

***LANGUAGE, IDENTITY AND NATIONHOOD: LANGUAGE USE
AND ATTITUDES AMONG XHOSA STUDENTS AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA***

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I declare that *Language, Identity and Nationhood - Language Use and Attitudes among Xhosa Students at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa* is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.



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INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS

This thesis is a study of patterns of language attitudes and use among Xhosa home language speakers at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. Speakers of Xhosa, according to *Statistics South Africa 2000*, form the second largest speech community in South Africa (17.9% of the total population), second only to speakers of Zulu (22.9% of the total population). The University of the Western Cape, which is situated just outside Cape Town, was originally intended to serve only the Coloured (mixed-race) population of South Africa. Coloureds form the majority group in the population of the Western Cape, one of the nine provinces of South Africa. In 1982, the university took the bold step of defying the apartheid regime, by opening its doors to students of all races. Students from all over South Africa now attend the university, but Xhosa students, drawn mainly from the provinces of the Eastern and Western Cape, form the largest language group or speech community on the campus. The thesis presents a study of the patterns of language attitudes and use with which Xhosa students enter the university, as well as patterns of change in language attitudes and use revealed by a longitudinal study of a smaller group of Xhosa students. The longitudinal part of the study tracked 20 students for three years, which is the minimum period

for the completion of a degree in the Faculty of Arts, from which they were drawn.

The analysis of the students' patterns of language use provides the background to the core of the study - their attitudes to the eleven official languages of South Africa: English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, Zulu, South Sotho, Pedi (North Sotho), Tswana, Swati, Venda and Ndebele. The considerable impact of language attitudes on language vitality, language policy and language acquisition in multilingual societies has led to the growth of language attitude studies in South Africa. While some studies have focused on individual languages, others have attempted to elicit attitudes to a number of languages in the same study in order to compare attitudes towards these languages.

Many of these attitude studies have concentrated on English. There are various reasons for this choice. Sociolinguists have attempted to find out how a language spoken by only 9% of the population (Krige *et al.* 1994:2) gained so much power and prestige to become the dominant language of South Africa, and also how it maintains this power and continues to spread despite the fact that only 44% of the population understand it (Lund 1998:11). 'Understand' here ranges from the ability to carry out instructions to reading a newspaper with comprehension. Webb (1996) argues that this figure is even lower -

only 25% - when one looks at the issue of functional literacy in English among black South Africans (i.e. being able to use it effectively in public life).

McDermott (1998:111) dismisses as 'particularly arrogant' claims such as the following:

- access to English is fundamental to African self-empowerment and to entering the international arena; and
- those who lack English competency are 'linguistically' deprived.

But others may deem it equally arrogant to argue that black South Africans need to change their attitudes towards their own languages and to stop desiring English, when its advantages are daily paraded before them by the prestige and status of those who use it. Webb and Kembo-Sure (1999:16) give what they consider 'fairly self-evident' reasons why black South Africans esteem English so highly - its status as the major world language; its provision of access to almost all sources of knowledge and entertainment; its dominant role in the world of work; its role as the language of the struggle against apartheid in contrast to the role of Afrikaans as the language of oppression, and so on.

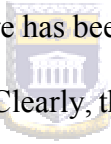
Attitude studies on Black South African Languages have looked at their status among their users in terms of their educational, economic, social and cultural value. Studies on the educational status of these languages have revealed that,

while academics and teachers tend to agree that increased use of African languages in education is beneficial for learners, the general public perception is that increased mother-tongue education is inferior education. This attitude stems, in part, from the policies of the former apartheid regime, which wanted to divide blacks by emphasizing differences between their languages and cultural practices, and which elevated the use of the mother-tongue in education without also giving learners sufficient access to the languages of power, higher education and professional employment. The past and present situation regarding mother-tongue education in South Africa is summed up succinctly by de Wet and Niemann (1999:93):

In many ways the National Party's language in education policy for Blacks, with its emphasis on the mother-tongue in the first years of schooling, was a sound educational policy, but for the wrong reasons. Language in education policy was used to confirm racial separateness. It will be difficult to make South Africans understand that when the same policy, i.e. mother-tongue education, is advocated once more it is for quite different reasons.

Politics motivated the ANC-dominated government's decision to give 11 languages official status. All the major languages in

the country were given equal status in the spirit of democracy. Although this decision has educational merit, the masses prefer English as MOI, because of the association of mother-tongue education with oppression, as well as the belief that indigenous African languages have no economic, academic and social value.

While studies have been carried out to measure white attitudes towards English and Afrikaans, most notably the study carried out by Hauptfleisch (1977), there have also been a few studies on attitudes towards Afrikaans among black South Africans, and the focus here has been on attitudes to Afrikaans in pre- and post-apartheid South Africa.  Clearly, there have been changes in attitudes towards Afrikaans (Young *et al.* 1991), but the energetic actions of its protectors, most notably the Suid-Afrikaans Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (South African Academy for Science and Arts), may have a role to play in attempting to change attitudes towards the language. However, the change may also be caused by people who previously denied their Afrikaans backgrounds now feeling free to acknowledge it, particularly the Coloured population of the Western Cape Province, or those who were forced to move out of an Afrikaans-speaking area to be resettled in their separate ethnic homelands.

One conclusion some current researchers have come to is that Afrikaans and the Black South African Languages need to re-define their roles in the face of the perceived and real importance of English in the lives of the majority of South Africans, and many of the current debates around language policy in South Africa focus on this re-definition of roles. However, there are also those who argue that South Africa's indigenous black languages need to play much bigger roles in domains like education and employment. The final chapter of this thesis considers what implications the findings of this study have for some of the common assumptions on language in post-democratic South Africa.



I. The principal conceptual issues affecting this thesis

In this section of the Introduction to the thesis, the principal conceptual issues affecting the thesis are defined and briefly discussed.

1. *Language Attitudes*: Gardner (1982:132) gives strong support to Allport's (1954:45) definition of attitude as 'a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related' because this definition, particularly in the context of language, means that attitudes 'influence individuals' responses to attitude objects or situations, not

that they *determine* them' (my italics). Bosch and de Klerk (1996:232) define attitudes as 'deep-seated and private...often distinguished from consciously held opinions, which are more public, more dependent on the context of elicitation and more easily expressed, and possibly more easily swayed by external influences'.

My understanding of attitudes modifies these definitions in terms of the multi-componential model proposed by Triandis (1972) and others - that there is a cognitive element, an affective element and a behavioural element to attitudes (see pp. 23-26 of Chapter One). This study looks for patterns in the ways in which respondents rank the different languages in terms of national status, symbolic value and in education, for their affective reactions towards particular languages in particular situations and for the ways in which they say they behave or would behave towards a language in particular situations. In addition, the study looks for patterns of change in attitudes and the reasons for these patterns.

2. *Language Use*: Apart from this focus on attitudes, the study also looks at the actual language experiences as indicated by the respondents to the study, with a particular focus on the specific *domains* in which they use languages (Fishman 1965), i.e. the areas in which particular languages are used, e.g. the

home, in education, in employment, etc. (see p.13 of Chapter One). While people may hold specific attitudes to languages which will either positively or negatively influence how well they learn those languages (Roos 1990:27), or express distinct preferences for the languages they wish to use in different situations (Eastman 1992:111), their actual language use may very well contradict their language attitudes and preferences. Black people in South Africa, for example, may reveal strong negative attitudes towards Afrikaans because of its political connotations, but may actually be highly competent users of the language, especially if they grew up on white-owned farms in rural areas (de Klerk 1996:26). The study looks for further evidence of this contradiction between language use and attitudes.



3. *Speech Community*: A speech community shares ‘rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech: and rules for the interpretation of at least one “linguistic variety”’ (Hymes 1972:52). While the focus of this study is on members of the Xhosa speech community at the University of the Western Cape and the way in which they respond to language-related issues, two other speech communities also need to be taken into account, because of their direct impact on the language attitudes and practices of these Xhosa students. Firstly, there is the larger speech community formed by the students of the University of the Western Cape, who use English as their main common language or

lingua franca (Samarin 1962:54). This community contains a number of smaller speech communities, such as the majority Xhosa-speaking group, the substantial numbers of English and Afrikaans or bilingual English/Afrikaans speakers, and the remaining small pockets of speakers of other black South African languages. Secondly, there is the broader Xhosa speech community from which these Xhosa students are drawn, whose language practices, as will be shown in Chapter One, include several rural dialects as well as urban varieties.

4. *Multilingualism*: Multilingualism, according to Edwards (1994:1), arises ‘from the need to communicate across speech communities’. Many of the students surveyed in this study could be considered proficient in two or more languages. A burning issue in education circles in South Africa at the time of this study is how, and even whether, to exploit this multilingualism as a resource to help students learn better and to foster respect for other languages and cultures. There are certainly many conflicting views on this issue. Gough (1994:40) argues that multilingualism ‘...does not itself lead to mutual understanding and *decolonisation*’, while Alexander (1995:40) wants to see the ‘systematic promotion of multilingualism via the schools and other institutions of socialisation (as) a pivotal component of national unity’.

Despite the strong positive attitudes towards English that prevail in the black community in South Africa, there are also those among the intelligentsia who believe that English is not a neutral language but in fact one that prevents the majority of South Africans from fully participating in the economic, educational and democratic processes of the country by concentrating power in the hands of an educated elite who had the benefit of excellent access to English.

The Pan South African Language Board, with its mission to promote all South African languages (Act No. 200 of the Constitution, 1996) was founded in 1995 . The position of this Board on multilingualism can clearly be seen from its mission statement (draft discussion document, June 1999:1):

The mission of the Board is to promote multilingualism in South Africa by:

- *creating the conditions for the development of and the equal use of all official languages*
- *fostering respect for and encouraging the use of other languages in the country and*
- *encouraging the best use of the country's linguistic resources*

in order to enable South Africans to free themselves from all forms of linguistic discrimination, domination and division; and to enable them to exercise

appropriate linguistic choices for their own well being as well as for national development.

In that same year an important publication that seemed to respond to the government's drive for equity for all languages, was published. It is called *Multilingual Education for South Africa* (eds Heugh, Siegrühn and Plüddemann: 1995), and in its introduction it sets out the basic assumptions shared by all its contributing authors. The main basic assumptions are briefly discussed here, as part of the purpose of this thesis is to critique them:

- *Multilingualism in South Africa (and elsewhere) is the norm, monolingualism the exception.* This study problematizes the issue of exactly how multilingual the respondents of this study are.
- *Languages in education can usefully be regarded as resources, not as obstacles to learning.* The study looks at attitudes to mother-tongues in education, particular as medium of instruction at schools and tertiary institutions in order to see whether the respondents participating in the study regard Black South African Languages as resources in education.
- *The first language (L1) is the primary medium for cognitive*

development. Most (if not all) of the respondents for this study came from the former Department of Education and Training Schools, set up specifically for black pupils in SA. Heugh (1995) is particularly critical of the sudden transition from mother-tongue education to English for the teaching of content subjects after the first four years of schooling in DET schools. She and others believe that the problems caused by the transition to English and the relatively low economic status of black languages in South Africa further exacerbated the negative perceptions about Black languages in education and stiffened resistance to the notion of using the mother-tongue in education. This study specifically engages the respondents on this issue and their attitudes to when English should be introduced in their education at primary school.

- *African languages should be consciously promoted to enhance their status and to develop their corpus for purposes of acquisition.* The main issue is captured by Plüddemann (1997:25): ‘There is a general consensus that a key to the promotion of multilingualism in schools is the systematic elaboration, standardization and use of the African languages in education and society’. This study examines respondents’ attitudes towards the standardization of African languages

and the role of BSALs in SA society and education.

- *All learners should have meaningful access to English since it has unparalleled power and status in our society at present.* All the studies carried out with black or coloured respondents in SA have indicated a strong positive attitude towards English as the *dominant* language (Ridge 1998:1) in South Africa. Ridge clarifies his use of this term as follows: ‘...the word *dominant* is used here to describe prime status as a language of choice for (H)igh functions. A dominant language is not necessarily *dominating*, in the sense of forcing other languages out or providing an ideological filter through which their (lesser) worth is determined’. This study examines respondents’ attitudes towards English in the light of its current status in South Africa.
- *In a multilingual society such as ours, a form of additive bilingual education is the most viable option.* Edwards (1994:59) writes that additive bilingualism ‘occurs principally where both languages continue to be useful and valued’ while subtractive bilingualism ‘reflects a society where one language is valued more than the other, where one dominates the other, where one is on the ascendant and the other is waning’. This study attempts to describe the reality of the

language in education experiences of the respondents. It also considers how applicable the concepts of additive and subtractive bilingualism are to the South African context.

5. Language Planning and Policy: South Africa's 1996 Constitution conferred official status on the eleven major languages in the country, and PANSALB was mandated to effect language planning and policies which would help to promote all these languages. Each of these languages should (according to the 1996 constitution) enjoy equal rights, but, as Young (1996:65) points out,

...politicians' apparent leaning towards having one major language (English) as an instrument for nation building, reconciliation, communication and education...will have significant bearing on the development or survival of the other ten national languages.

This study considers the effects of past and present language policies on the respondents' language use and attitudes.

II. Research Aims/Objectives

The focus of this study is two-fold. Firstly, it studies patterns of language use and attitudes with which a particular group of Xhosa students entered tertiary education. The area of focus is centred on respondents' reported language use and proficiency, as well as their attitudes towards the general and educational positions of English, Afrikaans, Xhosa and other Black South African Languages (BSALs) in South Africa. The quantitative data used for this part of the study comes from a survey conducted in 1996 with 198 Xhosa entry level students at the University of the Western Cape. The qualitative data, derived from the same entry level group, consists of 60 essays and 25 interviews.



Secondly, the study analyses patterns of change in language use and attitudes, using 20 respondents drawn from the entry level group. These 20 respondents were surveyed over a period of three years (1996 to 1998) in order to determine whether there were any changes in their language attitudes and use, and which factors impacted on these patterns of change. The quantitative data for this part of the study consists of the 20 students' responses to surveys conducted with them from 1996 to 1998 (entry to exit level), while the qualitative data consists of written work collected from this group at exit level and interviews with selected members of the group at second year and exit

level.

The results of the study are likely to provide fresh evidence of the validity or weakness of some of the arguments put forward by academics and language policy makers about the key language issues that confront post-apartheid South Africa.

The three research questions the thesis sought to answer are therefore :

- What are the language attitudes and language use patterns of Xhosa students at UWC?
- Do these patterns persist or change over a period of three years?
- How do the answers to the previous two questions relate to common assumptions, theoretical orientations and methods of data collection in attitude studies in South Africa and internationally?

The study's initial hypothesis is

- that Xhosa students enter university with particular patterns of language attitudes and use in place
- and that they leave university with some attitudes further entrenched while others reveal slight to significant changes.

This study is intended to be a contribution to research done into language attitudes in South Africa and countries with a comparable language history to South Africa. In particular, it hopes to complement the research conducted by, among others, Schmiedt (1996), Siachitema (1985) and Rubagumya (1990) in the rest of Africa, and research conducted in South Africa by, among others, Webb (1992), Kamwangamalu (1995), Barkhuizen(1996), Bosch and De Klerk (1996) and De Klerk (1998).

III. Research Design

As a study of patterns of language use and attitudes within one specific speech community, the study confines itself to UWC, and specifically to Xhosa students drawn from the English 105 course at entry level. English 105 (now known as *English for Educational Development*) is UWC's foundational academic literacy course. The aim of the course is to provide first-year students with the academic literacy skills they needed to survive at university. Students from four faculties took the course in 1996, and therefore the course had a very representative body of students whose responses were likely to reflect those of the broader tertiary student community.

The research methodology (see Chapter Two) uses the most popular method

used by attitude researchers, the survey questionnaire (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970:142-3). *Triangulation* of research data (Carranza 1982:81) is achieved through written data and interviews. The survey questionnaires look at how students self-report their language acquisition and use, as well as their overt responses to the different South African languages in different social situations. Follow-up interviews and written assignments explore the reasons underlying their reported patterns of use and attitudes, and also prove useful in probing more covert attitudes.

IV. Structure of Thesis



The thesis consists of the following chapters:

One: This chapter provides the background to the study, together with an analysis of the fundamental concepts underpinning it. A survey of language attitude studies is also included in this chapter.

Two: The research methodology is described in detail in this chapter.

Three: This chapter is a critical analysis of the results of the 198 entry level students surveyed in 1996.

Four: This chapter is a critical analysis of the results of the 20 students surveyed over a period of three years from 1996-8, to explore patterns of change in language use and attitudes.

Five: This chapter considers the conclusions reached by the study based on the results of Chapters Three and Four, and the implications of these conclusions.

A comprehensive bibliography and full set of appendices conclude the thesis.

VI. Abbreviations



The following abbreviations are used throughout the thesis:

BSALs - Black South African Languages

MOI - Medium of Instruction

PANSALB - Pan South African Language Board

SA - South Africa/n

UWC - University of the Western Cape.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE SURVEY

1.1 Introduction

South Africa is currently undergoing rapid transition from a society divided by the policy of separate development for blacks and whites (commonly known as *apartheid*) to a society where the enfranchisement of all its citizens means that equality and more equitable treatment can be enjoyed by all. The coming to power of the African National Congress and its leader Nelson Mandela in 1994 is often seen as the start of this transition, but it has in fact been taking place steadily since the mid-1980s, when many of the more rigid aspects of apartheid, such as state policies governing the education of black South Africans, began to be dismantled in response to powerful internal dissent and pressure from the rest of the world.

The political changes in the country go hand in hand with societal changes. From being largely a rural society, South Africa has become increasingly urbanised (Ridge 1998:3). Many people retain a strong pride in their rural roots and the cultural values and traditions of earlier times, but urbanisation carries particular challenges to these values and traditions, particularly as urbanisation means being in close contact with speakers of other cultures, traditions and languages. Van der Reis (1997:8) reporting on research conducted by the South African Bureau of Marketing Research, writes that modern, metropolitan black youth in particular is at the cross-roads in the process of acculturation, but appear to be dealing with

this situation by embracing a mixture of traditional African and Western values. As this study will demonstrate, this process of adaptation also appears to be reflected in their language attitudes and use.

In the Introduction to this thesis, the principal conceptual issues, together with the common assumptions of those academics and language activists who seek to promote multilingualism in South Africa, have been presented and briefly discussed. When I set out on this research, I hypothesized that the momentous changes in the country were likely to exert powerful influences on the language attitudes of the respondents in the study. In particular, I believed that respondents would reveal strong positive attitudes towards the indigenous Black South African languages (BSALs), and would want to see these languages playing stronger roles in South Africa, particularly in the domain of education. I was also interested in finding out whether there had been any modification in attitudes towards the two former official languages of South Africa, viz. English and Afrikaans. In the light of the actual findings of this study, the final chapter of this thesis contains an evaluation of the validity of my hypothesis, past language attitude research and the common assumptions about multilingualism in South Africa.

In order to provide a context for the study, this thesis begins with a narrative which attempts to evoke what it is like to live in a complex multilingual society like South Africa. It is against such a background that the patterns of language attitudes and use, the core of this study, have developed. A discussion of the

narrative will assist in clarifying the fundamental concepts which underpin the study, particularly with regard to language use, and the relationship between these concepts. The study of attitudes as the central theme in the thesis will then be explored by giving an overview of international and South African language attitude studies. Finally, the relevance of language attitude studies will be discussed.

