB
 142. and I said, VERB
 143. “I don’t know what – anything what – MEN
 144. how can I tell you these things.” VERB
 145. Uh he went out of the room. MAT
 146. The two SB’s tied my hands with a belt behind my back MAT
 147. and ... then then a a third one he came into that room. MAT
 148. He also took off his belt MAT
 149. [*he*] put it round my neck MAT
 150. and started – MAT
 151. whenever one of the others asked a question VERB
 152. he started to pull the belt, MAT
 153. like choking me, MAT
 154. pulling it (inaudible - stiffer)¹ every time like... MAT
 155. when they saw uh [2] MEN
 156. he couldn’t get any information out of me, MEN
 157. [*they*] took me back to the cell... MAT
 158. Um [2] later on they came to fetch me again. MAT
 159. It was about 7 or 8 o’clock... REL
 160. [*they*] started hitting me, MAT

- | | |
|---|------|
| 161. [they started] asking questions again. [2] | VERB |
| 162. Well they took me back to the cell uh. | MAT |
| 163. The next day, same thing happened. | MAT |
| 164. The day after, same thing – same thing happened. | MAT |

‘First Court Appearance’ [165 – 185]

- | | |
|--|------|
| 165. Then I went to court [2] uh | MAT |
| 166. I was denied bail. | MAT |
| 167. For that ten days I can say | VERB |
| 168. I was like interrogated for say about seven days. [2] | VERB |
| 169. Then I got bail. | MAT |
| 170. Uh before we got bail – | MAT |
| 171. the day before we got bail, | MAT |
| 172. our Section 29 papers were there uh | REL |
| 173. this captain reckons to me | VERB |
| 174. [that] he’s gonna detain me under Section 29 | MAT |
| 175. so I said, | VERB |
| 176. “well you must do | MAT |
| 177. whatever you want to,” | MEN |
| 178. but as soon as I walk out of the court | MAT |
| 179. I started running | MAT |
| 180. because I know | MEN |
| 181. what what were on their minds. [2] | REL |
| 182. Luckily I got away | MAT |
| 183. but... and I got a date to appear later – | MAT |
| 184. when I – at a later date I came to court | MAT |
| 185. the charges were dropped against me, | MAT |

‘Second Detainment & Interrogation’ [186 – 208]

- | | |
|---|------|
| 186. but... uh a cop which I know | |
| 187. his name is Ga– uh I know this cop | MEN |
| 188. his name is Gary Harris. | REL |
| 189. He stood in front of the hall – the court. | BEH |
| 190. As soon as I left the court, | MAT |
| 191. he said, | VERB |
| 192. “here’s he.” | REL |
| 193. I was detained, | MAT |
| 194. [I was] taken to Goodwood police station, | MAT |
| 195. where they just put me in a cell | MAT |
| 196. an’, about half past 4, 5 o’clock, if I can judge... | MEN |
| 197. two SB’s came to fetch me. | MAT |
| 198. From there they took me to Brackenfell police station. | MAT |
| 199. They booked me in, | MAT |
| 200. [they] threw me in a cell... | MAT |
| 201. uh at about 7 or 8 van Brakel came. | MAT |
| 202. He started asking me questions | VERB |
| 203. [he started] smacking me around what | MAT |

204. and then left again, MAT
 205. and he said uh, VERB
 206. “ons maak jou nog vrek, voor jy uit die tronk uit.” [They told me they would kill me.]² MAT
 207. Um [2] I thought MEN
 208. [*that*] everything was okay for the night. REL

Torture [209 – 251]