1.2 The Narrative

The year is 1996, the third year of democratic governance in the new South Africa. Ntombi is a twenty-one year old entry level university student at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), situated near Cape Town, South Africa. Ntombi lives with her family in Khayelitsha, a sprawling, mainly impoverished township outside Cape Town inhabited by African people only. When she gets up at about 5h30 every morning to prepare breakfast for the family, Ntombi wakes her family in an urban variety of Xhosa, the family's mother-tongue or home language. Ntombi's mother, who runs a small 'spaza' (grocery) shop from their home, is mainly monolingual in Xhosa, but has acquired some basic English expressions which help her to communicate with the local suppliers from whom she buys her goods. Ntombi's mother was raised in the Eastern Cape, a province of South Africa, which is where most Xhosa people in SA come from, and completed her primary school education up to grade seven mainly in Xhosa. Her linguistic repertoire includes the 'deep, rural' variety of Xhosa she was raised in, the urban vernacular form of Xhosa which she uses in the city, and some basic

English.

Ntombi's father, who was raised in Langa, one of the older black townships of Cape Town, managed to complete three years of secondary school, which helped him to obtain a junior high school certificate. He is employed as a bus driver on the route between Khayelitsha and central Cape Town. As a result of exposure to two other South African languages which are used by many of the inhabitants of Cape Town and its suburbs, he speaks some Afrikaans and some English. He also learned both of these languages at school as his second and third languages, with Xhosa as his first language. Despite his formal and informal acquisition of Afrikaans, he considers himself as bilingual in Xhosa and English rather than trilingual in Afrikaans, Xhosa and English, because he uses Afrikaans only in certain isolated circumstances. He uses English in interactions with his employers and for all official purposes outside Khayelitsha. If he were to be questioned about his feelings about the three languages, he would probably be quite neutral in his attitude towards Afrikaans and very positive about English, but refer to Xhosa as 'the language of my heart'.

Ntombi's siblings, fifteen year old Khaya and seven year old Lindiwe, also attend school, but not in Khayelitsha. Her parents want a better education for her younger brother and sister than they believe can be provided by the under-resourced township schools in Khayelitsha. In particular, they would prefer Khaya and Lindiwe to get their education mainly in English, because their attitude is that this language holds the key to educational and career success in

South Africa. Consequently, Khaya and Lindiwe are both enrolled in English-medium classes in dual-medium (English and Afrikaans) schools in nearby Mitchell's Plain. Mitchell's Plain is another working-class suburb of Cape Town, created specifically by the apartheid regime for the mixed-race (Coloured) population. Khaya and Lindiwe are therefore exposed to both English and Afrikaans at their school. While there are also other Xhosa-speaking children at the school, they are far outnumbered by the Coloured children, who are bilingual in English and Afrikaans and frequently code-switch between the two languages. However, the parents of these Coloured children share the view of Khaya's parents that English is the key to unlocking future prospects for their children, and most of these children are in the English medium classes at the primary and secondary school attended by Lindiwe and Khaya.



Khaya, who has many Coloured friends, has become fairly fluent in both English and Afrikaans, and his language use also exhibits the type of code-switching and code-mixing between English and Afrikaans that is a common feature of the speech of his friends. Khaya, a grade 9 learner, tries very hard to assimilate himself into the dominant speech community at his school. When he is with his Coloured friends, he sometimes pretends that he is Coloured also, and will answer in Afrikaans if anyone addresses him in Xhosa. Khaya's desire to be part of his peer-group at school has had a positive effect on his attitude to Afrikaans. His sister Ntombi has often told him of the time when Afrikaans was hated and reviled as 'the language of the oppressor' and when school-children marched in black townships across the land shouting 'death to Afrikaans'. Although Ntombi

was just one year old at the time, she knows the history of 1976 and the Soweto riots, because she was taught about it at school by her teachers, many of whom were political activists during that period. While she shares her father's neutral attitude towards Afrikaans, she feels negative about white Afrikaners, whom she still identifies with the racist oppressors of her childhood.

But Khaya cannot identify his Coloured peer-group with the racist oppressors of the past, and cannot see how Afrikaans can oppress him. When he returns to Khayelitsha in the afternoons, he sometimes finds it difficult to make friends with other township boys, who ostracise children like Khaya who do not attend township schools. Thus Khaya mainly plays with boys who, like him, attend schools elsewhere. The speech of these boys who play together after school is characterised by a lot of code-switching and mixing between English and Xhosa, with some Afrikaans words added as well. The boys also like to use 'kwaito speak' - a mixture of American English expressions, urban Xhosa and Afrikaans which is used in 'kwaito music', which is the most popular music among young urban blacks. The word 'kwaito' probably comes from the Afrikaans expression 'kwaai ou', meaning 'cool guy'.

Khaya's illiterate, monolingual grandparents from Lovedale in the Eastern Cape speak a rural dialect of Xhosa, Ngqika, which is regarded by the family as the 'best' Xhosa because it is one of the three dialects of Xhosa that developed into the standard Xhosa which is taught in school. It is also the dialect used by their local minister in the Presbyterian church they attend. As the grandparents are

illiterate, it is questionable whether their variety of Xhosa is exactly the same as the standardized version taught in schools. When the grandparents visit the family, they feel concerned about the fact that Khaya likes to 'show off' his English to them, a behaviour which they regard as disrespectful, as Xhosa grandparents are normally only addressed in Xhosa by members of their family. Although they do not have particularly negative attitudes towards English, they feel that Khaya's Xhosa is poor. Khaya's parents have agreed to send him to his grandparents in the Eastern Cape once he is 17, for the traditional initiation into Xhosa manhood, because the grandparents are concerned that he is losing his language and his culture. During the annual visit of the grandparents, everyone in the family takes care to address them in 'pure' Ngqika, but as soon as they depart, the family revert to the urban variety of Xhosa which has developed in the black townships of Cape Town. It is clear that the family feel somewhat ambivalent about the rural Xhosa of the grandparents. On the one hand they associate it with traditional values and respect, but on the other hand it has little currency in the urban setting where they live, and the younger children struggle to speak it correctly.

In contrast to Khaya, little Lindiwe finds life much harder in grade 1. As Lindiwe has spoken nothing but Xhosa since birth, she now finds herself having to learn in a second language - English. Her teacher can only speak English and Afrikaans, and cannot communicate with her and this hinders the process of accommodation for Lindiwe. Thus Lindiwe is mainly silent in class, but she is beginning to memorise English songs and recitations and has picked up a few phrases in

Afrikaans. Lindiwe likes English much more than Afrikaans, because she has been exposed to the English used by her mother in her dealings with her suppliers since she was a little baby tied to her mother's back. Despite her difficulties, her parents consider her more fortunate than Ntombi, who did the first three grades of her primary education in Xhosa, and only then switched to English as medium of instruction. Despite this policy, Ntombi's primary and secondary school teachers at the schools she attended in Khayelitsha taught her nearly all her subjects in a mixture of English and Xhosa. However, Ntombi had to write all her final examinations (except Xhosa first language) in English.

Although Ntombi managed to gain a matriculation exemption (the university entrance qualification in South Africa), her parents feel that her grades would have been much better if she had learned through the medium of English exclusively from grade one. They also feel that she would not have had to repeat grades nine and eleven if her English had been better. Nevertheless, they are glad that she has persevered and been accepted into the University of the Western Cape, an historically black university (HBU). Ntombi's entry level subjects are Xhosa, English for Educational Development, Psychology, History and Linguistics, and she would like to qualify as a teacher of History or Xhosa. Like many of her peers, she has been advised to do the foundational academic literacy course, known as English 105, in order to improve her English and academic study skills, because English is the de facto medium of instruction at UWC. She is quite happy to do this course, because it teaches her how to read and write in English at university and appears to be a lot easier to pass than her

other subjects.

The student population at UWC speak many different languages, but speakers of Xhosa form the largest speech community, followed by speakers of English and Afrikaans. Ntombi has mainly Xhosa-speaking friends at university, and seldom interacts informally with speakers of other languages. But in one of her smaller study groups (known as tutorials) she has met a Zulu speaker, a young man named Dingane. As a result of this tutorial, she and Dingane have got to know each other well and have become romantically involved. Dingane often addresses her in Zulu and she replies in Xhosa, but because the two languages are largely mutually intelligible, they understand each other very well. Both are surprised by how much they understand of each other's language, and both feel motivated to learn more about each other's language.



Ntombi's main languages are Xhosa and English, but English is restricted for her to specific areas only, with Xhosa fulfilling most functions, but English being used at university, whenever she goes shopping, has to deal with officialdom or in interactions with her mother's suppliers. Included in the linguistic repertoire of her family are a high variety of Xhosa for writing and communication with the grandparents, and a low urban vernacular form of Xhosa for daily communication with each other and with other township inhabitants. Her Zulu is mainly used for informal interaction with Dingane. Dingane considers himself multilingual in Zulu, English, Xhosa and Swati, which is his mother's home language. He therefore speaks four of South Africa's official languages.

A summary of the linguistic repertoire of Ntombi and her family looks like this:

1. Their main and best-mastered language is Xhosa. The variety they speak is not necessarily the standard variety taught at school, which can only be read and written by Ntombi and her parents. The rural dialect of Xhosa, Ngqika, which is spoken by the grandparents, is one of the dialects that became the standardized Xhosa taught in school, but there are differences between the grandparents' use of Ngqika and the more formal school Xhosa.

2. English (spoken and written) is reasonably mastered by Ntombi, Khaya and their father, but used in restricted areas such as dealing with employers, at the university, shopping outside Khayelitsha, etc. Lindiwe and their mother's English is very basic, restricted to a few key expressions and memorized texts. The parents clearly value English and its 'market value' in the futures of their children.

3. Ntombi and her father speak Afrikaans at a very basic level, but Khaya exhibits more fluency and a greater range of expressions in Afrikaans as a result of his desire to assimilate with his bilingual Coloured classmates. Of the entire family, Khaya exhibits the most positive attitudes towards Afrikaans.

4. Ntombi's use of Zulu is restricted to informal conversations with her Zulu boyfriend, Dingane, as is his use of Xhosa.

1.3 Fundamental Concepts

The Introduction to this thesis briefly defined and discussed the principal conceptual issues underpinning the study: language attitudes, language use, speech community, multilingualism, and language planning and policy. With the exception of language planning and policy, which are addressed later in this chapter, this section now discusses these concepts in much more detail, in order for us to understand and analyse the linguistic situation of Ntombi and her family and the attitudes they hold towards the different languages in their repertoire.

Xhosa is described as their *mother-tongue* or *home language*, in other words, the language mainly used at home and in most of their interactions with other members of their speech community. The terms refer to the language acquired in infancy and early childhood (Stern 1983:10). It was learned at school by Ntombi and her parents as their *first language*, followed by English as their *second language* and Afrikaans as their *third language*. Unless a child grows up in a bilingual family, a second or third language is only acquired, either formally or informally, after the first language has been acquired, and speakers of second languages often indicate a lower level of proficiency in such languages in comparison with the mother-tongue or home language (Stern 1983:12). Ntombi's mother and grandparents are largely *monolingual*, that is, they speak only one language, Xhosa. Ntombi's mother has adapted to her working environment by picking up some basic English expressions through which she can communicate with her suppliers. Her *motivation* for acquiring these English expressions is thus purely *instrumental*, for her economic advantage (Gardner and Lambert 1972:14).

Both Ntombi and her father would describe themselves as *bilingual* in Xhosa and English, that is, able to carry out the communicative skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing in both languages, but not to the same degree of competence in each language. Khaya, Ntombi's brother, and Dingane, her boyfriend, probably regard themselves as *multilingual*, that is, able to use more than two languages with varied degrees of competence. Ntombi, her father and Dingane actually only use English in specific areas or *domains* such as in the fields of education and employment, but their speech patterns also reveal evidence of *diglossia*, with English fulfilling high functions such as in education, while Xhosa and Zulu fulfil low functions such as in intimate conversations. Khaya, on the other hand, does not restrict his use of English to school only because he spends a lot of time using informal English with his friends.



The *domains* referred to in the previous paragraph are certain institutional contexts in which one language or language variety is more likely to be appropriate than another. Fishman, who did some of the principal research into domains of language use (1964, 1965, 1968) was mainly concerned with: who speaks what language to whom and when? Domains are taken to be constellations of factors such as location, topic and participants and include the domains of work, family, school and other educational institutions, circle of friends and wider communication. Thus for Ntombi's parents, English is the appropriate language to use with his employers and her suppliers, while for Ntombi and Khaya it is the appropriate language for school, friends (in the case

of Khaya) and university. For all of them, it is the appropriate *language of wider communication*, which allows them to communicate across language boundaries (Stern 1983:234), particularly in the educational and commercial domains. English is also referred to as South Africa's *lingua franca* (Samarin 1962:54), or common language. However, Xhosa continues to be used in a wide range of domains by this family, and cannot be said to have been replaced by English in these domains - the home, religion, cultural practices and in interacting with family and friends, although Khaya is increasingly using English with his friends.

There is clearly a relationship between domains of use and the *vitality* of a language, which is often signalled by the number of functions it serves. Vitality, according to Edwards (1994:100-101) 'refers to the number and importance of functions served, and is clearly bolstered by the status which standards possess; it can also be a feature, however, of non-standard varieties, given sufficient numbers of speakers and community support.' Edwards also argues that the vitality of a language or of non-standard varieties is evaluated according to its social status in the community and the solidarity between its speakers. One could argue that, in the case of Ntombi's family, the non-standard urban vernacular they speak has greater vitality in the urban context than the rural variety spoken by her grandparents. The most important domains of language use are of course the *domains of necessity* (Edwards 1994:110). Edwards points out that once a language ceases to operate in these domains, little can be done to recapture them, so that bilingual communities will then gradually become monolingual: 'people will not indefinitely maintain two languages when one will serve across all

domains’.

Apart from domains of language use, there is also the notion of *diglossia*. This notion, developed by Ferguson (1959) involves two varieties of a linguistic system used in a speech community: a formal variety (high) and a vernacular or popular form (low). Greenfield (1970), working with Puerto Rican respondents in New York City found evidence of diglossia at work, with vernacular Spanish given the lower status of intimate relationships (family and friendships) while English was accorded the higher status in the domains of religion, education and employment. Similar patterns of low/high status can be found in South Africa and much of the rest of Africa (Adegbija 1994).



Fishman (1980) broadened Ferguson’s original categories of diglossia into four main categories:

1. Diglossia and bilingualism together, where almost everyone can use the high variety and the low variety of two languages;
2. Diglossia without bilingualism, where two languages spoken by the same population have the same status;
3. Bilingualism without diglossia, where everyone is bilingual but does not restrict one language to a specific set of purposes only;
4. Neither bilingualism nor diglossia, where a linguistically diverse society is forced to change into a monolingual society.

In the case of Ntombi’s family (with the exception of the monolingual

grandparents), we have diglossia together with bilingualism, with English performing many of the higher functions, and Xhosa the lower functions. However, there is evidence of diglossia in their use of Xhosa as well, with the high rural variety of the grandparents used in certain domains like religious practices, to signal a rural identity where required and in conversations with the grandparents. The low black urban vernacular variety of Xhosa is used in less formal settings and to signal an urban identity in public discourse. Mention was also made in the narrative that the Xhosa dialect Ngqika was one of the three dialects selected for *standardization*. This, according to Webb and Kembo-sure (1999:18) is the process by which an authoritative language body “intervenes in the regularization of the grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation and writing system of the language” in order to create a standard language to be used in education and for other higher functions. Ngqika was selected with Gcaleka and Thembu over the other dialects of Xhosa - Hlubi, Mpondomise, Bhaca, Xesibe, Mfengu and Bomvana - because Christian missionaries first settled in the territory governed by Chief Ngqika in the early nineteenth century. These missionaries needed to learn Xhosa and to spread the Gospel, and therefore a written version of Xhosa was badly needed. The amaNgqika (the tribe of Chief Ngqika) were therefore the first Xhosas exposed to a written form of their language (Schonstein Pinnock 1988:76).

Ntombi’s parents show a distinct *preference* for English as the most important language in the future lives of their children. In many parts of Anglophone Africa, the majority of the people surveyed have expressed a strong preference

for English as the main language of learning and teaching. Studies by Siachitema (1991), Meerkotter (1987), Hartshorne (1987), Mawasha (1996) and Kamwangamalu (1995), have all provided evidence of this preference. Language preferences are often central in the language choices people make when interacting in formal and informal situations, in interactions with officialdom and experts like doctors, although such choices are often pre-determined by established societal patterns of language use. Thus Ntombi's mother does not really have a choice when she interacts with her suppliers in English, but Khaya has a choice when he opts to reply in Afrikaans when addressed in Xhosa. Khaya's language preference in this situation plays an important role in signalling a particular identity he has appropriated for himself. In any multilingual society the use of a particular language can be used to signal identity, even in formal situations, and this is often done through code-switching. Thus, for example, a politician addressing a rally might suddenly slip into a local language in order to show his identification with his audience, or a teacher of a second language could suddenly tell a joke in the local vernacular in order to break down the barriers between her and the class. Webb (1992:438) points to a direct link between language preferences and language attitudes:

It is generally accepted that one's choice of sociolinguistic variants, varieties and languages is conditioned by one's attitude to individual speakers and groups, by one's personal goals, ideals, social ambitions, and by one's knowledge of the conditions of social intercourse. Language preferences can therefore be an indicator of language attitudes.

It needs to be pointed out that in this study, as in many other attitude studies, no distinction is made between preferences and attitudes.

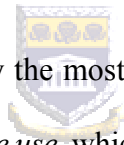
Ntombi's parents respect the rural 'pure' Xhosa of the grandparents as the carrier of Xhosa culture and traditions. They display particular positive *attitudes* towards this type of Xhosa, but also to the urban vernacular they use daily. The family also reveal strong positive attitudes towards English, which has a much greater 'market value' than any other language in South Africa. The *language attitudes* of the family define the ways in which they rank the different languages in their repertoire, how they feel about those languages, and how they behave towards those languages and speakers of those languages (Triandis 1971:8).



Although attitudes will be discussed more fully in section 1.5, we can make a number of key distinctions in the attitudes displayed by our fictional family:

- Some attitudes have affective roots while others have more rational roots. It may be rational for the family to be positive about the urban vernacular of Xhosa which they use daily and which is the common language in Cape Town's black townships. It may be more affective for them to be positive about the rural variety spoken by the grandparents, because the value of this variety is defined in abstract terms like culture and tradition;
- Attitudes are different for languages and people. It is possible to have a neutral attitude towards a language (as Ntombi has towards Afrikaans) while holding negative attitudes towards speakers of that language.

- Patterns of language use often contradict language attitudes. The family may express strong positive attitudes towards the rural Xhosa of the grandparents, but actually seldom use this variety. Similarly, their high regard for English is not matched by the use of the language outside highly formalised situations;
- There are different reasons why people choose to use a language in a particular domain, and attitudes or preferences may or may not have a role to play here. Khaya may simply have a boyish desire to ‘show off’ his English to his grandparents, and this may have nothing to do with his having a negative attitude towards Xhosa and a positive attitude towards English.



Khaya's *language use* is probably the most varied in his family. Widdowson (1978) separated the term *language use*, which applies to communicative events, from *language usage*, which applies to language as a formal system. Khaya speaks mainly Xhosa at home, but is also fairly fluent in English and Afrikaans as a result of his exposure to bilingual Coloured children and the fact that he is learning these languages at school (he receives no classes in Xhosa). Khaya clearly has a great desire to *assimilate* with the dominant speech community in which he finds himself when at school. Khaya's assimilationist behaviour is reminiscent of Schumann's 'acculturation model' (1978), which showed the relationship between higher status and lower status groups. In the environment of the higher status group, lower status groups have three options open to them - giving up their own lifestyles and values (assimilation); rejecting the culture of

the dominant group (rejection); or taking a positive view of both their own and the dominant group's culture (adaptation). Khaya also exhibits *positive integrative motivation* (Gardner and Lambert 1972:14) towards the languages of his dominant peer group, because of his desire to affiliate with this group, and reveals positive attitudes towards English and Afrikaans.

As a result of using Xhosa mainly in the restricted domain of the home, Khaya is beginning to exhibit signs of a *language shift* from Xhosa to English, and to a lesser degree, to Afrikaans, which he mainly uses in the school playground. When a language no longer occupies particular domains, especially the domains of necessity, it can be said to be in a state of decline brought about by *language shift*, which is characterized by the increased functions of one language and the decreased functions of the other language. Khaya's suppression of his Xhosa identity may also be symptomatic of his changing attitudes towards Afrikaans and Xhosa, with a growing positive attitude towards Afrikaans but an increasingly negative attitude towards Xhosa, which he only uses in limited contexts. If one contrasts attitudes towards Afrikaans in 1976 and attitudes towards it twenty years later, it is clear that there has been a *change* in attitudes towards Afrikaans from the overwhelmingly negative stance of 1976 to the more neutral attitudes of Ntombi and her father and the more positive ones exhibited by Khaya.

Khaya's language use patterns are likely to be duplicated by his little sister Lindiwe, unless she drops out of school completely as a result of not being able to

cope in a class where her mother-tongue is not used at all. Something urgent needs to be done for Lindiwe to accommodate her inability to communicate with her teacher. One solution is that her teacher needs to learn some Xhosa which will help Lindiwe to overcome the linguistic and social barriers hindering her education. In addition, Lindiwe needs additional help with her acquisition of English. Alternatively, her parents should send her to a school where Xhosa is one of the media of instruction.

Ntombi obtained *matriculation exemption* at the end of her school career. This is a school leaving certificate which enables her to attend university. Her *language acquisition* in Xhosa has occurred both *formally* and *informally*, as she was formally taught the language at school and it is also her home language. There was of course a significant difference between the standard Xhosa Ntombi learned at school and the urban vernacular Xhosa her family spoke at home, and this sometimes confused her. She has picked up Zulu, a language very close to Xhosa, informally through conversations with her boyfriend, while he has acquired some Xhosa from her. Zulu and Xhosa were once clusters of dialects within the dialect continuum of the Nguni language family (Slabbert and Finlayson 1995:131), but they diverged into different languages for political and historical reasons rather than linguistic ones (Hammond-Took 1993:39). Ntombi feels highly motivated to acquire more Zulu because she has personalized, interpersonal motives for wanting to acquire the language.

At the University of the Western Cape, English is the *medium of instruction* (also called the *language of learning and teaching*) in most academic departments with

the exception of the Xhosa Department. In other words, lectures, tutorials, assignments and examinations all happen through the medium of English.

1.4 A General overview of language attitude studies

Now that the fundamental concepts underpinning the thesis have been explored in some detail, a closer examination of the theories of language attitudes is necessary. In this section, a general overview is given of language attitude studies, internationally and in South Africa.

Consideration is given to finding a working definition of attitudes appropriate for this study. This is followed by a classification of attitude studies and an analysis of the relevance of attitude studies.



1.4.1 Towards a working definition of language attitudes

Although originally the term ‘attitude’ referred to the disposition of the body, it is now chiefly used for behaviour, feeling and thought, which is why most of the studies by social psychologists reveal two basic categories of definition: the emotional on the one hand and the cognitive/behavioural on the other (Morgan 1993:66). According to Schiffman (1997:2) attitudes about language were not regarded as important before the 1960s. Thus the *behaviourist* approach to language study saw language as behaviour, not as cognitive or affective activity. Those who saw language attitudes as rooted in cognitive and affective activity came to be known as *mentalists*. However, both mentalist and behaviourist attitude researchers agree that attitudes are ‘learned predispositions, not inherited

or genetically endowed, and ... likely to be relatively stable over time' (Baker 1988:114).

Proponents of the mentalist conception of language attitudes support Allport's (1954:45) definition of attitude as a 'mental and neural state of readiness'. Thus Fasold (1984:147) defines attitude as 'an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person's response'. Mentalist definitions of language attitudes imply, according to Agheyisi and Fishman (1970:138), that attitudes are not directly observable, but have to be inferred from respondents' introspection.

This strong theory of mentalism is somewhat modified by Gardner (1982:132). As was noted in the Introduction, Gardner supports Allport's definition of attitudes, particularly in the context of language, because it means that attitudes may influence people's responses to attitude objects or situations, but may not necessarily determine them. In other words, as was shown in section 1.4, attitudes can be different from, and not always related to, actual behaviour. Researchers like Rokeach (1968) and La Piere, (1934) have also reported on the often low correlation between attitudes and actual behaviour.

Many mentalist researchers claim that if people's attitudes are known, predictions can be made about their behaviour related to those attitudes with some degree of accuracy. These researchers would therefore argue that language planning and policy have to take language attitudes into account, to ensure that they do not clash with people's privately-held attitudes towards languages, which may differ

from their openly-expressed attitudes. As several attitude researchers have noted (e.g. Carranza and Ryan 1975; Ryan 1979; Edwards 1982), a professed attitude may be, at times, completely different from an actual subconscious attitude that ultimately governs a language user's judgements of and conduct towards speakers and writers of a particular language. They contend that there are *overt* and *covert* attitudes towards a language, such as when a learner is forced to attain a high level of proficiency in a language in order to ensure his/her survival yet harbours feelings of resentment and inferiority towards the language or the speakers of that language, who may be in a position of power over him/her.

The behaviourist view of attitudes is that attitudes can be found simply in the responses people make to the social situations in which they find themselves. Behaviourists like Bain (1928:957) argue that 'the only way to determine attitudes is by observation and statistical treatment of behaviour in social situations'. This approach defines attitudes entirely in terms of the observable data, but critics of this approach like Alexander (1967) and Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) argue that it makes attitude a dependent variable, with no independence from the situations in which the responses are observed.

Social psychologists like Triandis (1971:8) prefer to avoid the mentalist-behaviourist extremes by describing attitudes as a cover term for a complex entity with three components:

...an attitude can be conceived as having three interrelated components: (a) a cognitive component, described by the person's

categorizations, and the relationship between his categories - (b) an affective component - described by the way the person evaluates the objects which are included in a particular category; and (c) a behavioural component - which reflects the behavioural intentions of the person towards the objects included in a particular category.

Triandis's definition agrees with the multiple component definition of attitudes described by Osgood *et al.* (1957), Rockeach (1968) and Lambert and Lambert (1964). In this definition, the idea of 'category' could refer to semantic fields like languages and different social situations. The *cognitive component* would refer firstly to the way in which the person ranks the different languages to which s/he is exposed. Secondly, it would also refer to the functions those languages perform in a person's environment, like the language functions outlined by Fasold (1984:77), where the language performs functions that can be variously described as official, nationalist, educational, wider communication, etc. The *affective component* would refer to the actual emotional responses triggered by languages in particular situations, or simply the emotive connotations of the language itself. Atkinson *et al.* (1953:543) capture this component very aptly when they write:

Attitudes are likes and dislikes; affinities for and aversions to situations, objects, persons, groups; and any other identifiable aspect of the environment, including abstract ideas and social policies.

Finally, the *behavioural component* would be in line with the behaviourist definitions of attitude. This component is usually inferred from the way in which a person says s/he will behave towards a particular language.

While this multiple-component structure of attitudes has much to recommend it, Fishbein (1966:108) argues that it is impossible to determine for each individual the actual interrelations and organizations of the attitude components with respect to any one attitude object. He concludes that ‘it is usually only the evaluative or the “affective component” that is measured and treated by researchers as the essence of attitudes.’ What Fishbein contends may be true, but it is also possible for researchers to build in a number of components that indicate the actual relationship between attitudes and actual language use such as the measurement of actual proficiency and the determination of respondents’ specific domains of language use.

The working definition of attitudes on which this study is based is the multi-componential model of Triandis, as the study considers the ways in which the respondents rank the different languages they are exposed to, how they feel about those languages, and how they say they will behave in specific situations where these languages play important roles.

1.4.2 The categorization of language attitude studies

Language attitude studies examine a variety of sociolinguistic issues.

Categorizing these various studies enables one to understand the range of issues covered, and to see in which category this particular study can be placed. Schiffman (1997:1) describes language attitude studies as studies of the population at large, or a segment of that population, to try to find out what people's attitudes are about:

- language in general;
- motivation towards the learning of a first or second language;
- the status of a language, or the status of its speakers, or the status of the variety (standard/non-standard) of the language, or its use in certain domains;
- language shift within a particular community or in general
- and loyalty towards their own language or own non-standard dialect.



Schiffman's categories are a simplification of the work of Agheysi and Fishman (1970:137-157), who give three categories of language attitude studies:

- those evaluating languages as classical/standard/official against modern/non-standard/vernacular;
- those pre-occupied with the social significance of language or language varieties and attitudes towards speakers of different languages in multilingual settings; and
- those dealing with language behaviour, i.e. language choice and usage, language reinforcement and planning, language learning and views about inter-dialectal intelligibility.

The categories outlined here are clearly in line with the multi-componential

model of language attitudes, as described by Triandis and other researchers in the section above.

Agheyisi and Fishman (pp.142-3) provide a very useful table on the types of attitude studies and data gathering techniques from 1947 to 1969, and their findings are reported on in some detail here because the types of studies and techniques they describe have not changed significantly since then. The table reveals that the highest number of studies is within the topic areas of *the social significance of language varieties*, and *language choice and usage*. The questionnaire, a list of questions or statements, which cover a range of variables the researcher is interested in, is the most popular instrument of all the data-gathering techniques. Case studies, which study and interpret single, internally complex cases, are the least used. As noted previously, the questionnaire may consist of open questions or closed question items. Generally, the preference of researchers is for the latter, as the focus of the responses can be controlled better.

A closed question item, such as the opinion statements used in this study, would normally have three main components: 'the focal object, the dimension of appraisal, and a set of rating terms from which the respondents are required to choose' (p.148). Apart from problems that may arise as a result of items that are too simple or too complex, such questionnaires appear to be among the best instruments for measuring multicomponential concepts.

Other measures described are Fishman's Commitment Measure (1968), which is designed to measure the respondent's willingness to commit to a particular type

of behaviour, without actually performing it, and the ‘matched guise technique’ developed by Lambert *et al.* in 1960. This technique requires that selected groups of judges evaluate the personality traits of speakers whose tape-recorded voices are played to them. The judges are in fact listening to the same persons speaking in two or more different languages, but their evaluation of the personality traits point to their underlying attitudes towards the language that is spoken. While this is an excellent technique for drawing out the stereotyped impressions of groups towards the speakers of a particular language or variety, Agheyisi and Fishman contend that this method may be problematic in measuring attitudes in environments where a lot of code-switching, or switching from one dialect to another or standard to non-standard varieties take place.



Further methods described by Agheyisi and Fishman are Osgood *et al.*'s Semantic Differential Instrument, which uses the actual names or terms of reference for the focal object or concept. In other words, instead of responding to opinion statements or questions, the respondents are asked to respond directly to a list of focal objects (e.g. ‘school’) or concepts (e.g. ‘religion’), which Osgood *et al.* argue stimulate the scored response instead of the question or statement. There is also a good description of ‘the oldest method of data-gathering’, interviewing, where ‘the personal contact involved enables the interviewer to focus the attention of the respondent on the desired dimension, thereby providing a better chance for an honest and serious response’ (p.149). While the processing and recording of the data yielded by interviews can be problematic, this personal contact more than compensates for the disadvantages, because the interviewer

can control factors like potential misunderstandings, boredom and irritation in the interviewee.

The overview of South African Attitude studies, which now follows, reveal that the predominant methods of data collection used in these studies were questionnaires, the matched guise technique and interviews.

1.4.3 South African Attitude studies

An overview is presented here of previous attitude studies carried out mainly among the black and mixed-raced or 'Coloured' populations of South Africa. These studies reveal the forces that helped to shape black language attitudes in South Africa, and may also reveal which attitudes are more susceptible to change than others. They are presented here in terms of studies carried out to determine people's use of, and attitudes towards, English, black South African languages and Afrikaans.

1.4.3.1 English

All learners should have meaningful access to English since it has unparalleled power and status in our society at present (Heugh et al. 1995).

The above assumption is indicative of the acceptance, even among the promoters of multilingualism, of the power and status of English in contemporary South Africa. All the studies carried out with black or coloured respondents in SA have indicated strong positive attitudes towards English. English would be

difficult to supplant in the consciousness of the people as the major language for educational, economic and social advancement. People want the best for their children, and perceiving that this can only be achieved through education in English, will be reluctant to substitute it for mother-tongue education, no matter what the advantages are or how well they are explained.

Studies on attitudes to English in specific South African contexts have been carried out by, among others, Young *et al.* (1991), Webb (1992), Chick (1992), Heugh (1995), McCormick (1995), Mawasha (1996), Barkhuizen (1996), Bosch and de Klerk (1994), Chick and Wade (1997). Many of these studies are comparative attitude studies, which look at the attitudes of respondents to two or more South African languages.



Webb (1992) provides a useful summary of language attitude studies done prior to 1992, the year in which the shift in politics was reflected in the broadening of the field of South African linguistics. It is discussed here in some detail as a background to the more recent studies carried out on attitudes towards English in South Africa. Webb identifies four main indicators of language attitudes in South Africa, viz. *language behaviour, social judgements, policy preferences* and *institutional support*. *Language behaviour* is revealed by respondents' knowledge of the South African languages, language preferences, code mixing and language shift. A study by Van Vuuren and de Beer (1990) revealed that black radio listeners and TV viewers were satisfied with a very basic knowledge of Afrikaans, but required more sophisticated knowledge of English. According

to Webb, this indicates that English is more highly valued in the black community than Afrikaans. Surveys carried out by Scheffer (1983) in the coloured community and Cahill and Kamper (1989) in the black school population, revealed that there was a marked preference for English in the coloured and black communities.

Young *et al.* (1991), Dirven (1987) and Donaldson (1991) revealed that Afrikaans displayed a far larger degree of code-mixing as well as borrowing than English. Webb feels that this mainly one-directional mixing of Afrikaans with English is another indicator of the social relationships between the languages concerned, and therefore of language attitudes. While Webb has no information about language shift among black communities, he reveals a strong shift towards English in the Coloured communities, even among those with wholly monolingual parents. However, other studies with black respondents have revealed evidence of a language shift towards English. Gaganakis (1991:86) described how black pupils at the former Model C (whites-only) schools saw themselves as an elite group whose public use of English in the townships marked them as a high-status group and distanced them from their peers attending township schools. Chick and Wade (1997) revealed a significant swing towards English among Zulu-speaking school-leavers and first year university students. The greater access to previously whites-only schools had also, according to Schlebush (1994:98), led to at least partial language shift among the black pupils she investigated at one of these schools, a finding supported by the research of de Klerk (1996b).

Social judgements, according to Webb, are revealed by stereotypes, language evaluation and sociocultural identity. Black perceptions of Afrikaans and English speaking White South Africans were first examined by Vorster and Proctor (1975) using the matched guise technique with first year students at the University of Fort Hare. This study revealed that the respondents regarded Afrikaans speaking Whites as strict, authoritarian and unsympathetic whereas speakers of English were seen as friendly and sympathetic. The later study carried out in the Eastern Cape by Bosch and de Klerk (1994) with Afrikaans, English and Xhosa respondents largely confirmed this stereotyped attitude which black (Xhosa) respondents have towards Afrikaans and English speakers. The language evaluation information gives Webb further evidence of the high ranking English has in the black community as opposed to their own languages. Webb gives no information on the role of the socio-cultural identities of blacks in expressing their language attitudes, but the research of Chick and Wade (1997:276) reveals that Zulu pupils use code switching ‘to index an English identity while still retaining a Zulu identity’. In other words, they speak a type of English which still clearly identifies them as Zulu, in the same way many Cape Coloured speakers signal their identity in the way they speak English. Fear of being ostracised by the ethnic community may be a strong factor in this type of signalling, but at the same time there is also the need to display ability in English as a mark of educational background and status.

Under *policy preferences*, Webb lists areas like preferences for an alternative

national language policy, medium of instruction (MOI) and attitudes to Afrikaans and English as school subjects. In 1992, English was preferred as the (interim) sole official language, and English was emerging as the preferred MOI in black and coloured schools. As a school subject, English was also regarded as of greater value than Afrikaans by black pupils. *Institutional support* from government and cultural institutions as well as the media, are also, according to Webb, indicative of the status of languages in a community. In the same year, English and Afrikaans were the favoured languages of government. Afrikaans enjoyed strong support from the cultural organizations in the Afrikaans community, but the black languages had ‘relatively little cultural backing, this being restricted to government controlled language boards who concern themselves with standardizing these languages and with vocabulary development’ (Webb 1992:447). Black readers read publications in English or BSALs rather than Afrikaans publications, but mainly tuned in to a radio station broadcasting in a black language.

Today the powerful emerging role of English seems to have become entrenched. Webb (1999) shows that little has changed in the language behaviour of South African communities, and argues that in its public life, South Africa is becoming monolingual. He gives various examples of this apparently inexorable trend: the fact that almost all parliamentary business is conducted in English, that parastatal bodies like the Post Office, the telecommunication firm Telkom, the South African Broadcasting Corporation and South African Airways either use English exclusively or show a strong bias towards English, and that English continues to

grow in the private sector. As a medium of instruction, English continues to be the preference of most learners and parents in most provinces - a factor also revealed by the research of Mawasha (1996) and Barkhuizen (1996). Against English, all the other South African languages continue to be undervalued in the black and coloured communities, although pressure for improving the status and usage of these languages is beginning to come from some sectors of the English-educated elite (Ridge 1998:3). However, there is also some evidence that while pupils, students and parents continue to support English as MOI, experienced black educators are now backing the increased use of BSALs in education (De Wet and Niemann 1999; Barkhuizen 1996).

In their research with Zulu-speaking pupils, Chick and Wade give evidence of a swing towards English, but qualify this by saying that the English spoken by these respondents is not Standard South African English, but Black South African English (BSAfE). Author and educationist Njabulo Ndebele (1986:13-15) predicted the eventual development of South African English into ‘...a new language... not only at the level of vocabulary, but also with regard to grammatical adjustments that may result from the proximity of English to indigenous African languages.’ The English spoken by the majority of South Africans (including the respondents in this study) is clearly the Black South African English referred to by Ndebele. It shares many similarities with standard British English, but is pronounced and intoned differently and has its own idiomatic structure. The argument here is simply that English is ‘owned’ by South Africans and has evolved into a language to which black South Africans

can feel a closer attachment than to Standard White South African English. It therefore does not provoke the same attitudes of reluctant admiration and inferiority in black people, but allows them to identify with the role models who use BSAfE in the media and in education.

1.4.3.2 Black South African Languages

African languages should be consciously promoted to enhance their status and to develop their corpus for purposes of acquisition (Heugh et al., 1995).

Many proponents of multilingualism believe that unless African languages are used more widely and can occupy more domains than previously, multilingual education in schools may grind to a halt. At the same time, the active promotion of multilingualism and multilingual education is part and parcel of the ideological desire to promote BSALs among black South Africans, so that they can be instrumental in the linguistic maintenance and growth of these languages.