209. Half past 2 at night, I think MEN
 210. [*that*] it was about 2 o'clock half past two the first night in Brackenfell, REL
 211. I heard all the doors opening, MEN
 212. while I was laying in a shorts... BEH
 213. Uh there was about seven SB's. [2] EXIST
 214. Uh they rushed into the cell, MAT
 215. [*they*] pulled a ... black bag around my neck, MAT
 216. [*they*] tighten it, MAT
 217. [*they*] cuffed my hands behind my back MAT
 218. and [*they*] took me out out to the car. MAT
 219. In the car they started hitting me. [2] MAT
 220. They drove um MAT
 221. I don't know MEN
 222. where they drove, past Spier ... MAT
 223. but they drove for about a half an hour or so. MAT
 224. When they came to a place MAT
 225. they took me out again. MAT
 226. It it sounded like REL
 227. it was in a shack... REL
 228. There I was put in a shower, MAT
 229. [*I was*] cuffed to a shower. MAT
 230. They started hitting me continuously MAT
 231. until I was [un]conscious REL
 232. then I – they threw water on me to regain my consciousness MAT
 233. and like [2] they gassed – teargassed the shower, MAT
 234. [*they*] put me in some uh bin, MAT
 235. and they teargassed this bin MAT
 236. and [*they*] start to wet you all over again. [3] MAT
 237. Um like, the majority of the time when they hit you MAT
 238. your didn't – you didn't even feel the pain MEN
 239. because you passed out or something. BEH
 240. It went uh... MAT
 241. as I can say VERB
 242. that went on for [2] for that period. MAT
 243. After that night it was every night, half past 2, 3 o'clock every night. REL
 244. They came to fetch me. MAT
 245. Um [3] I can't remember for how long MEN
 246. that went on, MAT
 247. but to me... it felt like... REL
 248. it ... went on for... MAT

249. it felt like a – almost a couple of years, just that short period	REL
250. because what – of what people – the way they handle you,	MAT
251. the way they hit you.	MAT

REORIENTATION [252 – 255]

252. Um after that, they took me to uh Victor Verster [2]	MAT
253. where I was [2] originally detained.	MAT
254. Uh later on I was released on [2] bail with the other fellow comrades	MAT
255. who was with me...	MAT

CODA [256 – 257]

256. I think	MEN
257. that's about it.	REL

Mrs Burton: Thank you very much. So you were several times detained under Section 29?

Mr Ferhelst: Excuse me?

Mrs Burton: You were detained 2 or 3 times under Section 29.

Mr Ferhelst: No, just that one time when I – when I left the court I was detained.

Mrs Burton: And that that time when you left the court, you were charged with arson = =

Mr Ferhelst: = = [inaudible]

Mrs Burton: = = and then they – and then they found you not guilty. Is that right?

Mr Ferhelst: Ja, they charged me for bombing up a a ... post office, and then he said [then again] I'm not guilty.

Mrs Burton: And it was while you were going out the court, that they detained you.

Mr Ferhelst: Excuse me?

Mrs Burton: It was while you were going out of the court.

Mr Ferhelst: Ja.

Mrs Burton: That they detained you.

Mr Ferhelst: Ja that's when they detained me.

'Personal Effect (1)' [258 –274]

Mrs Burton: Thank you very much for for um telling us all about um your experience. Can you tell us what EFFECT this had on you?

Mr Ferhelst:

- | | |
|---|------|
| 258. [2] Basically, um when I came out of prison | MAT |
| 259. I was withdrawn from everything, everybody | REL |
| 260. I know. | REL |
| 261. Uh... like, I had no friends. [3] | REL |
| 262. I was my own friend. | REL |
| 263. Um... then you come out. [2] | MAT |
| 264. Uh, the other guys, who I recruited like... | MAT |
| 265. they were all with me, | REL |
| 266. but when it – when we all come out of prison | MAT |
| 267. it was a total different game here outside, | REL |
| 268. like [2] we were thrown away. [2] | REL |
| 269. Nobody... like nobody stood up for us. | MEN |
| 270. We were called gangsters and that kind of stuff. | VERB |
| 271. Um like we had no support. | REL |
| 272. That's why... | REL |
| 273. I can say... | VERB |
| 274. [<i>that</i>] my life was never the same. | REL |

[Pause – 4 secs]

Mrs Burton: Thank you very much... I have no further questions at the moment.

Alex Boraine: Thank you, Mrs Burton. Uh... Dr Orr?

'Doctor's Visit' [275 –285]

Wendy Orr: [*clears throat*] During the time that you were detained under Section 29 and being interrogated and tortured almost every day, did you see a doctor?

Mr Ferhelst: [*laughs*]

- | | |
|--|------|
| 275. Ja they took me to a doctor once. | MAT |
| 276. Uh I can still remember | MEN |
| 277. that doctor was somewhere in Bellville. [2] | REL |
| 278. My whole body was bruised. | REL |
| 279. I had marks on my face. | REL |
| 280. When I came to the doctor, | MAT |
| 281. the doctor he just took out a stethoscope, | MAT |
| 282. put it against my heart | MAT |
| 283. and he reckons to the SB, | VERB |
| 284. “die donner makeer fok all. | REL |
| 285. Vat hom hier weg”. | MAT |

[Pause – 5 secs]

Alex Boraine: Could I just um continue where Dr Orr left off... this one doctor you saw, can you recall his name?

Mr Ferhelst: [shakes head] No, I'm sorry. I can't recall his name.

Alex Boraine: Thank you.

Mr Ferhelst: But if I'm – if I'm not mistaken I think it was a district doctor from Bellville whatsoever.

Alex Boraine: Okay. Thank you very much we'll try and follow that up thank you... Mr Potgieter?

Denzil Potgieter: Thank you Chairperson. [2] There's two issues [2] two issues, Mr Ferhelst. When you um taken away with a bag over your – over your head? [3]

Mr Ferhelst: [puts on headset]

Denzil Potgieter: All right.

Mr Ferhelst: Okay.

'Asking about Ashley Kriel (1)' [286 – 323]

Denzil Potgieter: With that bag over your head that you spoke about. You were taken and you were handcuffed... in a um shower... That that incident that you spoke about... um, did you have that BAG over your head the whole time? [3] Whilst you were tortured?

Mr Ferhelst: [switches to Afrikaans]

286. Um, like uh in die eerste – die eerste en tweede aand, was dit oor my kop gewees. REL
287. Like die derde aand toe hulle die sak [gebruik], MAT
288. uh het een van die polisiemanne die sak afgehaal... MAT
289. Ek was like, half... unconscious um. REL
290. Hy't toe die haelgeweer gevat, MAT
291. in my gesig gedruk MAT
292. en gesê VERB
293. “hoekom trek jy nie self die trigger nie? MAT
294. Want ons gaan jou tog vrek maak”. MAT
295. Um en ook um... toe hulle – toe hulle vir my interrogate... VERB
296. dis um vir die eerste tien dae REL
297. wat ek... opgetel was, MAT
298. het van Brakel like a statement gemaak VERB
299. dat... as hulle ... enige comrades soos Ashley Kriel of enigiemand soos daai vang, MAT
300. gaan hulle hom vrek skiet, MAT
301. en hy't OOK gesê... VERB
302. “Ons weet MEN
303. waar hy is, REL
304. en ons gaan hom vrek skiet”. MAT
305. En uh ekke – as ek mooi kan onthou, MEN
306. ek het nog – soos gewoonlik gaan ons in by Ashley se ma um... MAT
307. ons het nog jokes gemaak daaroor... BEH
308. gesê like... VERB

309.	van Brakel sê	VERB
310.	hy gaan vir Ashley doodskiet	MAT
311.	en ek dink	MEN
312.	dit was 3 weke na daai	REL
313.	toe skiet hy vir Ashley.	MAT
314.	Toe toe SKIET hulle vir Ashley.	MAT
315.	Like, ek het besef	MEN
316.	dat... dié mense, is mense van... daad.	REL
317.	As hulle iets sê	VERB
318.	dan doen hulle dit. [2]	MAT
319.	Uh in... in die interrogation, maak jy so peace met jouself	MEN
320.	dat... wat gebeur,	MAT
321.	moet gebeur. [2]	MAT
322.	Um, om dit so te stel	VERB
323.	dat... jy prepare jouself... vir die ergste.	MEN

[Pause – 5 secs]

Denzil Potgieter: Ek probeer net uitvind, daardie [tyd]... toe jy – toe jy in die stort is, geboei, kon jy van die stemme uitken?

Mr Ferhelst: Ja. Van Brakel – ek kon... die... een persoon wie se stem ek ek kon erken was van Brakel. ‘Cause like [2] sy language wat hy gebruik het is – “kommunistiese etter” is is like altyd – is net... baie ongeskikte woorde wat hy gebruik... en like, ek kon hom [h]erken. Maar die anders... kon ek uh... kon ek nie eintlik sê nie.

Denzil Potgieter: So jy – so jy sê dat van Brakel teenwoordig was die meeste van die tyd? Toe jy ondervra was, behandel was wat jy getuig het?