Most recent attitudinal studies on Black South African languages have highlighted negative societal attitudes towards BSALs beyond home and informal use (Msimang 1993; Marivate 1993; Kamwangamalu 1995; Gough 1998). In addition, figures released by the University of South Africa (Beukman 1999:21) reveal a sharp decline in the number of students studying indigenous languages, including Afrikaans, at South African universities. In this article, Prof. Henry Thipa, chairman of the African Languages Association of Southern Africa (ALASA) is quoted as saying that some African language departments have lost

up to 60% of their students. While this decline may have much to do with black South African students increasingly opting for careers in business, science and technology instead of teaching, negative attitudes towards BSALs may also have a role to play. Alexander (1999:7) goes so far as to call African language attitudes ‘the major stumbling block to the realisation of an authentic policy of multilingualism’, and calls for a series of continent-wide language awareness campaigns. A more balanced view is presented by Bosch and de Klerk (1994:57), who conclude that the Xhosa respondents in their study ‘are torn between a natural preference for their mother tongue and an attraction towards English and all that it represents’.

The findings of these studies have created the fear that many of these languages may become marginalized and even extinct because of a lack of functional demand (Luckett 1995; Young 1995). However, Banda (1998) argues that it is far too early to talk about language shift, and the decline and death of BSALs, because ‘the diversity of South Africa’s linguistic and cultural patrimonies, solidly anchored in historical developments leading to South Africa’s new constitution, makes it absurd to seriously envisage a language situation that could lead to language death and shift’ (Banda 1998:7).

Beyond the issue of education, a study of black attitudes to black languages in South Africa also needs to address the following issues:

- What attitudes do the speakers of a particular black language have towards other BSALs?
- What attitudes do people have towards ‘standard’ versus ‘non-standard’

varieties of black languages like Black Urban Varieties (BUVs)?

- Why is there such strong resistance to the notion of harmonizing some black languages into a common written form?
- Finally, which roles do speakers of BSALs currently believe can be fulfilled by these languages?

Gough (1994:11) points out that there is hardly any research on interlingual attitudes among African languages. Schuring and Calteaux (1997:16) report that, although a particular language often dominates in a particular township, 'Black urban speech communities are characterised by a high level of tolerance for each other's language and a commitment to finding a common medium of communication'. The need for a common medium of communication in multilingual areas has led to the development of Black Urban Vernaculars (BUVs), which are characterised by code-switching. These BUVs should not be confused with Colloquialised Argots like Tsotsitaal. Tsotsitaal, which is mainly used by men and criminal gangs, is a mixture of black languages like Zulu and Sotho with non-standard Afrikaans. It enjoys covert prestige among its users, even though it is seen in a negative light by others.

While BUVs perform vital roles in the townships, the standard languages still enjoy the highest prestige, particularly among the older generations who regard the standard variants as the carriers of their traditions and cultures. Gough (1998:3) sees the purist and prescriptive conceptions of the African language boards of the apartheid era as contributing toward this conservatism, and as

leading to considerable alienation, especially among young urban-dwelling Xhosas, from what they see as ‘proper’ Xhosa. Schuring and Calteaux (1997:17) report that this causes major educational problems for children, as the BUV has virtually taken over the place of the standard language in the home.

The third issue to be addressed is the question of harmonising the black languages. The process of harmonising mutually intelligible varieties of languages can also be referred to as ‘the further standardization or the restandardization of the languages concerned’ (Alexander, 1999:8). In this thesis the term ‘language standardization’ is used synonymously with ‘language harmonisation’. Le Strade (1935:137) saw language unification as the construction of ‘a common language for such a dialect group by employing as much as possible forms which are common to all the variants in the group’. The harmonising of Xhosa and Zulu into Standard Nguni and of North Sotho, South Sotho and Tswana into Standard Sotho would effectively reduce South Africa’s official languages from eleven to six. Calls for harmonization are routinely rejected by respondents in surveys (Msimang, 1994). Much of the inherent resistance to standardization, according to Dube (1992:52-55, cited in Msimang:161), stems from the misconception that one or the other language/dialect would simply disappear should standardization take place, and ‘will militate against the maintenance of different cultures and languages and will impose an artificial language on the people’. Webb and Kembo-Sure (1999:19-20) argue that such perceptions are based on a misunderstanding of how the harmonization will proceed. ‘In fact, the proposal envisages the creation of a

common *written* variety for each of the two major Bantu language families, to be used in school textbooks and in formal documents’.

Msimang (1994) identifies three attitudes that influence people’s resistance to harmonisation: inherent resistance to change, nationalism and puritanism. People are inherently resistant to change, with all the uncertainty and trauma that it brings. In addition, ‘a people’s language becomes their symbol of nationality and self-identity’ (Msimang 1994:157). The period from 1992 to 1997 was marked by bloody battles in Kwa Zulu Natal between the supporters of the ANC, who spoke Xhosa, Zulu and other languages, and the mainly Zulu-speaking supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party. People were often killed purely because they spoke the wrong language. While this battle was primarily for the political control of the province, it also highlights why some Zulus would violently oppose efforts to harmonise their language with that of the Xhosas, with whom they have had a long history of rivalry.

Thirdly, there are the purists, who regard the dialect which has attained standardization as the prestige dialect, which is likely to be corrupted by harmonisation. Msimang dismisses this claim by saying that only a handful of people like academics, authors and radio and television personalities speak the standard variety. He supports this point of view by citing the research of Mashamaite (1992) and Nomlomo (1993) into the examination results for two BSALs, Standard Northern Sotho and Standard Xhosa. Mashamaite (1992:48) found that most of the language errors committed by pupils writing the Matric

Northern Sotho examination were errors that reflected the non-standard speech forms, and concluded that many of the errors could be eliminated if the written language could be adjusted to resemble the spoken language. Similar problems were highlighted by the research of Nomlomo, who found that problems were created for Xhosa pupils who did not speak the dialects on which Standard Xhosa is based, namely Nqgika, Gcaleka and Thembu. Msimang believes that if a type of 'dialect democracy' were encouraged in schools and other institutions, these dialects would gradually fuse, thus facilitating the unification of Standard Nguni and Standard Sotho respectively. It should be noted that this type of dialect democracy is a daily reality for many South Africans, as can be seen by the development of the Black Urban Vernaculars which '...continue to revitalise the standard languages and add to their rich inheritance' (Schuring and Calteaux 1997:17).



Finally, research is needed on the roles speakers of BSALs assign to their languages in the current socio-political situation. The continued rivalry between Zulu and Xhosa noted earlier shows that for these two groups, their languages can attain a particular degree of power in the New South Africa. The ANC-led government is often seen to be dominated by Xhosa-speakers, which should in theory help to promote this language as a language of power. But, as already noted by Webb in the previous section on English, these politicians appear to be opting for English even when they address Xhosa-speaking constituents. Apart from its position, together with English, as a dominant language in Kwa Zulu-Natal, Zulu also serves as a *lingua franca* in urban areas like Gauteng, leading

Alexander (1987) and PANSALB (1999) to the questionable conclusion that it is the *lingua franca* of 70% of the South African population. Ironically, Zulu is also the language to record the sharpest drop in students studying it at university (Beukman 1999:21) - from a figure of 8,508 in 1995 to 2,621 in 1999 at the University of South Africa, which is a drop of 69%.

1.4.3.3 Afrikaans

Eleven official languages is a grand democratic concept, but in practice it is so cumbersome that automatically it creates an opening for a single, overriding language. The ANC can kill two birds with this single stone: English can be used as a unifying device, and Afrikaans, politically troublesome, can be phased out. But, phasing out Afrikaans so abruptly from government institutions would not only diminish reconciliation, it would nullify it. Also, because so many South Africans speak Afrikaans, disposing of the language will be easier said than done. (Uys 1998: 17).

Many South Africans would probably agree with Uys that Afrikaans is not a language that will be disposed of easily. This becomes clear simply by looking at the proportional distribution of home languages in each province of South Africa in 1996, as revealed by *Statistics South Africa 2000*. Here we see that Afrikaans is the home language of the majority of the population in two of the provinces:

the Western Cape (59.2%) and the Northern Cape (69.3%). In addition, it is the second largest language in a further four provinces: Gauteng (16.7%); the North West Province (7.5%); the Free State (14.5%); and the Eastern Cape (9.6%).

Schlemmer (1997:10) questions the government's apparent intention to use English as a unifying device, arguing that 'the exclusive use of English seems hazardous for national unity'. Most South Africans of all persuasions, according to Schlemmer, feel that national unity can be achieved while simultaneously protecting and promoting the rights and interests of cultural minorities, and that ethnicity should not be seen as a challenge to national unity.

But the political baggage attached to Afrikaans cannot be ignored. Despite its wide-spread use, it became identified during the 45 years of apartheid rule as 'the language of the oppressor' so that even home users of Afrikaans express overt negative attitudes towards it (Bosch and de Klerk 1996:246). In the section on English above, much was revealed about the largely negative attitudes held in the Black and Coloured populations towards Afrikaans, together with the subsequent code-switching and language shift away from Afrikaans. However, at least one study (Young *et al.* 1991) has revealed either considerable tolerance for, or greater neutrality towards, Afrikaans among black pupils as a result of the depoliticization of the language in post-apartheid South Africa. However, it is unlikely to play a major role in the lives of Black South Africans in future as most of its key state and educational functions have been supplanted by English.

This concludes the overview of attitude studies in South Africa. Consideration will now be given to the relevance of such studies.

1.4.4 The Relevance of Language Attitude studies

Language Attitude studies are of particular relevance in the following three areas:

1. Second language acquisition research
2. Language planning, policy and policy implementation
3. Language growth, maintenance and shift.

1.4.4.1 The impact of language attitudes on second language acquisition

There is a large body of evidence which shows that positive language attitudes can have a positive effect on language learning, particularly in the early stages. Stern (1983:386), in his review of attitude studies, concludes that ‘the affective component contributes at least as much as and often more to language learning than the cognitive skills’. Laine (1977) investigated Finnish students learning English and found that self-confidence and motivation, on which language attitudes have a causal influence, were associated with achievement in the language. Similar results were described by Clément *et al.* (1977;1980) in their research with French Canadian students learning English. Lett and O’Mara (1990) also demonstrated the relationship of attitudes and motivation, coupled with language aptitude, to the successful learning of Korean, Russian, German and French by American military personnel in intensive language learning programmes. A study done by Hakuta and D’Andrea (1992) with immigrant

Mexican pupils in the USA, makes a clear distinction between mother tongue maintenance, which is not affected by attitude, and the 'rapid and constant shift to English' which was unrelated to Spanish proficiency but strongly affected by language attitude. Gardner (1985) proposes a reciprocal causation between attitudes and motivation on the one hand, and successful language learning on the other, that is, attitudes and motivation influence language achievement, while language achievement leads to improved attitudes and motivation. As Stern (1983:386) puts it: 'learners who learn well acquire positive attitudes'.

If positive attitudes assist in the early stages of learning of a language (Gardner *et al.* 1972), can they also affect the level of proficiency learners are likely to attain in a target language? Most researchers agree that other factors determine whether a learner will attain a high level of proficiency in a target language, such as intelligence, language aptitude, language learning strategies (Gardner and MacIntyre 1993:8) as well as the quality of teaching and the influence of teachers (Morgan 1993:73), the resources available and the amount of exposure to speakers of the target language. Simply having a positive attitude towards a language does not automatically lead to a high level of proficiency (Robinson 1988:79-80). Hakuta and D'Andrea (1992:90) contend that language attitudes can contaminate self-rated language proficiency. Generally, the more positive the attitude towards the dominant language, the higher the individual is likely to rate his/her proficiency in that language, even if his/her actual language usage does not reflect this. In fact, the more proficient learners are in a given language, the more critical they are likely to be about their level of proficiency, as increased

proficiency helps learners to identify areas of weakness in their language use.

1.4.4.2 The value of language attitude studies in language planning, policy and policy implementation

Bosch and de Klerk (1994:50) maintain that language attitude studies supply valuable information to language planners and reveal the necessity for the widest possible consultation when new language policies are devised so that these may reflect the wishes of the people. However, sociolinguists like Fishman (1990), Eastman (1992), Tollefson (1992), Smit (1994), Hartshorne (1995), Luckett (1992) and Peirce and Ridge (1997) contend that language policy-makers, particularly in developing nations, seldom take account of the attitudes of all the constituencies affected by their decisions when constructing such policies. Instead, these policies often tend to reflect the wishes of 'a tiny English-speaking elite' (Tollefson 1992:201), leading to the kind of exoglossic language policies which characterized post-colonial Africa.

In most countries, language planning is normally undertaken by state-appointed commissions which study and make recommendations on all aspects affecting the use of languages for education, industry, nation-building and wider communication. The recommendations of such commissions may then lead to the formulation of state language policies, which normally reflect a government's particular political agenda behind the proposed strategies and models of how the policy will be implemented. Thus we can recognize three stages in the process, viz. planning, policy and implementation, and language attitudes may influence

all three stages.

At the planning stage, the actual choice of languages selected for the functions of education, industry, nation-building and wider communication may often be a clear reflection of the attitudes held towards those languages by the planners, if not by the entire population. Indigenous languages are frequently marginalized or even ignored totally, as are non-standard dialects and urban vernaculars. In many European countries, the nineteenth century notion of ‘one nation, one language’ was promoted, often ruthlessly, at the expense of minority languages, e.g. Welsh, Scots and Irish in Britain, Frisian in the Netherlands, and so on (Webb and Kembo-Sure 1999:119). In Ethiopia, during the reign of Haile Selassie, Amharic was imposed on all the citizens (ibid:127), and in Namibia, English was made the national language despite the fact that a mere 2% of the population are English home language speakers, while at least 90% understand and speak Afrikaans (Cluver 1993:262).

Once policies have been formulated, they usually reveal the status particular languages hold for the government of the day, instead of acknowledging the attitudes the wider population may have to those languages. Namibia’s opting for English as national language is a good example of this trend, revealing the government’s desire to use it as a language of national unity as opposed to Afrikaans, which carries too many reminders of the past when Namibia was governed by South Africa. Sometimes even well-meaning policies, designed to raise the status of minority languages, fail because of the government’s failure to

recognize the attitudes people may have towards those languages. In Peru, the indigenous language Quechua was given the status of national language by the Velasco government, but the implementation of the policy was a resounding failure because, for the people 'to embrace Quechua would be to declare oneself Indian with all the accompanying socioeconomic stigmatization' (Paulston 1986:119).

It is at the actual implementation stage of language policies that the importance of acknowledging the wider communities' attitudes is revealed most starkly. Without public support and awareness of public attitudes, implementation can be problematic, although Afrikaans was promoted in South Africa without the support of the wider community, which tended to regard English as the most important language. The vigour and sensitivity, or the lack thereof, with which governments try to implement the policies also indicate what they really feel about particular languages. In Tanzania, despite the official promotion of Swahili, English continues to prevail on the upper rungs of the socio-economic ladder because of public service practices which dictate that certain forms need to be filled out in English, and certain services operate with the tacit assumption that consumers are bilingual in both Swahili and English (Eastman 1992:98). In South Africa, despite its policy of having eleven official languages, English has the status as the most important language. This is most apparent in '...politicians' apparent leaning towards having one major language as an instrument for nation building, reconciliation, communication and education' (Young 1996:65).

Schiffman (1997:4) contends that people's hidden or covert attitudes towards languages may affect the implementation of policy and cause it to fail, or (according to the law of unintended consequences) results may be obtained that were not anticipated or predicted, resources may be wasted and there may even be a backlash against the policy. Language attitudes clearly have a very important role to play in influencing state language planning and policy, and there have been many instances in which governments' policies were attempts to placate popular sentiments about language. But the reverse is also true: state policies can also have an impact on language attitudes. If left to the masses, language attitudes remain largely static, but societal changes often lead to a change in language attitudes. Apart from these societal changes, actions like making the study of marginalised languages compulsory, and creating a definite role for them in the society (Lo Bianco 1995), may also change people's attitudes towards those languages. Therefore, state policies can have a vital impact on the survival of threatened varieties and on the creation of greater equity among languages.

The influence of state language policies on language attitudes is certainly reflected in South Africa's history. In 1910, the four British colonies in South Africa and the two former Boer republics, which had been defeated in the Anglo-Boer War by the British, merged. In the new Union of South Africa, Dutch (known as 'Afrikaans' only from 1924) was given official status together with English, but English was the language of economic power and social status. According to Lanham (1996:25) militant Afrikaner nationalists actively promoted

hostility towards English, leading to a language struggle where ‘language loyalty became the deepest social division in White South Africa’. Among black people, the use of English was steadily increasing owing to increased urbanisation and more state schools.

The coming to power of the largely Afrikaans-speaking Nationalist Party in 1948 led to the creation of the apartheid state. With it came changes to the hitherto subordinate role of Afrikaans in society.

The Afrikaner Nationalists made no bones about their intention to use education to advance Afrikaans and reduce English in South Africa. Nowhere was their draconian hold more effective than in black education which they took under their control with the Bantu Education Act of 1953 (Lanham 1996:26).



The Afrikaner Nationalists approved of the wide use of mother-tongue instruction in African education for two reasons. On the one hand, they professed to have a benign doctrine of respect for the cultural diversity of the different black groups in South Africa. But on the other hand, they realised that they could rule South Africa’s black people better by separating them. Their plan was to separate the people along racial and ethno-linguistic lines, to the extent that separate schools would be provided for distinct language groups. However, until the policy of mother-tongue education in all black schools could become a reality, the Nationalists promoted Afrikaans by insisting that fifty percent of all academic subjects at school were to be taught in it, with the other fifty percent to be taught

in English. This frequently meant that African teachers had to be given crash courses in Afrikaans in order to be able to teach in it (Hartshorne 1995:310). As was to be expected, the shortage of teachers proficient in both English and Afrikaans was the major impediment to the implementation of the 50:50 policy, along with the acute shortage of material resources (Carim Fradet 1990:8). This policy, which lasted from 1955 to 1977, became a major focus for opposition in the black community, particularly at secondary school level. At the same time, the various homeland states created under the apartheid regime (one for each separate black ethnic group, like Transkei for the Xhosas, Kwa-Zulu for the Zulus, Bophuthatswana for the Tswanas and so on) used their 'independence' to overturn the policy of dual medium education, and in almost all cases opted for one language - English - as the medium of instruction at post-primary level.



Indeed, the dissatisfaction with the dual-medium policy led directly to the Soweto uprisings of 1976, an event which continues to exert a powerful influence on current language attitudes in South Africa's black communities. As Pandor (1995:59-61) reiterates:

The history of the Soweto uprisings and the language link in these protests is well known, particularly because 1976 signalled the start of a new consciousness within the country, of the far-reaching effects that language had on the social, political, cultural and economic domain of society. Slogans such as 'kill Afrikaans' clearly indicated that people were determined to resist the imposition of a language as a strategy for their continued

dominance. Afrikaans emerged as a language that was stigmatised due to its link with oppression As hostility to Afrikaans remained steadfast and as the invisibility of African languages increased, black South Africans, as with Africans elsewhere, identified English as the language of advancement and democracy.

Thus the 50:50 policy appeared mainly to have strengthened the positive regard the black community had for English, while Afrikaans increasingly became the 'language of the oppressor'. At the same time, English also became known as 'the language of liberation'. Alexander (1997:83) ascribes this labelling of English to '...the Anglo-centrism of the political and ... cultural leadership of the oppressed people ... for reasons connected with the class aspirations of that leadership'. However, two less complex reasons for the choice of English as 'language of liberation' might simply be that the language was widely understood among all South Africans who had been educated up to secondary level, and that English had always enjoyed a more favourable status among black South Africans than Afrikaans.