Mr Ferhelst: Nee, nie die meeste van die tyd nie. Ek sal sê sê die EERSTE week, die eerste paar dae van die interrogation was hy teenwoordig.

Denzil Potgieter: Was jy... ondervra oor Ashley Kriel?

Mr Ferhelst: Oor?

Denzil Potgieter: Ashley Kriel.

Mr Ferhelst: Um, ja. [2] Like, die vrae wat hulle gevra het oor Ashley is like, waar is hy... waar wás hy, nie waar is hy nie because like, dis ná die tyd wat hulle hom geskiet het. Waar was hy, watter konneksie het ek met Ashley en en [4] wie van sy familie is nog terroriste en en daai klas van [goed].

Denzil Potgieter: So hulle hulle het baie belang gestel in Ashley Kriel.

Mr Ferhelst: Verskoon my?

Denzil Potgieter: Hulle het baie belang gestel in Ashley Kriel.

Mr Ferhelst: Hulle het baie belanggestel. Waar hy was, wat hy gedoen het, [inaudible].

Denzil Potgieter: Kan jy nog onthou watter polisiebeampte die meeste vrae gevra het [oor] Ashley Kriel?

Mr Ferhelst: [*thinking, whispering to his mother*] Sorry, ek kan nie.

'Laying Charges' [324 – 334]

Denzil Potgieter: Kan jy nie [inaudible] Dis all right. [2] Dis okay. Sê net vir my laastens, het het jy enige klagtes gelê... oor die polisie wat jou uh so aangerand het?

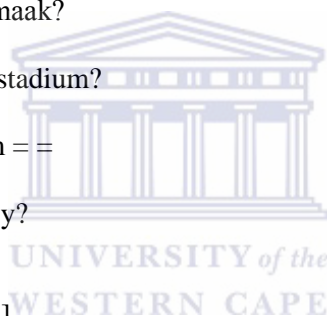
Mr Ferhelst:

- | | |
|--|------|
| 324. Het ek klagtes gelê? Um... nie eintlik nie. | MAT |
| 325. Like, daai tyd as ons kan kyk... | MEN |
| 326. wat kon wie doen?... | MAT |
| 327. Niemand kon niks doen nie. | MAT |
| 328. Hulle wat ek by daai tyd was?... | REL |
| 329. Aan wie lê ek – | MAT |
| 330. aan wie sê ek | VERB |
| 331. wat met my gebeur, | MAT |
| 332. môre doen hulle dieselfde ding | MAT |
| 333. niemand gaan niks doen daaraan nie. | MAT |
| 334. Waarom moet ek 'n klag maak? | BEH |

Denzil Potgieter: En op hierdie stadium?

Mr Ferhelst: Op hierdie stadium = =

Denzil Potgieter: = = Hoe voel jy?



'The Way Forward' [335 – 365]

Mr Ferhelst:

- | | |
|--|------|
| 335. Eerstens [3] um [2] sal ek lyks om [2] die KAPTEIN PERSOONLIK te gevra het | MEN |
| 336. wat hy daaruit gekry het om te [inaud.] te torture, te slaan, | MEN |
| 337. like hy kon nie informasie uit my kry, | MAT |
| 338. wat wat... wat het vir hom... gedryf om my so te slaan en so aan. | MEN |
| 339. En, tweedens, is dat [2] um... | REL |
| 340. dat ek kan sê | VERB |
| 341. hierso's mense buitekant... um | REL |
| 342. ek was nie alleen nie. | REL |
| 343. Ons was... 'n military wing, | REL |
| 344. ons was 'n klomp. [3] | REL |
| 345. As ek na hulle kyk | MEN |
| 346. ek het klomp van hulle ge-recruit in die sense hoe om hulleself te kan verdedig, en so aan, maar... | MAT |
| 347. en nou wat ons die struggle... gewen het, | MAT |
| 348. kyk niemand na hulle nie. | MEN |
| 349. Hulle word gangsters | REL |
| 350. daai... daai is wat vir my seermaak. | MEN |
| 351. Nie die feit so much dat die interrogation so [baie gevat het nie] en daai – | MEN |