In the negotiations prior to South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, the decision was taken to have eleven official languages (Hartshorne 1995:316). Consequently, South Africa's 1996 Constitution gives eleven languages official status, viz. 'Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans,

English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu'¹. It also recognises 'the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people' and proposes that 'the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of those languages' (Ch. 1 - 'Founding Provisions of the Constitution'). The reality in South Africa, some would argue, is of state language policies that run counter to people's strong positive attitudes towards, and preference for one language, namely English (Kamwangamalu 1995) and fairly sceptical attitudes about the value of Black South African Languages (Mawasha 1996).


A further complication is that the indigenous languages now promoted to national languages normally consist of a number of dialects, but only one or a few selected or prestige dialects became the norm or standard when the language was first written down (usually by missionaries), and it is this 'standard' dialect that school children are expected to learn in, even if it is far removed from their home dialect. Makoni (1995:86) argues that the language most Black children encounter when they enter school is so radically different from the ones they encounter during their primary socialization in the home that these children are not in fact receiving mother-tongue instruction, but step-mother tongue

¹ In this thesis, for ease of reference, these languages are referred to in their shortened forms, respectively, as Pedi, South Sotho, Tswana, Swati, Venda, Tsonga, Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Xhosa and Zulu.

instruction. The poor performances of such children in school examinations in the standard variant are also likely to contribute to negative attitudes towards these languages (Gough 1998).

1.5.4.3 The role of language attitudes in language growth, maintenance and shift

In the life history of a language, attitude may be crucial. In language growth or decay, restoration or destruction, attitude may be central. The status and importance of a language in society and within an individual derives in a major way from adopted or learnt attitudes (Baker 1988:112).

 *Language growth or spread (Cooper 1982)* often happens when a language is required to function in bi- or multilingual settings as a *lingua franca* and/or as a language of wider communication. As we have seen in the sub-section on language planning, the choice of such languages often reveals the attitudes held towards them, either by the government of the day or by the people in general. Even if the people harbour covert negative attitudes towards the government's choice of language for such important functions, history has shown that the rigorous enforcement of such policies (e.g. the enforcement of English in Ireland, Afrikaans in South Africa and Russian in Eastern Europe) also contribute to the growth of these languages.

It has already been noted in section 1.3 that the most important domains occupied

by a language are the domains of necessity. When a language no longer occupies these domains, it can be said to be in a state of decline brought about by *language shift*, which is characterized by the increased functions of one language and the decreased functions of the other language. According to Baker (1996:43) language shift is further characterised by a lessening of the number of speakers in a language, a decreased saturation of language speakers in the population and a loss in language proficiency. The last stage of language shift is called *language death*, when the language ceases to function in spoken form, even though it may survive in written form, like Latin. Most linguists agree with Edwards (1994:104) that the first condition for language shift is bilingualism, with its associated increase in code-switching and code-mixing. If bilingual speakers regard their mother tongue as inadequate for domains like education and especially employment, the situation may arise where they only use the language in home and cultural activities, thereby hastening the shift towards the other language.

Language maintenance occurs when a language manages to maintain most of its functions (e.g. home, school, religion) and role in society despite the presence of other powerful languages. A good example of language maintenance is the maintenance of French in largely English-speaking Canada, where state language policies and the aggressive actions of the speakers of French have helped to maintain the position of the language. In fact, French in the Canadian province of Quebec has recently shown signs of spread, at the expense of English. The maintenance of Spanish in areas like Miami in the United States of America is

another example of how a speech community maintains itself despite the presence of another powerful language. Of course, what the French Canadians and Spanish Americans have in common is an aspect often overlooked when language survival is debated, namely, economic power. With sufficient economic clout to support them, languages can be maintained and even grow.

However, according to Paulston (1987:121) ‘The norm for groups in prolonged contact within one nation is for the subordinate group to shift to the language of the dominant group’. This is in line with Schumann’s ‘acculturation’ model (1978) which shows that higher status groups will tend not to learn the languages of lower status groups. Lower status groups, as was discussed in section 1.3, have three options open to them - giving up their own lifestyle and values (assimilation), as is often the case in migration from a rural to an urban setting; rejecting the culture of the dominant group (rejection); or taking a positive view of both their own and the dominant group’s culture (adaptation). Language maintenance, and even *language revival*, are likely in the latter two options, rejection and adaptation. In the case of rejection, a minority group may have discovered that the attainment of the higher status language has not brought any socio-economic benefits with it. Such groups may then, according to Appel and Muysken (1987:45) ‘develop strategies to foster use of the minority language and to improve proficiency in the minority language, which is then revitalized’. Such actions are in line with Fishman’s *ethnic revival* (1985), but it must be pointed out that such revivals are often short-lived unless backed by powerful economic and socio-political forces.

Language attitudes, then, have a significant role to play in the survival or decline of languages, because the status people accord to languages, how they feel about those languages and what they are prepared to do about those languages are key factors in language growth, maintenance and shift.

Conclusion

The literature surveyed in this chapter provides substantial evidence of the relevance and value of research into language attitudes and the relationship between language attitudes and language use. Attitude and use patterns reveal a great deal about the social significance of languages in a given society, and are also markers of individual and national identity. In the area of language acquisition, positive attitudes may play a significant role in motivating language learners, but not necessarily in improving actual proficiency. Attitudes also play a crucial role in language maintenance, growth and shift. The various studies also highlight the importance of taking account of the attitudes of all constituencies in a multilingual society when deciding on language policies.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

The complex nature of language attitudes presents many challenges to researchers, and designing tools to measure them requires great care and attention to detail. One of the more common methods of measuring attitudes is the Likert-type scale (Likert 1932) described by Taylor (1973: 174-201) and Hakuta and D'Andrea (1992:77). This scale asks respondents to rate their reaction to statements on language by indicating whether they 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'not sure', 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree'. The Likert scale either uses numerical (1-5) or alphabetical (A-E) values. Other methods of data-gathering are the elicitation of personal opinions in writing (as used by Mawasha 1996) and open-ended questions to be responded to either in writing or during interviews (as used by Barkhuizen 1996).

This study made use of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Three methods of data collection, viz. survey questionnaires using the Likert scale, written responses and interviews, were used in order to ensure *triangulation* of data-gathering. These methods are described fully in this chapter, together with the selection of population and methods of data analysis. Carranza (182:81) describes triangulation as 'the process by which a social phenomenon is observed and measured by various techniques'. Data collected through different techniques, when viewed together, are likely to produce more valid and reliable findings than data from one source only. Apart from this triangulation, the longitudinal part of

the study aimed to uncover developing attitudes in the same group of respondents over a three-year period, in order to overcome the problem of attitudes affected by certain conditions in one survey only. Data on language use and proficiency were obtained from two sources - the self-reported data in this study, as well as respondents' university examination results in English 105 and Xhosa.

In response to the complexity of attitude testing, two further factors were built into the research methodology which enabled me to validate my findings. One obvious problem was the centrality of my role in the data collection process as principal interlocutor in interviews. The danger here was that my assessment of the respondents' attitudes could be influenced by my own attitudes and assumptions. The use of a Xhosa research assistant to conduct the interviews at exit level was an attempt to get past this potential problem as it was felt that students would be more at ease and more truthful about their attitudes with someone who was closer to their ages and of the same ethnic and linguistic background.

Another safe-guard was the validation of the study by comparing it with other language use and attitude studies carried out with mainly Xhosa students at UWC such as those by De Witte (1998) and Anthonissen *et al.* (1998). As Chapters Three and Four will show, this study revealed significant overlaps with the findings of these other studies, as well as with other South African attitude studies, such as those by Bosch and de Klerk (1994).

2.2 Selection of Population


The entry-level survey for this study was done with respondents who were doing UWC's academic literacy foundation course, also known as English 105, in 1996. I was also a lecturer in the course. English 105 (now known as English for Educational Development) teaches entry-level students the essential language and study skills needed to cope in a university environment. It therefore attracts large numbers of students, and is currently a compulsory course in most of the faculties at UWC.

The entry level survey carried out in September 1996 captured data from 252 respondents. This survey took place in three English 105 lecture groups, as part of a series of lectures and tutorials based on the theme of *language and culture*. The survey was used as a stimulus to further discussion, reading and writing on this theme. It would have been impossible to capture such large numbers of respondents if the survey had been done on a voluntary basis, and it therefore had to be a part of normal coursework.

In 1997, data from 54 second year level respondents, who had taken part in the 1996 survey, were collected. These students were tracked down by examining the courses that the majority had registered for at second year. Arrangements were made with lecturers and tutors in the departments of Xhosa, History and Anthropology and Sociology to permit the survey to take place in some of their classes. At exit level (third year for these students), 33 students who had done the survey at second year,

were contacted by post and offered remuneration to do the survey. Of these, 20 responded.

The decision to focus on Xhosa mother-tongue students was taken because they formed the majority of the respondents at entry and second year level. Of the total number of 252 respondents at entry level, 198 were Xhosa speakers, and of the 54 second year respondents, 39 were Xhosa speakers. Therefore the results collected could not be said to be representative of the entire student population at UWC, but rather of the Xhosa student population only. Xhosa speakers also formed the largest language group at UWC in 1996. This can be seen from the following table:


Home languages of UWC students, 1996

Home languages at UWC in 1996	Percentage of total student population
Xhosa	40.9%
Afrikaans	17.0%
English	18.0%
English and Afrikaans	9.0%
South Sotho	3.4%
Tswana	3.3%
Zulu	3.1%
North Sotho	0%

Tsonga	0%
Venda	0.4%
Swati	0%
Ndebele	0%
Other	4.0%

Source: UWC Statistics 1996

Any survey done at the University during this period, especially in the Faculty of Arts, would therefore have contained very large numbers of Xhosa speakers.



2.3 The Research Tools

2.3.1 The Survey Questionnaire

Oppenheim (1966:1) calls a survey

a form of planned collection of data for the purpose of description or prediction as a guide to action or for the purpose of analysing the relationship between certain variables, such as cancer or smoking...To gather data, social surveys use questionnaires and interviews, attitude scales, projective techniques and various related measures.

It was essential for me to include as many relevant statements as possible in my survey questionnaire, in order to arrive at a comprehensive assessment of

respondents' language use and attitudes. I arrived at a final version of the entry level survey questionnaire only after field-testing different versions of it on small study groups (known as 'tutorials') in English 105. This allowed me to filter out those statements that were irrelevant, to simplify complex statements which students had difficulty in answering and to add statements that had previously been overlooked, but which discussions with the sample test groups had shown to be crucial.

Preliminary research was also conducted with 353 English 105 students in 1995, chiefly around the relationship between English and their mother-tongues, and English as medium of instruction at UWC (Dyers 1996). This preliminary research provided me with a substantial bank of data, which helped me to formulate the questionnaire and also to validate some of the conclusions derived from this study. The survey questionnaire was adapted for second year and exit level respondents, excluding statements that were considered to be no longer relevant in their particular year of study.

The survey took the form of a series of closed statements to which students responded by recording their responses on a standard UWC multiple choice computer answer sheet (see Appendix X). The first three sections of the survey consisted of a series of statements under the headings *Personal Information*, *Language Profile* and *Language in Education Profile*:

- *Section One: Personal Information* - this section asked respondents to report their age, sex, first and second language examination symbols as well as

overall examination symbol, and year of study at university;

- *Section Two: Language Profile* - this section was used to determine who spoke what languages to whom and when, as well as respondents' self-rated competencies in the official SA languages;
- *Section Three: Language in Education Profile* - this section asked respondents to report which languages they learned formally at school and university, and which languages they acquired informally.

Respondents were asked to block in the symbol on the answer sheet (A-E) that described them and their language profiles in the survey questionnaire. For example, the first statement of the survey asked respondents to choose the correct category for their ages as follows:



1. Age:

A: under 20

B: 20-25

C: 26-30

D: 30-35

E: older than 35'

The respondents were expected to choose the correct category and to block in the appropriate symbol on the multiple-choice answer sheet.

The last two sections of the survey consisted of a series of statements under the

headings *Language Attitude Profile* and *Language in Education Attitude Profile*:

- *Section Four: Language Attitude Profile* - respondents recorded their responses to general language attitude statements on English, Xhosa, Afrikaans and other Black South African Languages. These statements considered the importance of these languages nationally, in the spheres of employment and the media;
- *Section Five: Language in Education Attitude Profile* - respondents recorded their responses to attitude statements on the role of the above languages in the domain of education.

With these two sections, respondents were asked to record their responses to the statements by applying the Likert scale. For example, in Section Four, they were presented with the statement *You can't get a good job unless your English is good.*

They had to choose from ONE of the following responses:

A: agree strongly

B: agree

C: not sure

D: disagree

E: disagree strongly

Then they proceeded as with the previous three sections, blocking in the appropriate

symbol on the answer sheet.

Great care was taken at entry and second year level to ensure that the respondents understood what each statement meant before they completed the answer sheet. Working in the lecture or tutorial groups, I explained what each statement meant, and then respondents blocked in their individual response to the statement before the next statement was explained. At exit level, respondents worked through the survey questionnaire on their own, as I felt that no further explanation of the statements was necessary. In section 2.4 a closer analysis of the variables included in the survey questionnaires is presented. The survey questionnaires can be found in Appendices I-III.



2.3.2 The Interviews

Seliger and Shohamy (1990:166) argue that interviews permit a level of in-depth information gathering, free response and flexibility that cannot be obtained by other procedures. The interviewer can probe for information and obtain data that often have not been foreseen. Much of the information obtained during an open/unstructured interview is incidental and comes out as the interview proceeds. Because of the very private and subjective nature of language attitudes, I felt that respondents might not actually reveal their true attitudes while answering the survey, especially as the survey was not completed anonymously so that students could continue to be traced from one

level to the next.

Face to face interviews were needed to probe underlying or hidden attitudes to various controversial issues covered by the survey. Students were asked why they had responded to the different attitudinal variables in particular ways, and were also engaged in a general discussion around their language preferences and feelings about South African languages at the beginning of the interview. This type of verbal reporting is termed 'retrospection' (Seliger and Shohamy 1992:166), probing interviewees for information after completing the task of responding to the survey.

At entry, second year and exit level, selected students were interviewed, and the interviews were recorded and transcribed. At entry level, I interviewed the 25 students in my own tutorial group in English 105, as this ensured easy access to respondents with whom I had built up a good relationship. I felt that my own students would be far more forthcoming in interviews than others with whom I had not established such close contact. Only 5 interviews were carried out at second year level, because of the great difficulty in obtaining volunteers from the 39 Xhosa respondents who completed the second year survey. At exit level, 10 respondents from the longitudinal group of 20 were offered R20 each for a 45-minute interview in Xhosa, conducted by the Xhosa research assistant. The interviews asked respondents to be introspective and to explain the reasons for their answers to the survey questionnaire. They were also encouraged to speak more widely about the whole issue of language in the SA context.

2.3.3 The written responses

Written responses collected at entry and exit level formed the final part of the data base. At entry level, students wrote essays during the final English 105 examination of 1996 in response to an article in the examination paper based on an interview with UWC Sociology lecturer Professor K. Prah. In these essays, students either agreed or disagreed with the argument that African languages should be used more widely in their education. The essays on this topic were chosen for inclusion in this study because, apart from addressing the issue of languages in education, they revealed attitudes towards many South African languages. The findings of sixty of these essays were used either to support or contradict the responses of the students to the section on 'Language in Education Attitudes' in the entry-level survey questionnaire.



Only three written responses were collected at second year level, and they were consequently not used in this study. At exit level, respondents wrote a paragraph at the end of the survey questionnaire to add their personal opinions on some of the issues covered by the questionnaire. It was felt that by exit level the respondents would not need a specific topic to discuss, but that topics would arise naturally from their completion of the survey. Of the 20 respondents who completed the survey, 12 wrote additional responses of varying lengths.

These written responses can be classified as *self-reports* (Seliger and Shohamy

1992:126). The students were responding to the essay question by using what they knew or had found out about the topic. This type of measurement is heavily dependent on how the question to be answered is phrased. It is difficult to obtain an unbiased answer even from willing and clear-headed respondents unless the essay topic is worded in such a way that respondents are not sent off on the wrong track.

In addition, Oppenheim (1988:50) warns that the willingness of such respondents could easily be curbed by various forms of inner censorship, poor rapport, the wish to maintain a social facade and the response expectations which the question suggests. Would students writing in an English 105 examination feel unwilling to attack the role of English as medium of instruction for fear that this would affect how their English lecturer would mark such an essay? Or would they feel that they were expected to agree with some of the language issues presented in English 105 course materials? The analysis of the entry level written work (see Chapter III and Appendix VIII) should reveal how honest their responses were.

2.4 An analysis of the variables included in the survey questionnaire

The variables used in the survey questionnaires at all three levels are divided into three broad categories:

- a. demographic information;
- b. domain-based language use as well as formal and informal language acquisition

and self-rated proficiency in the different SA languages; and
c. language attitudes.

a. Demographic Information

The variables included to obtain the demographic information of the respondents are:

Age, Sex, Matric (high school leaving) symbol for both first and second language, Overall matric symbol and Year of study at the university (see Appendix I - Entry Level Survey Questionnaire nos. 1-5).

Age and sex are two of the variables all attitude researchers include in their investigations (cf. Lett and O'Mara 1990, Hakuta and D'Andrea 1992; Pierce 1995). In this study, *age* was used to place the respondents within a particular historical setting, South Africa's transition to full democracy. These were students being surveyed two years after the first democratic elections in post-apartheid South Africa. Had such a momentous change in the history of the country had an impact on their language use and attitudes? Would the survey show significant differences between older entry level students and those who had actually matriculated in 1995? *Sex* was mainly used in order to track down equal numbers of respondents of both sexes at second year level for the longitudinal part of the study. It was not therefore used to see whether female respondents reacted differently to certain statements than male respondents.

General intellectual ability and language aptitude feature strongly in the research of Clément, Smythe and Gardner (1978), Ramage (1990) and Bartley (1970). In

this study, these two variables were considered to be factors of considerable importance in academic success. School performance and language aptitude were revealed by responses to statements 3, 4 and 5, where students were asked to give the results, in symbols, of their *school-leaving first and second language examinations* as well as their *overall school-leaving symbol*.

Statement 6 (*year of study*) was used in order to filter out repeaters or second and exit level students, so that only the results of the genuine entry level respondents could be used. At second year level, the only demographic variables were *age*, *sex*, and *symbols obtained in English 105 and Xhosa 1*. At exit level, only *age* and *sex* were used as demographic variables.

b. Domain-based language use and self-reported language acquisition and proficiency



The second section of the entry level survey, which also formed part of the second year and exit level surveys, concentrated on language choices in the informal domain as well as self-reported language proficiency in the different official South African languages. Statements about language choice in this section, as well as in the other three sections of the survey, were based on the *domains* of language use (Fishman 1968). The two domains explored in the study were home language and the language usually used in communication with friends. The researcher was particularly interested in how many respondents spoke exclusively Xhosa in these two intimate domains, or also used other languages.

The last set of statements in this section was used to determine the respondents'

degree of multilingualism, as well as to provide further evidence of the language choices made by them. It asked respondents to rate their proficiency in the different South African languages by ranking their proficiency from 'excellent' to 'hardly any or no understanding'. Their proficiency in different languages was further investigated by Section Three (Language Education Profile) which asked respondents to record which languages they had learned formally at school, which languages they had acquired informally, and which languages they were studying at university.

Statements 24-28 established the actual languages studied at school, in order to relate these to their high school leaving symbols in these languages, their self-rated proficiency in these languages as well as the attitudes expressed towards these languages. Statements 29 and 30 looked at informal language acquisition, where *motivation* appeared to play a direct role (Gardner and MacIntyre 1993). These questions were omitted at second year and exit level. Statement 31, which was repeated at each level, attempted to integrate the role of *persistence in language study* (Bartley 1969; Ramage 1990) with attitudes. The research of Bartley and Ramage found that students continuing with a language were more motivated and had more favourable attitudes towards their language classes. Such students also tended to have higher levels of language aptitude.

c. Determining Attitudes

As Appendices II and III will show, the two sections in the survey dealing with attitudes (general language attitudes and language in education attitudes) were adapted from entry to exit level, in order to filter out information irrelevant to

second year and exit level respondents. At second year and exit level, the following statements were omitted from Section V (Language in Education Attitude Profile), because they related largely to school and entry level experiences:

I enjoyed the way my first language was taught at school

I enjoyed the way English was taught at school

I enjoyed the way I learned a third language at school

The use of the mother-tongue in English 105 tutorials improved my understanding of English as well as my confidence in using it.

What was added to this section in the second year and exit level survey questionnaires was the statement relating to the informal acquisition of Afrikaans:

I have improved my use and understanding of Afrikaans through informal contact with speakers of Afrikaans while studying at UWC and living in the Western Cape.



This statement was added because I felt that the respondents, particularly those from the Eastern Cape, needed a definite period in which to develop contact with speakers of Afrikaans at UWC and in the Western Cape.

The exit level survey questionnaire omitted the two statements related to African and Afrikaans accents (see below) because it was felt that respondents who had made it through to exit level would no longer find such accents problematic, as their longer period of exposure to these lecturers would have accustomed them to these accents. One statement was added to section five at exit level: *Secondary school pupils should only be taught in English.* This statement was added to see whether, by exit year level, respondents had either increased their support for

secondary education in one medium only or had begun to develop firm opinions against this notion, thereby revealing more acceptance of either increased mother-tongue or bilingual education.

What will be discussed here are those variables that were repeated at each level so that changes in attitudes could be measured. The questions focus on attitudes towards English, Xhosa, other Black South African Languages (BSALs) and Afrikaans. In choosing the attitude statements for the survey questionnaire, I acknowledge the influence of Fasold's table of eight language functions and attributes required for those functions (1984:77). Fasold lists the following eight functions of language:

1. Official (requiring sufficient standardization; used by the educated people)
2. Nationalist (symbol of national identity and widely used)
3. Group (used by particular groups in ordinary conversation; both unifying and separatist)
4. Educational (understood by learners; sufficiently standardized and well resourced)
5. Wider Communication (learnable as a second language)
6. International (potential international language)
7. School subject (equal or better standardization than home language)
8. Religious (classical)

As the selection of variables listed below will show, most of them fall within one or more of the functions described by Fasold. The only exception is the religious/classical category. The language that would predominate here would most likely be Xhosa, as the language of religious practices would fall within the

intimate or ceremonial domain, unless respondents are fully bilingual and have acquired their religious instruction in more than one language.

Ongoing discussions with colleagues and my supervisor further helped to develop the list of statements to which students needed to respond. What will also be noted is the mixture of positive and negative statements used throughout sections IV and V of the survey questionnaire. Researchers like Tucker *et al.* (1989) and Katz (1994) have used this mixture in surveys conducted at UWC in order to arrive at more accurate responses from the students and also to ensure that students have paid proper attention to the statements and do not respond to a negative statement as they would respond to a positive statement. The accuracy of the responses to the negative statements would be compared with responses to positive statements which basically asked the same question. Another important device used was to repeat the same question (or related issue) through two or more statements which appeared different to the respondent, so that the respondent's total response to that particular set of statements could be taken into account before drawing definite conclusions about the attitudes expressed. An examination of the statements below will reveal this repetition, e.g. statements 7 and 8 on English.

The statements are presented here according to the language or group of languages they refer to, and are, with the exception of statements only used at two consecutive levels, the statements that were repeated from entry to exit level.

Statements on English

1. *There should be one common language, and it should be English.*
2. *There are too many English programmes on SABC 1 and 2.*
3. *You can't get a good job unless your English is good.*
4. *English has been forced on me because of historical reasons and its power as the international language.*
5. *The mother-tongue should be used together with English as the medium of instruction at primary and secondary school*
6. *English should be the only medium of instruction at UWC.*
7. *I feel that I have enough English to enable me to cope with university studies.*
8. *I find it difficult studying my subjects in a language that is not my mother-tongue - in this case, English.*

Statements on Xhosa

1. *I feel positive about my mother-tongue and its potential for further development.*
2. *There are enough good books, newspapers and magazines in my mother-tongue.*
3. *There are not enough programmes in my mother-tongue on TV.*
4. *I don't like to hear urban varieties (e.g. 'Tsotsitaal', 'Kaapse Afrikaans' etc.) of my language on TV. They should use only the 'pure', grammatically correct versions.*
5. *My own language is being neglected so that other languages can develop and dominate nationally.*
6. *The mother-tongue should be the only medium of instruction at primary and secondary school.*
7. *A standardized version of Nguni (Zulu and Xhosa) should be developed as one language to be used in education.*
8. *I prefer using my mother-tongue during discussions in tutorials.*

Statements on other Black South African Languages (BSALs)

1. *It is not useful and practical to have 11 official languages in South Africa.*
2. *I do not feel positive about the other African languages and their potential for further development.*
3. *It is essential to learn the dominant African language in your region in order to get employment in the New South Africa.*

4. *Our constitution guarantees language rights for all. Therefore, each student should receive some, if not all, of his/her lectures, tutorials and study notes in his/her mother-tongue at university.*
5. *All African languages should be developed to the point where they can be used to study in at university.*
6. *A standardized version of Sotho-Tswana should be developed as one language to be used in education.*
7. *I have difficulty in following lecturers with an African accent.*
8. *It caused problems in tutorials when everyone spoke in their mother-tongues.*
9. *I have improved my use and understanding of other African languages through informal contact with speakers of these languages on campus.*

Statements on Afrikaans

1. *Afrikaans will continue to develop and prosper in the New South Africa.*
2. *I do not feel positive about Afrikaans, because of its history as the language of oppression.*
3. *Afrikaans should be dropped as medium of instruction at the University of the Western Cape.*
4. *I have difficulty in following lecturers with an Afrikaans accent.*
5. *I have improved my use and understanding of Afrikaans through informal contact with speakers of Afrikaans while studying at UWC and living in the Western Cape.*

These attitudinal variables fall into three broad categories: individual versus national identity, language and ethnicity and language and education.

i. Variables related to individual versus national identity: South Africa's rebirth as a nation, with all its attendant advantages and difficulties, is highly likely to have an impact on people's language attitudes. The South African Constitution of 1996 gives 11 languages the status of national languages, and attempts have been made to increase the use of all these languages in the media,

particularly in those regions where specific indigenous languages are spoken. Currently, national language in education policies still need to be finalized, but it is clear that English enjoys ‘very substantial affirmation from the African majority in the country’ (Ridge, 1998:1).

In contrast to issues of nationhood, there is the issue of individual identity. With which language/s did these respondents identify with most intimately, and what reasons did they give for this identification? Le Page (1992:72) contends that individuals ‘...have to establish their own identity, and do this by relating themselves, positively or negatively, to the people or groups of people they discern around them, endowing these with linguistic characteristics. The attraction and repulsion are projected through language use’.



What follows here is an explanation of the variables in this category and the reasons for their selection. The variables are listed here, and in the other two categories, in the order in which they appear in the survey questionnaire, and it will be noted that statements relating to one specific language were not usually grouped together, but deliberately mixed up with statements on other languages. This was to elicit spontaneous and hopefully more honest reactions to one given statement at a time rather than putting an extended focus on one language.

It is not useful and practical to have 11 official languages in South Africa. This variable attempted to draw out attitudes on the equal official status of eleven South African languages and whether respondents felt that this was feasible and practical.

There should be one common language, and it should be English. Responses to this variable were linked to the responses to the above variable, and in essence they were both looking for attitudes towards English and the other languages in this important national domain.

Afrikaans will continue to develop and prosper in the New South Africa. Placing this variable immediately after the previous one was likely to focus respondents on the the role Afrikaans could continue to play in South Africa.

I do not feel positive about Afrikaans, because of its history as the language of oppression. This variable did not ask for a neutral position on Afrikaans but deliberately included its past history in order to determine how powerful the memory of that role still was, and how it influenced attitudes towards the language.



I feel positive about my mother-tongue and its potential for further development. This variable attempted to draw out attitudes towards Xhosa in the national arena and its potential to achieve true equal status within South Africa with a language like English.

I do not feel positive about the other African languages and their potential for further development. This variable set other BSALs apart from Xhosa, and was also linked to responses to statements related to the role of these languages as national and regional languages. The use of the negative set a further challenge to the respondents to be honest in their responses.

There are too many English programmes on SABC 1 and 2. This variable was used to establish which language/s respondents preferred when relaxing in their intimate domains. Research conducted with urban black respondents in South Africa (Slabbert and Van den Berg 1994) has revealed that the acceptability of the wide use of English on TV is in some doubt. Respondents in that study expressed negative attitudes to the predominance of English after 9pm on TV, the use of English advertisements during African language programmes and the secondary position of African language programmes. This was in strong contrast to the popularity of African language soaps and stories.

You can't get a good job unless your English is good. This variable attempted to draw out respondents' attitudes towards the importance of their mother-tongue and other SA languages in the 'good' job market.

It is essential to learn the dominant African language in your region in order to get employment in the New South Africa. This variable was, in some respects, a repetition of the previous variable above, but tried to narrow the focus from the national to the regional job market.

My own language is being neglected so that other languages can develop and dominate nationally. How did respondents perceive the treatment of Xhosa at the hands of the government, judiciary, employers and media?

English has been forced on me because of historical reasons and its power as the international language. How did English attain its dominant role in SA? Did the respondents resent this dominance?

ii. Variables related to language and ethnicity: The survey included variables relating to attitudes towards the mother-tongue and its perceived status and treatment nationally. Le Page (1992:72) contends that the level of response to such variables would depend on whether the individual is a member of a very tightly-knit homogeneous community or a member of a diffuse community containing many groups and many languages.

According to the available demographic information, it appeared that the respondents in this study actually belonged to both types of groups. As the map showing the origins of students at UWC in 1996 (Appendix XI) shows, the majority of the Xhosa students at UWC must have come from either rural communities where mainly rural varieties of Xhosa were spoken, or from urban areas where Black Urban Vernaculars or Colloquial Argots were used (Schuring and Calteaux 1997:16). In addition, as university students, they were members of a diffuse community containing many different languages. Some of the variables used in the previous category were repeated here as they also applied to the category of language and ethnicity.

These variables were selected for the following reasons:

I feel positive about my mother-tongue and its potential for further development.

This variable was included to see how important Xhosa was in defining their group identity in a multilingual nation.

My own language is being neglected so that other languages can develop and dominate nationally. If the respondents felt that Xhosa was being neglected, was this an indication of a strong sense of individual allegiance to the language?

There are enough good books, newspapers and magazines in my mother-tongue. If respondents were positive about their mother-tongue, how did they feel it rated in terms of available publications in the language when compared to an international language like English?

There are not enough programmes in my mother-tongue on TV. Responses to this variable might be a further indication of loyalty to the mother-tongue, or might indicate a shifting preference for programmes in, e.g. English.

I don't like to hear urban varieties of my language (e.g. 'Tsotsitaal', 'Kaapse Afrikaans', etc.) on TV. They should only use the 'pure', grammatically correct versions. Which variety of Xhosa did these respondents feel most represented the language that defined them ethnically?

iii. Language and Education: This category refers to the variables relating to language in education policies and language preferences in lectures and tutorials. It was included in the survey in order to determine whether there was a direct link between stated preferences for one language as the medium of instruction (MOI) and attitudes towards that language that emerged from all the other variables.

The variables used here were selected for the following reasons:

The mother-tongue should be used as the only medium of instruction at primary and secondary school. Were the respondents in agreement with those educationists who argue that their mother tongue should be the principal medium of instruction in schools where the majority of the pupils are Xhosa-speaking?

The mother-tongue should be used together with English as the medium of instruction at primary and secondary school. Did respondents favour the mixture of English and mother-tongue instruction at primary and secondary school, which they would have experienced themselves, or did they prefer monolingual education in either the mother-tongue or English?



English should be the only medium of instruction at the University of the Western Cape. At the time of the study, English was already the *de facto* MOI at UWC (Cornell 1996:2). Were the respondents content with this, or did they see a role for other languages as well?

Afrikaans should be dropped as medium of instruction at all South African universities, because of changing student populations. At the time of the study, some lecturers at UWC still used Afrikaans, and were more able to communicate with Afrikaans-speaking students than with speakers of other languages (e.g. Oosterwyk, interviewed by Cornell 1996:6). Did the respondents feel that this support should remain, or did they feel unfairly discriminated against when this practice occurred? Responses to this statement were linked to responses on the

future role of Afrikaans.

Our constitution guarantees language rights for all. Therefore, each student should receive some, if not all, of his/her lectures, tutorials and study notes in his/her mother tongue. As the South African Constitution of 1996 granted equal national status to eleven languages, did the respondents agree that all students were legally entitled to educational support in their mother-tongues at tertiary level?

A standardized version of Nguni (Zulu and Xhosa) should be developed as one language to be used in education. Many arguments have been raised in favour of the standardization of Nguni by, among others, Msimang (1994) and Prah (1995).

While this statement probed how students felt about the issue of standardization, their responses were also likely to reveal attitudes towards Zulu.

Similarly, a standardized version of Sotho and Tswana should be developed as one language to be used in education. This statement tried to find out how respondents felt about the language rights of non-Nguni speakers - whether standardization might also be a valid option for them. At the same time, it was also likely to reveal how much knowledge the respondents had of these languages.

I have difficulty in following lecturers with an African accent. What role did accent play in evoking particular attitudes? Was an African accent more or less preferable than an English or Afrikaans accent? What did respondents understand by an 'African' accent?

I have difficulty in following lecturers with an Afrikaans accent. Responses to this variable might indicate whether an Afrikaans accent evoked positive or negative attitudes.

I find it difficult studying my subjects in a language that is not my mother-tongue - in this case, English. This variable asked for an honest response to the issue of studying in English, and tried to probe the individual respondent's attitudes towards the potential barriers created by studying in a second language.

I prefer using my mother-tongue during discussions in tutorials. How did respondents feel about the use of the mother-tongue in informal tutorial discussions? Were their responses an honest reflection of actual practice?



It caused problems in our tutorials when everyone spoke in their mother-tongues. Did respondents feel comfortable in a truly multilingual tutorial? Or did issues like exclusion and linguisticism cause them to react negatively to such a situation? How did these responses compare with the responses to the previous statement?

The use of the mother-tongue in tutorials enabled me to understand my subjects much better. Responses to this variable might indicate how respondents felt about the role of Xhosa in tertiary education: whether its use in decoding academic texts and instructions in English led to greater clarity of understanding.

I have improved my use and understanding of other African languages through

informal contact with speakers of these languages on campus. Was the campus an environment that facilitated the informal acquisition of other BSALs, or were there too many social and linguistic barriers that prevented this type of acquisition?

I have improved my use and understanding of Afrikaans through informal contact with speakers of the language at UWC and in the Western Cape. How did responses to this statement correspond with responses to the previous statement? How much actual informal contact was there between speakers of Afrikaans, both at UWC and in the Western Cape, and these students, as revealed by their responses here and in the interviews?

This concludes the analysis of the variables used in the survey questionnaire. It will be clear that the wide-ranging nature of the survey made it the most important research tool used in this study, and, important as the other qualitative methods were, they were more limited in terms of scope and representivity. Their roles were regarded as complementary to the survey, as they provided reasons why the survey questionnaires were responded to in particular ways. However, as will be seen in Chapters III and IV, they also at times elicited results which differed from those of the survey questionnaire.

What follows now is a detailed discussion of how the quantitative data derived from the survey questionnaires, and the qualitative data from the interviews and written work, were analysed.

2.5 Data Analysis

2.5.1 The Quantitative Analyses

The large entry level sample as well as the smaller longitudinal sample responded to the statements on the survey questionnaire/s by blocking in the appropriate symbol on the standard UWC multiple-choice computerized answer sheet. The computerized answer sheets of the large entry level group were then statistically organized by staff at UWC's Information Systems. The organized data shows, in percentages, what the responses were collectively to the statements on the survey questionnaire at entry level (see Appendix IV). The same system was followed with the second year and exit level survey responses, and further computational analyses were done with the longitudinal group's responses from entry to exit level.



The descriptive statistics of the large entry level group as well as the longitudinal group were provided through *frequency distribution tables*, which give information on how common certain phenomena are. Thus it was relatively simple to determine the demographic information as well as the language use and self-rated language proficiencies of the respondents.

Greater care was needed, however, with the responses to the attitude statements. Some statements in the survey generated a clear majority percentage in specific categories like 'strongly agree', e.g. the statement *Afrikaans should be dropped as medium of instruction at university*, or 'strongly disagree', e.g. *I do not feel positive about other African languages and their potential for further development*. Other statements produced much more variation in the responses,

with results spread fairly evenly in most of the categories, e.g. as with the statement *My mother-tongue is being neglected so that other languages can develop and dominate nationally*.

In order to obtain a clearer picture of the respondents' attitudes towards the different languages in the survey, it became necessary to organise the results from the attitude frequency tables in separate *ranking tables*. These tables ranked the strength of the respondents' agreement, disagreement or uncertainty with the attitude statements. In Chapters Three and Four, therefore, the attitudes were ranked on a *uniformity index* from the highest to the lowest category of agreement/disagreement. They were also ranked on an uncertainty index, in order to show which statements elicited the greatest degree of uncertainty in the responses. Ranking the attitude scores in this way allowed me to establish:



1. which attitudes elicited the highest degrees of uniformity in terms of how many respondents either agreed or disagreed with the statement. With both the entry level and longitudinal groups, these responses were ranked according to the following categories of uniformity in order to distinguish strong attitudes from weaker ones:

A = 80-100% agreed with the statement

B = 70-79% agreed with the statement

C = 60-69% agreed with the statement

D = 50-59% either agreed or disagreed with the statement

E = 49% and below either agreed or disagreed with the statement

2. the degree to which respondents were polarised on certain issues, i.e. approximately the same number agreeing or disagreeing with a statement;
3. the degree of uncertainty elicited by each statement. This was shown by the second part of the table, and ranked from the highest to the lowest degree of uncertainty recorded;
4. the range and interquartile range of the longitudinal attitude scores, which were used in order to determine whether there was any degree of moderation in the longitudinal attitude scores after entry level.

As was noted earlier, the longitudinal data of the 20 respondents tracked from entry to exit level were analysed further, using the updated version of *Statistical Package for the Social Sciences* (SPSS X) by Nie *et al.* (1986). SPSS X lent itself particularly well to the type of data analysis required here, because once the variables had been entered, labelled and assigned values, I could generate further frequency tables and diagrams.

My important task was to enter the data correctly and to check for integrity. The statistics generated by SPSS provided me with the following results:

1. *Frequency distribution tables*, which show how common certain responses are.
2. *Means*, which show what the average scores are.
3. *Standard deviations*, which show how scores are distributed about the mean.
4. *Bar Charts and Scattergrams*: These demonstrate visually how responses to the different attitude statements change from entry to exit level.