352. maar die feit dat niemand omsien na die ander	MEN
353. wat saam met my was daar buitekant,	REL
354. NIEMAND kyk na hulle nie,	MEN
355. daai is wat vir my seermaak.	MEN
356. Like, ek vat dit,	MEN
357. dat ek het klomp van hulle ge-recruit	MAT
358. ek is responsible [2] vir hulle...	REL
359. hoe hulle hulle lewens opgeoffer het vir die struggle	MAT
360. en nou kan ek niks doen daaraan nie.	MAT
361. Dis hoekom	REL
362. ek dink	MEN
363. as ek vandag miskien kan praat,	VERB
364. dat iemand SAL luister	MEN
365. en omkyk na hulle.	MAT

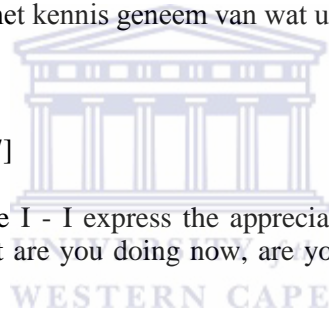
[Pause – 3 secs]

Denzil Potgieter: Ek verstaan dit baie goed. Mnr Ferhelst, ek dink ook die feit dat u sê dat um baie van u... kamerade [inaudible] word, gangsters... as gevolg van die omstandighede ons... ons weet byvoorbeeld wat... in die vroeë oggend ure gebeur het in uh [inaudible] vandag. So, dankie vir u getuienis... en ons het kennis geneem van wat u sê... Baie dankie.

[Pause – 5 secs]

‘Personal Effect (2)’ [366 – 377]

Chairperson: Thank you before I - I express the appreciation of the Commission just one final question Mr Ferhelst, what are you doing now, are you employed. Do you have a job, what do you do?



Mr Ferhelst:

366. I've got a job,	REL
367. but like I don't know	MEN
368. how long I am going to keep that job.	MAT

Chairperson: Order please, can you be as quiet as possible please.

Mr Ferhelst:

369. I've got a job	REL
370. but as I say,	VERB
371. I don't know	MEN
372. how I am going - how long I am going to keep the job,	MAT
373. because it's this hatred	REL
374. I got inside for this people.	REL
375. If I explode	MAT
376. who knows	MEN
377. what I am going to do in the factory.	MAT

Alex Boraine: Thank you very much. Uh first of all, may I say to Mrs Ferhelst we really appreciate your being alongside your son. Um this is very important, uh that he has uh support, in the same way as I'm sure it's important that he... supports you, uh both morally and in every other way. I want to thank you both for coming, and uh Mr Ferhelst, I want to thank YOU for... speaking up on behalf of your comrades. You didn't talk about yourself you talked about them. But, really and truly it's about all of you. And I think that the... TERRIBLE cost of ... what took place for so long, is what we are paying for now. Not only then, but now. I'm not sure what the Commission can do, um but the very fact that your voice will be heard uh I hope will stir those in charge and in authority and responsibility, that we cannot forget, people who were trained to defend themselves and then in many instances were just left on their own, and therefore started to use the very defence in order to attack. Uh the struggle is not over. The work is not over. There's a huge amount to do and you've reminded us of that and we're grateful to you. We're grateful to you for your courage um to undergo the torture that you've undergone uh is is a very very heavy thing to do. And I'm quite sure you carry that with you – I hope you won't explode. I hope that you will use the courage that you have demonstrated today, uh as creative force, to build and try to reach out to the very people you've been talking about and perhaps together, as from today, there can be a new start. Thank you very very much indeed both of you for coming. Thank you.

[Both Mrs Ferhelst and Muhammad Ferhelst get up, leaving the stage; Alex Boraine adjourns for a break.]

Key:

[2]	length of pause; in seconds.
= =	interruptions, overlapping talk.
()	Inaudible segments of talk / the guess of a possible word or phrase.
[up]	Non-verbal information
–	false starts or restarts: when speaker “rethinks” what s/he wants to say; s/he rephrases before completing the first thought.
...	Hesitation (a pause of approximately 0.5 to 1 second)
[5 secs]	Length of inter-turn pause; the length of time between speakers

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SABC Video Footage: *TRC Helderberg-Tygerberg, 5/9/96. Tapes 2.*