The procedure used, after first manually mapping the demographic and attitudinal variables of the 20 respondents followed from entry to exit level, was as follows:

1. the data was entered on the SPSS data editor, assigning numbers, labels and value templates to each variable. For example, a variable such as *I feel positive about my mother-tongue and its prospects for further development* had a template value of 1-5 assigned to it, which meant:

1 = agree strongly

2 = agree

3 = unsure

4 = disagree

5 = disagree strongly



These corresponded with the symbols A-E on the answer sheets. In order to create the bar charts and scattergrams, the templates were re-configured so that there were only template values:

1 = agree/agree strongly

2 = unsure

3 = disagree/disagree strongly;

2. the data was checked for integrity by looking at frequency distribution and checking the data for anomalies;

3. descriptive statistics (valid respondents, missing respondents, mean, median, mode and standard deviation) were generated and checked for normality using the SPSS statistical functions;

4. frequency tables were generated for each variable;

5. the frequency tables for the different attitude statements were then used to create ranking tables based on uniformity and uncertainty indices for the longitudinal group.

The longitudinal results are discussed fully in Chapter Four. All the statistics and charts generated through these procedures can be found in Appendix XIII.



2.5.2 Qualitative Analysis

The recorded interviews at entry and second year level were transcribed by me and at exit level they were translated and transcribed with the aid of a Xhosa research assistant from the Department of Linguistics. Written data was stored according to level and topic, after which it was read and analysed. The data was then approached with three particular research questions in mind, in order to impose an organizing scheme on the data. According to Seliger and Shohamy

(1992:205) qualitative researchers look for ‘commonalities, regularities, or patterns across the various data texts’ which allow them to come up with an organizing scheme. The research questions were:

1. What were the common trends revealed by this data?
2. What fresh insights were revealed by the quantitative data?
3. To what extent did the qualitative analyses support the quantitative analyses?

The commonalities and general trends in the qualitative data were mapped from entry to exit level, and the patterns of change in the data were further compared with those in the quantitative data to look for similarities and differences between the two types of data. Particular attention was also paid to differences between the attitudes and use patterns revealed by the two types of analysis.



Conclusion

While largely satisfied that the objective of ‘triangulation’ in the methodology of data collection was achieved, my main reservation is the small size of the longitudinal sample, which makes it difficult to generalise the findings of this sample to the larger population of Xhosa students at UWC. Perhaps I can draw some comfort from Reichardt and Cook's observation: ‘While a large and diverse sample of cases can aid in such informal generalizations, so can a depth of understanding of a single case’(1979:115).

CHAPTER THREE

ENTRY LEVEL PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND USE

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to provide a profile of patterns of language attitudes and use with which 198 Xhosa students entered the University of the Western Cape in 1996. The aim of the chapter is to show which patterns of attitudes and use had been formed in these respondents from their earliest formative years until they entered university, and to consider the possible causes underlying these patterns. The findings of this part of the research also provide a basis for the study of possible changes in language attitudes and use resulting from three years of academic study as well as the cognitive, socio-cultural and affective influences that accompanied this period. Patterns of change and their possible causes are the focus of Chapter Four.



As part of lectures which concentrated on raising awareness of South Africa's multilingual reality, three entry-level English 105 lecture groups at the University of the Western Cape responded to a survey questionnaire which aimed to uncover several of the language attitude and use patterns of entry-level students. In addition, 25 Xhosa home language speakers from one of these lecture groups were interviewed. These respondents came from one of the smaller study groups, known as tutorials, into which the English 105 lecture groups were normally divided. Final examination essays written by 60 English 105 Xhosa students, drawn from the same lecture group as the interviewees, were also analysed.

I am however mindful of the fact that the use of the recurrent theme of *language and culture* in the English 105 course, as well as the exposure of these respondents to many debates and discussions around multilingualism in some of their other courses like Sociology and Linguistics may have influenced some of the results in this chapter. Consequently, the conclusions drawn from this chapter should only be regarded as provisional pending the results of the longitudinal study in Chapter Four.

3.2 The Quantitative Analyses: Findings and Discussion

This section is an exposition of the trends emerging from the entry level quantitative data. This data was derived from the responses to the entry-level questionnaire, and is presented through frequency tables in Appendix IV which show the respondents' demographic data, self-rated language proficiencies in the different SA languages, and language attitudes, which are divided up further into attitudes to English, Xhosa, other Black South African Languages (BSALs) and Afrikaans. All frequency results are given as percentages. Each sub-section is followed by discussion and analysis.

3.2.1 Demographic Data

The Demographic data of the entry level group (see Table Two, Appendix IV) is discussed here. Table Two will show that in some cases students left certain categories blank. This is indicated by 'no response'. In other cases (home language,

language with friends and languages informally acquired) the percentages exceed 100% because students could choose from two different statements covering more than 10 languages.

3.2.2 Discussion of Demographic data

The demographic data reveals the following information about the respondents:

1. *Age.* In 1996, they were all in the age range 18-35, and would consequently have been influenced by the dramatic historical events and changes in SA. Some of the older ones were already primary school or secondary school pupils when the Soweto uprisings took place (ostensibly because of the enforcement of Afrikaans in black schools) and all of them experienced the dramatic changes of 1990-1994 such as the unbanning of liberation organizations, the death of 'grand apartheid' and the coming to power of the African National Congress. Many of these respondents may also have come from backgrounds of extreme educational disadvantage, with poorly resourced schools and unqualified teachers. They would definitely have switched to English as medium of instruction (MOI) after the first four years of schooling. All these factors may have exerted an influence on their language attitudes and use.

2. *Sex:* Female students far outnumber male students in this group of respondents, probably because of larger numbers of female students in the Arts and Education faculties, if not in the Law faculty. However, this variable was included in this study simply to try and balance the sexes in the longitudinal case studies and was not considered likely to skew the attitude and use patterns. One area that it may have

influenced is the large number who reported studying Xhosa at university, as language departments at UWC traditionally contain more female than male students.

3. *Overall School Leaving Symbol*: The educational disadvantages referred to above are related, together with individual ability, to these respondents' poor school-leaving results, with more than half (59.6%) having left school with an average score of less than 50%. There are no A or B passes, only 8.8% C passes and 31.6% D passes. The early transition to English as MOI may have been a factor contributing to these poor examination results. Heugh (1999:159) points out that passrates among African matriculants were much higher when, prior to the Soweto riots of 1976, they had benefited from eight years of mother-tongue education before switching medium of instruction to English and Afrikaans (50% of their subjects had to be taught in English, and 50% in Afrikaans at secondary school).



4. *First and Second Language Results*: It may be significant that most of the respondents did not achieve much better results in their first language school-leaving examination than in their second language examination, for one would normally expect better results here. The results shown for the variables *first language at school* and *second language at school* reveal that for the majority these two languages were Xhosa (87.7%) and English (88.9%) respectively. Small percentages listed Tswana (5.3%), English (3.5%), Pedi (3.5%), Swati (1.8%) and 'Other' (7%) as their first language, while Afrikaans (8.0%), Xhosa (2.5%) and Tswana (0.6%) featured as second languages. There were no A passes (80%+) in either first or second language. B passes (70%+) number 5.3% and 1.8% for first and second language respectively. The first language results were better in the C

(60%+) category (22.8% against only 12.3% for the second language) but only slightly better for the D (50%+) category (38.6% against 36.8%). More respondents obtained an E (40%+) score or below E for the second language than for the first language.

The results for these variables appear to bear out some of the arguments surrounding the teaching of first languages in South African black schools. Firstly, the results offer some proof of Gough's description (1995 and 1998) of the difficulties Xhosa pupils experience with the way in which Xhosa is taught at school. There may also be some evidence in these results of the disparity, highlighted by Makoni (1995) and Schuring and Calteaux (1998), between school and home language, with the standardized Xhosa taught at school being very different from the variety used in the home. Discussions between the English 105 course lecturers and the Xhosa lecturers at UWC in 1995 revealed that many of the problems experienced by the English 105 lecturers, such as inadequate academic reading and writing skills, were shared by their Xhosa colleagues. In 1994, a lecturer from UWC's academic development centre designed and facilitated a writing tutorial programme in the Xhosa department. In his report on the programme, he wrote: 'It is a fact that most students in this department (Xhosa) carry the legacy of inferior education from the former under-resourced Department of Education and Training (DET) and the TBVC (black homeland) states. There had been little or no teaching of writing in these education departments' (Mabizela 1995:133).

The poor results in English may stem, according to Webb (1996:179) and Kembo

(1999:306-9) from factors like the following: the poor training received by teachers in black schools, their often inadequate command of English, and an over-emphasis on the teaching of grammar. Poor exposure to English may be another factor, with English seldom used in the normal daily lives of black children. Finally, reading for pleasure (in any language) in the home is rare in many black homes (Mawasha *et al.* 1994:35).

5. *Language with friends, first language at school and home language:* The percentages for choice of language with friends matches the percentages for first language at school and home language very closely. There is no evidence here of a language shift towards English. However, the sampling procedure may have skewed the results here, as students had to make a choice between English and Xhosa. However, another, more open-ended survey done at UWC (De Witte 1998) also showed similar low figures for English used with friends (also see Dyers 1996).

6. *Third language at school:* Apart from small percentages for Zulu (11.1%), Tswana (1.9%) and English (1.9%), Afrikaans (85.2%) was the language which most of these respondents were taught as their third language at school. In the provinces these respondents were mainly drawn from, viz. the Western Cape and the Eastern Cape, Afrikaans is the home language of the largest and second largest speech community respectively (*Statistics South Africa 2000*). This factor, together with its position as the main third language of the respondents, means that there must have been some degree of understanding of Afrikaans among many of these respondents. A mere 1.8% reported studying Afrikaans at first year level at

university, and a similar low percentage reported having acquired Afrikaans informally.

7. Languages studied at UWC: All the respondents were doing the English 105 course at the university, and a further 36.3% were studying Xhosa at first year level. As was mentioned previously, the large number of female respondents in this group could have influenced the number studying Xhosa, but there may have been other factors influencing this choice. These factors may have included being able to study through the medium of Xhosa and dealing with lecturers and tutors who spoke the language. Very small numbers were studying Arabic, Afrikaans, French or German.

In 1996, English 105 was highly recommended but not compulsory for students who needed help with academic English and study skills like reading, writing, lecture listening and note-taking, participating in discussions and information literacy. The course was developed as a result of the problems students experienced with English at university level as a result of the low level of proficiency in English with which they left school. Students could choose between this course and the first year of English (English 101). The fact that so many of them opted to do this course (more than 900 students were registered to do the course in 1996) shows that most felt that they could not cope with the demands of the literature in the English 101 course or with the level of English they experienced in their lectures and reading texts. Another reason may be that it was much easier to pass English 105 than English 101, as can be seen from the respective passrates for these courses. In 1996 the passrate

for English 105 was 88.5% as compared to only 39.7% for English 101 (Source: The Department of English, UWC).

8. *Languages informally acquired*: While small numbers reported having acquired other South African languages informally, a significant number (36.8%) reported having acquired Zulu in this way. Zulu also features, after Afrikaans, as the second most important third language learned at school (11.1%). The fact that Zulu and Xhosa are in fact both varieties of Nguni has already been reported in Chapter One, and this will explain why more of these respondents reported acquiring Zulu rather than any other BSAL.

Conclusions: Based on these figures, some conclusions can be arrived at about the linguistic make-up of the entry level respondents and their degree of multilingualism. Firstly, their choice of first language, home language and language with friends was mainly Xhosa. While most of them studied English at school as their main second language, and were studying it at university, only a very small number reported using it to communicate with friends. Afrikaans was mainly learned at school, while Zulu was mainly informally acquired.

A common, stereotypical assumption made about Black South Africans is that most of them are multilingual, able to communicate fluently in more than two languages (Alexander 1995:38). While this pattern may be true in areas of linguistic confluence like Gauteng (a province in SA), it is not reflected in the language use

patterns of many of these entry-level respondents. Many of them came from largely monolingual rural areas in the Eastern Cape, where Xhosa is the dominant language.

Those who came from the Western Cape mainly lived in black townships, where the majority of the population spoke Xhosa, and where urbanisation had not led to a high degree of multilingualism. Although a small number of these respondents spoke other African languages, many of them can probably best be described as ‘non-fluent bilinguals’ (Edwards 1994:58) in Xhosa and English, with differing levels of receptive and productive competence in these two languages.

3.2.3 Self-reported Language Proficiency Data at entry level to university

Table Three (Appendix IV) reveals how the students rated their own proficiency in the different official languages of South Africa. Tsonga, Ndebele, Venda and Arabic were omitted from this table as all students rated their ability in these languages as ‘poor’ or ‘hardly any or no understanding’.

3.2.4 Discussion of the self-reported language proficiencies

Table Two shows the self-rated language proficiencies of these entry-level respondents, and possibly reflects the actual language use of the students surveyed (see ‘Home language of UWC Students in 1996’ in Chapter Two). Languages like Tswana, Pedi, South Sotho and Swati only feature as very small percentages in the ‘average to excellent’ categories, and speakers of these languages probably came from areas other than the Eastern or Western Cape. For the majority of the respondents, these languages feature mainly in the ‘poor’ to ‘hardly any or no

understanding' categories, (or do not feature at all). They are therefore excluded from further discussion.

The self-rated proficiencies in Xhosa, English, Zulu and Afrikaans will now be discussed. They are presented in this order to reflect their relative positions in the ratings of the respondents.

1. *Xhosa*: As could be expected, most of the respondents (85%) felt that their proficiency in their mother-tongue, Xhosa, was excellent. However, small percentages felt that they were only good (7.5%) to average (7.5%) in the language. These latter respondents may have been measuring their use of Xhosa against the more formal and academic Xhosa they were experiencing at university, which may have been quite different from the particular dialect of Xhosa which they spoke at home. They may also have been influenced by their poor school leaving results in the Xhosa First Language examinations.

2. *English*: The next language where significant numbers claimed good (56.1%) to average (28.1%) proficiency is English, the main second language of these respondents. It must be remembered that this survey was conducted after seven months of exposure to academic English as well as the English 105 course. Therefore many of these respondents may have felt that this period of exposure justified them in claiming largely average to good proficiency, in spite of the large number who obtained marks below 50% in the school-leaving examination.

In addition, English is the main language of teaching and learning at UWC (UWC Draft Language Policy Discussion Document, 1998) and there has always been a considerable number of English home language users among staff and students. All these factors are likely to have influenced the respondents' perceived proficiency in English. There may also be a link between their self-rated proficiency in English and their positive attitudes to English in the national and international domain, as shown by their ranking of attitudes to English (see Table Eight, Appendix IV). Positive attitudes towards a language, as Hakuta and D'Andrea (1992) contend, can influence people's perceived proficiency in a language - the more positive the attitude, the higher the respondent is likely to rate his/her proficiency in that language.



3. *Zulu*: The only BSAL which features strongly in this section is Zulu. Zulu and Xhosa both belong to the Zunda sub-group of Nguni (Slabbert and Finlayson 1995:131) and are linguistically very close. A fair number of respondents reported good (21.1%) to average (28.1%) proficiency in Zulu, and a tiny percentage (1.8%) even rated their proficiency as excellent. At the same time 29.8% regarded their Zulu as poor while 10.5% felt that they had hardly any competence in the language.

4. *Afrikaans*: Despite its role as the main third language studied at school, respondents mainly rated their proficiency in Afrikaans as 'poor' (33.3%) to 'hardly any or no understanding' (45.6%). Only small percentages felt that their Afrikaans was good (5.3%) or average (8.8%), and these respondents may have come from areas where Afrikaans was the dominant language. The fact that many of these

respondents seldom needed to use Afrikaans in their daily lives (as can be seen from their home language/s and the language/s they preferred to use with their friends) may have contributed to this low rating of Afrikaans, but negative attitudes towards Afrikaans (see Tables Seven and Eight, Appendix IV) may also have influenced the self-rated proficiency scores.

Conclusion: There appears to be a direct link between the linguistic information supplied in the demographic data and the self-rated language proficiencies reported here. Table Two therefore provides further evidence to support the demographic information on languages. For the majority of these entry level respondents, Xhosa is the first language, English is the second language and Zulu is the language most understood of all the other South African languages.



3.2.5 Language Attitudes

Chapter Two contains an exposition of all the language attitude statements used in the study. The responses to these statements in the survey questionnaire were used to create separate attitude tables for the different languages used in the study: English, Xhosa, other BSALs and Afrikaans. These frequency tables (Tables Four to Seven) can be found in Appendix IV. The tables were then used to create one table (Table Eight) which ranks the degree to which respondents specified the strength of their agreement, disagreement or uncertainty with all the statements. Ranking the attitude scores in this way allowed me to establish:

- which attitude statements elicited the highest uniformity of agreement or disagreement from the respondents. These statements were ranked

according to the following categories of uniformity in order to distinguish strong attitudes from weaker ones:

A = 80-100% agreed with the statement

B = 70-79% agreed with the statement

C = 60-69% agreed with the statement

D = 50-59% agreed or disagreed with the statement

E = 49% and below agreed or disagreed with the statement

- the degree to which respondents were polarised on certain issues, i.e. approximately the same number agreeing or disagreeing with a statement. Polarised scores are underlined in the table;

- and the degree of uncertainty elicited by each statement. This is shown by the second part of the table, and ranked from 35-0% (the highest degree of uncertainty recorded was 31.6%).

Table Eight shows how the entry level responses were ranked according to uniformity and uncertainty indices. The first three categories also show the strength of the level of agreement with a statement in those cases where the percentage for ‘strongly agree’ was higher than the percentage for ‘agree’.

3.2.6 Discussion of the comparative ranking of attitudes at entry level

Table Eight clearly reveals which language issues were most significant to these

entry level respondents, and which were considered to be less significant. These issues are discussed here under three separate headings - most uniform attitudes, moderate attitudes and attitudes with no clear direction.

Most uniform attitudes:

Highest on the ranking of attitudes is the respondents' strongly positive attitude towards their mother-tongue, Xhosa, and its potential for further development. For the majority of these respondents, Xhosa appeared to be intimately connected with their sense of personal identity and their membership of a particular ethnic and cultural group in South Africa. This also came through very strongly in the interviews conducted with some of the group. Respondents also signalled fairly conclusively that they had enjoyed the way in which Xhosa had been taught at school, despite the many difficulties they may have experienced at school with the standard variety of Xhosa.

Two attitudes in the top category relate to English. Respondents clearly expressed a preference for the use of English together with the mother-tongue at school. However, this needs to be examined closely before seeing it as a move away from the normal preference of black people in South Africa for English as the sole medium of instruction at school, reported in earlier studies (Mawasha 1996:20; Heugh 1995:341; Chick 1992:31). This preference for a mixture of English and Xhosa as languages of learning may firstly be a reflection of the actual experiences at school of some of the respondents. A study conducted with mainly Xhosa

students in the Department of Linguistics at UWC (Anthonissen *et al.* 1998:34) revealed that approximately 50% of the Xhosa respondents in that study had been taught through a mixture of Xhosa and English at school, while the other half reported that they had been educated solely in English.

Secondly, the low competence in English of both the pupils and the teachers in the schools these respondents came from may also have contributed to this result. Desai (1999:179) reports on the following linguistic practices in a typical black primary school in the Western Cape: 'Except for the English classes, the teacher used mainly Xhosa to convey information to the learners, but referred them to the English in their textbooks when appropriate and used English for technical terms, such as names of birds (parrot, canary, owl).' It is highly likely that such typical primary school linguistic practices would persist into secondary school, despite pupils being expected to do most of their writing tasks and examinations in English. Respondents were also conclusive in their support for English as the only medium of instruction at UWC. This result probably reflects their actual experience of English as the main MOI at UWC and may also imply that, apart from lectures in the Xhosa department, the respondents did not really see a role for any other language in their tertiary education.

Strong attitudes appear in category B. Three of these attitudes relate to English, and one to other BSALs. Respondents felt strongly that there were too many English programmes on SABC 1 and 2, the national TV channels that were supposed to be more multilingual than the designated English channel, SABC 3. This may imply

that most of these respondents were in favour of more programmes in African mother tongues, especially in less formal settings such as their home environment. A language preference study carried out in urban areas of Gauteng by the Broadcasting Research Unit in 1994 (Slabbert and Finlayson 1995:151), showed that black South Africans preferred hearing their own language in all programme categories, even in overseas drama or sports programmes.

Respondents also largely agreed that it caused problems in tutorials when everyone spoke in their own mother-tongues. This finding may have been influenced largely by pragmatic reasons, such as the amount of time absorbed by having to wait for multiple translations and the sense of exclusion they may have felt when others opted to speak in their mother-tongues.



A fairly high percentage of respondents indicated that they had enjoyed the way English was taught at school. Enjoying the way in which the language is taught at school can also contribute to a positive attitude towards the language (Gardner and MacIntyre 1993:2). Not surprisingly, many of the respondents felt that it was impossible to secure good employment without a good command of English. In this respect, the study supports the findings of at least two other South African studies. According to Bosch and de Klerk (1994:57) the respondents in their study in the Eastern Cape rated English as the language ‘necessary for success’. Anthonissen *et al.* (1998:35) reported that the Xhosa respondents in their study emphasized the importance of English for ‘...professional factors’ (also see Dyers 1996:27). Clearly, the majority of the respondents in my study were only too aware of the

dominant role of English in the domain of higher status work.

More moderate attitudes:

Moderately strong attitudes are ranked in Category C. Of these, two relate to English, three to Xhosa, one to other BSALs and two to Afrikaans. Respondents signalled moderate support for English as the common language of South Africa, but also tended to agree that English had been forced on them for historical reasons and because of its power as the international language. This latter finding may have been influenced by the discussions on language and culture in the English 105 course. Researchers like Bosch and de Klerk (1994:56) and Webb (1992:449) have revealed a strong preference for English as national language among black South Africans.



Respondents tended to agree that there were not enough programmes in Xhosa on TV. Many of the respondents also appeared to be fairly prescriptive about the version of Xhosa that they wanted to hear on TV. They appeared to reject the use of urban varieties of Xhosa and colloquial argots like Tsotsitaal and apparently preferred to hear a particular rural variety of Xhosa. Slabbert and Finlayson (1995:147) report that many black people associate rural varieties of their languages with values such as ‘traditional’ and ‘responsible’. However, the respondents’ own variety of Xhosa may not have been a rural variety, as many of them came from urban areas. Black urban varieties have shown growth and vitality in the cities while the use of rural varieties, especially among the young, has declined (Schuring and Calteaux 1997:17). However, speaking one variety of a language does not

necessarily imply that one confers a high status on that variety, and this may have accounted for the above result. These respondents may have displayed overt positive attitudes towards a particular rural variety of Xhosa, but may also have held covert negative attitudes towards it as the language of the older, poorer and less educated generation.

There was a moderate level of support among these entry-level respondents for the standardization of Nguni. This contrasts with previous research which has shown largely negative reactions to the standardization of Nguni (Msimang 1994). Thus these respondents may have shown a moderate shift in the usually negative attitudes towards the standardization of Nguni. However, what cannot be discounted here is the exposure of these respondents to discussions and debates around this issue in the media, public debates at UWC as well as lectures in courses like English 105 and Sociology at UWC. The same kind of exposure could have resulted in the respondents' moderate support for the development of all African languages up to tertiary level.

A fairly significant percentage of all respondents agreed that Afrikaans should no longer be used as a MOI at South African universities. This is in contrast to the overwhelming support for English in this role. Several respondents also agreed that lecturers with Afrikaans accents were difficult to understand. It is possible that the respondents surveyed here did not really have major problems with the *intelligibility* of Afrikaans-speaking lecturers, but that the Afrikaans accent aroused strong negative attitudes that in turn may have blocked the comprehensibility of the

lecturer. Mabizela (1996:9), interviewed in 1996 about his experiences as a Xhosa student at UWC, admitted that his negative attitude towards Afrikaans had affected his studies in one of his courses. 'Because the lecturer was Afrikaans-speaking, we viewed him or her as racist and our learning of the language and of the content of the course was affected' (1996:9).

The respondents' reaction to lecturers with an Afrikaans accent tends support to earlier research by Vorster and Proctor (1975:108) and Bosch and de Klerk (1994:55), which also indicated that black South Africans associate negative attributes with speakers of Afrikaans. Vorster and Proctor reported that their mainly Xhosa-speaking respondents at the University of Fort Hare in the Eastern Cape tended to regard speakers of English as friendly and sympathetic, and speakers of Afrikaans as strict, authoritarian and unsympathetic. Bosch and de Klerk reported that the Xhosa respondents in their study rated speakers with Xhosa and English accents as much more appealing than speakers with Afrikaans accents.

Attitudes revealing no clear direction:

The attitudes ranked in categories D and E may be regarded either as polarised attitudes or attitudes indicating no clear trend, and only very tentative conclusions can be drawn from these results. The ranking of statements in these categories may indicate that the issues contained in them are not as important or relevant to the respondents as those ranked in the previous three categories. Responses to many of these attitude statements are also characterised by high levels of uncertainty, indicating that respondents did not know much about the issues contained in the

statements.

Two of these statements relate to English. The strong support for English as the only MOI at UWC is tempered by the respondents' uncertainty about their proficiency in academic English. This is shown by the fairly low level of agreement to the statement *I feel that I have enough English to enable me to cope with university studies*, and the more polarised responses to the statement *I find it difficult to study in a language which is not my mother tongue - in this case, English*.

Several statements relating to Xhosa are also ranked in these categories. Two elicited weak levels of agreement or disagreement, while others were more clearly polarised. While more than half the respondents disagreed that the mother-tongue should be the only MOI at school, a significant 40% agreed with the statement. This split in the responses is in contrast to the conclusive support expressed for the use of English together with the mother-tongue at school. A low level of uniformity (55.6%) was also signalled for the statement that using the mother-tongue in tutorials helped respondents to understand their academic subjects. However, a significant 47.4% of all respondents disagreed with the statement.

Respondents were polarised on the issue of whether Xhosa was being neglected in favour of other languages, with virtually the same number of respondents agreeing or disagreeing with the statement. A significant percentage (21.1%) also indicated uncertainty in this regard. The respondents were also largely uncertain about whether there were enough good books, newspapers and magazines available in Xhosa. During the apartheid years, publishers in South Africa focused on the

limited production of educational material in Xhosa and other black languages, instead of developing more popular reading material in these languages. And in many black homes, there was no culture of reading, as books and newspapers were an unaffordable luxury. This situation has not changed much, which may have contributed to respondents' uncertainty about the number of publications in Xhosa. Schonstein Pinnock (1994:82-83) writes: 'Even after liberation, the top selling newspapers aimed at African culture are in English'.

A further two statements about the role of Xhosa in tutorials elicited polarised responses. Respondents were polarised on the issue of the mother-tongue's role in improving their use and understanding of English, with 40.4% agreeing that it had helped, but 47% disagreeing. The same pattern of polarity emerged for the statement which asked students whether they preferred using the mother-tongue in tutorials, with 47.4% disagreeing and 45.6% agreeing with the statement.

However, despite these polarised patterns, the reality observed by the researcher and other lecturers and tutors at UWC is that most Xhosa students at UWC freely use their language in tutorial discussions with other Xhosa speakers. Apart from this being a completely natural and intimate thing to do as a signal of Xhosa identity to other Xhosa speakers, these students also try to improve their understanding of their subjects through the mother-tongue. Often, as has been observed in Linguistics tutorials (Seminar discussion, Dept of Linguistics, UWC, May 18, 2000), they are completely unsuccessful because their Xhosa is inadequate for discussions on academic issues that do not translate readily into Xhosa from English. Those

respondents who supported the use of Xhosa in tutorials may therefore have been completely truthful. Those who opposed it may have had overt negative attitudes towards its use in this educational domain, but may have shown their covert positive attitudes towards the use of Xhosa in tutorials through their actual behaviour. Another likely explanation is that some respondents may have wanted to use more English in their discussions, but could not because of their inadequate command of the language, and therefore reverted to the mother-tongue.

Slightly more than half of the respondents (52.6%) disagreed that they had difficulty in understanding lecturers with an African accent, while only 19.3% agreed with the statement. It appears therefore that respondents were more positive about lecturers with an African accent than lecturers with an Afrikaans accent. However, 22.8% indicated that they were not sure about this statement.



All the remaining statements relating to other BSALs were ranked in category E. This may indicate that the respondents did not know enough about the issues affecting these languages. Respondents appeared to be undecided about how useful and practical it was to have 11 official languages, with almost equal numbers either agreeing or disagreeing with the statement. The fact that a significant majority of these respondents felt that English should be South Africa's only common language underlines their uncertainty about the issue of having 11 official languages. The practical implementation of such a policy may also have been another concern.

The respondents also showed some variation in their responses to the statement *I do*

not feel positive about the other African languages and their potential for further development. While a substantial 49.2% disagreed, 31.6% were uncertain about this statement, while 19.3% agreed. Although 47.7% agreed that knowledge of a dominant regional language was likely to improve one's employment prospects in such a region, 24.6% were uncertain while 20.8% disagreed. This was in fairly strong contrast to these respondents' strong sense of the importance of good English in securing good employment.

There was no clear-cut response to the statement that all students had the right to receive some instruction and study materials in their own language. Many respondents, according to their interviews and written work, appeared to respect the democratic rights of speakers of other languages to receive educational support in their own languages. But they also expressed concern about the implementation of such rights, particularly in institutions which served largely multilingual student populations. Respondents were also undecided about the standardization of Sotho-Tswana, most likely as a result of insufficient knowledge about this issue.

The respondents' willingness to acquire other BSALs informally may also indicate underlying attitudes towards these languages. A significant number of the respondents (47.3%) agreed that they had improved their acquisition of other BSALs informally at UWC at entry level. However, an examination of the demographic data in table one is quite revealing. The language which most respondents reported having acquired informally is Zulu (36.8%) followed by much smaller figures for South Sotho (8.8%), Pedi (8.8%), Swati (3.5%) and Tswana (3.5%). So one may

conclude from this evidence that informal improvement had actually taken place largely in the language which was closest to Xhosa, namely Zulu. Limited exposure to speakers of Zulu at UWC may have assisted in this improvement. Respondents may also have become more aware of the similarities between Xhosa and Zulu as a result of class discussions on the possibility of harmonizing the two languages.

Two statements on Afrikaans appear in categories D and E. The statement about the continuing development and prosperity of Afrikaans in the new South Africa elicited 54.4% disagreement, with only 15.8% agreement. It also elicited a fairly high degree of uncertainty - 29.8%. The statement *I am not positive about Afrikaans because of its history as the language of the oppressor* elicited more polarised responses. While 45.7% agreed that they were negative about Afrikaans, 31.5% disagreed with the statement, while a further 21.1% indicated uncertainty. The latter finding may indicate less overt negativity about Afrikaans in these respondents than was reported in previous attitude studies.

Bearing in mind that attitudes are relatively stable over time (Baker 1981:114), one could speculate that the attitudes which received the highest rankings at entry level were unlikely to change over the period of this study, and that changes were more likely to occur in the lower categories - from category C to E, where many polarized and unclear attitudinal responses emerged. It was possible that these lower categories contained the more mutable attitudes that were likely to respond to certain influences at university.

What the table demonstrates quite clearly is that the principle language concerns for these respondents were related to English (specifically its role in education) and Xhosa (mainly as a marker of ethnic identity, but also in school education). While respondents largely agreed that all African languages should be developed to tertiary level, they objected to hearing too many different languages in their tutorials. On the whole, issues related to other BSALs and Afrikaans tended to predominate in the lower categories of uniformity and fairly high on the uncertainty index.

In the following section, the analysis of the qualitative data provides many of the reasons for the attitudes reported in this section. I will also demonstrate whether these different methods of elicitation (interviews and written work) produced similar results with regards to attitudes as the questionnaire.



3.3 The Qualitative Analyses: Findings and Discussion

The qualitative analyses are based on interviews with 25 entry level respondents in 1996, as well as 60 essays written by entry level respondents in the English 105 examination at the end of that year. The interviews and written responses can be found in Appendices V and VIII respectively.

3.3.1 The common trends in the qualitative data

In order to impose an organizing scheme on the data, it was necessary to look for commonalities, regularities or patterns across the various data texts. With the

interviews, the analysis was done by looking at the reasons respondents gave in expressing agreement, disagreement or uncertainty about selected attitude statements during their interviews. The analysis of the written work looked for common trends in the reasons students gave for agreeing or disagreeing with the question in the essay title.

3.3.1.1 Entry level Interviews

A total of 25 respondents from my own English 105 lecture group were interviewed by me one week after they had completed the survey questionnaire during a lecture.

They were asked how they had responded to the following ten statements taken from the survey questionnaire, and asked to give reasons for their responses. The statements were presented in the same order in which they appeared in the survey questionnaire. Thus a statement on Xhosa was followed by a statement on other BSALs in order to capture respondent's spontaneous reactions to the language/s, instead of concentrating on one language at a time. These ten statements were selected because they covered, in broad terms, the principal concerns of the attitudinal survey.

Statements:

- 1. I feel positive about my mother-tongue and its potential for further development.*
- 2. I do not feel positive about the other African languages and their potential for further development.*
- 3. My own language is being neglected so that other languages can develop and dominate nationally.*
- 4. There should be one common language, and it should be English.*

5. *Afrikaans will continue to develop and prosper in the new SA.*
6. *English should be the only medium of instruction (MOI) at UWC.*
7. *Afrikaans should be dropped as MOI at UWC.*
8. *Our constitution guarantees language rights for all. Therefore, each student should receive some, if not all, of his/her lectures, tutorials and study notes in his/her mother tongue.*
9. *I find it difficult studying my subjects in a language that is not my mother-tongue - in this case, English.*
10. *All African languages should be developed to the point where they can be used to study in at university.*

The responses were examined in terms of agreement/disagreement expressed with the statement as well as uncertainty expressed about the statement. The reasons for the responses were analysed, supported by quotations from the interviews.

The analysis of the entry-level interviews



1. *I feel positive about my mother-tongue and its potential for further development*

The vast majority of the group responded positively to this statement, citing reasons like

- *It was the first language I knew from birth.*
- *I like it and I understand it perfectly.*
- *It is my mother-tongue and I'm proud of it.*
- *It's where I learn the values and norms of my society.*

Only two respondents expressed uncertainty, for the following reasons:

...if I were to live without the influence of the West economically and technically, I would agree. But due to the fact that we are living the nuclear era, international communication is vital.

...many of our cultural activities are diminishing.

This result, which was also supported by the quantitative analysis, reveals strong positive attitudes towards the mother-tongue as the main language known by these respondents, and the language which is the bearer of the values and norms of their society. Only two felt concerned about what they saw as the language's lack of value in terms of international communication and the decline in Xhosa cultural activities.

2. I do not feel positive about other African languages and their potential for further development

Most of the respondents disagreed with this statement, saying that they respected other African languages and that each language had the right to develop and be respected. It may be significant that the same two respondents who had expressed uncertainty about Xhosa also expressed uncertainty about BSALs:

The development of other African languages moves parallel to our identities but on the other hand, the West is more powerful. Thus it would be of greater importance for one to be a bilingual or multilingual with English as one of his or her languages.


There is no language as important as English in the world today.

In contrast to the higher degree of uncertainty expressed about this statement in the quantitative analysis, the respondents here appeared far more supportive of other BSALs, but this may have been influenced by the method of elicitation used here.

Respondents may have felt (possibly in view of my input on the value of these languages in their lectures and tutorials) that they needed to be more positive about these languages during their individual interviews with me. They emphasized the notion of language as a right and stressed that no language was more important than another. The two respondents who expressed uncertainty believed that English was much more important than BSALs.

3. My own language is being neglected so that other languages can develop and dominate nationally

The majority of the respondents disagreed with this statement, saying that their language was among the 11 officially recognized languages in SA, and that they used the language constantly, e.g.

It is not neglected because  most of the time I use it. I learn English only in class and to communicate with others who didn't know my language.

However, a number of respondents agreed, citing the shortage of publications in the mother tongue and the dominant role of English.

English is dominating in South Africa, because it is a medium of instruction.

There are only a few things like newspapers and magazines published in my language.

A few respondents were uncertain about how often Xhosa was used in the media and the number of other people who could speak Xhosa.

While the quantitative analysis could not point to any clear trend in the responses

towards the above statement, the responses here argued slightly more strongly that Xhosa was not being neglected because of its official status and the fact that the respondents used it all the time. But there was also a significant degree of support for the view that the language was in fact being neglected, allowing English to dominate.

4. There should be one common language, and it should be English.

Most of the respondents agreed with this statement, saying that it was the main language of education and national/international communication.

There are many different languages at SA in which most people did not know but they know their own language and English.

Only a few respondents disagreed, arguing that African languages should also be considered as common languages.



If English can be the main, we would be putting our own culture in the grave.

The above responses supported the findings of the quantitative analysis, where most respondents supported English as the common language of SA. The few who disagreed with the statement did so out of a concern for the maintenance of African languages and cultures, which they felt were being threatened by English.

5. Afrikaans will continue to develop and prosper in the new SA

The majority of the respondents disagreed with this statement, because they felt that most people in SA did not know this language and that Afrikaans was only used by one ethnic group. In addition, they cited the negative attitude held towards it by

most blacks because of its role in the past apartheid regime. They also felt that it was difficult to understand.

Most blacks are having a negative attitude towards Afrikaans as they regard it as the language of oppressors. On the other hand, Afrikaans speakers are proud of their language and they are doing their best to see it developing.

Only one language, English, will develop and prosper in the new SA.

A small number of the respondents expressed uncertainty, because *the Afrikaner people wants to develop their language.*

Only two respondents, in agreeing with the statement, felt that many black people could understand Afrikaans and that it had the right, as one of the official languages, to develop and prosper.



On the whole, interview respondents were more openly negative about the future of Afrikaans than the respondents to the survey questionnaire.

6. *English should be the only medium of instruction at UWC*

The majority of the respondents agreed with this statement, saying that English was the most common language at UWC and the main language in education and wider communication, e.g.

Most of us we learn English and mother tongue at our schools and if it should be not only medium of instruction, there will be misunderstanding both students, lecturers and staff.

Only three respondents disagreed with the statement, arguing that students did not know English well enough and that other languages should also be considered as media of instruction at UWC.

The finding here offers further support for the quantitative analyses which showed that 80.7% of the respondents favoured English as the only MOI at UWC.

7. Afrikaans should be dropped as MOI at UWC

Most of the respondents agreed with this statement, citing the same reasons as in statement five above. They also felt that Afrikaans speakers would be better off learning English in order to achieve academic success, e.g.

If Afrikaans continues as the medium of instructions, that would retard English communication skills for Afrikaans speakers. On the other hand, it would be a disadvantage for the non-Afrikaans speakers like the Blacks.

Those respondents who either expressed uncertainty or disagreement expressed concern for those Afrikaans-speaking students who also had a right to instruction in their mother tongue:

*There are still many people here who understand it.
...UWC is a university of Afrikaans-speaking people.*

The interviews support the quantitative findings on this issue, with the majority of the respondents wanting to see Afrikaans dropped as MOI at UWC. At the time the

survey was conducted, some lecturers and tutors at UWC were still using Afrikaans in their lectures and tutorials, but also translating into English to assist the speakers of other languages. Despite the translations being offered, the use of Afrikaans clearly caused unhappiness in some students, who felt discriminated against because of the use of a language that aroused strong negative sentiments.

8. *Each student should receive some, if not all of his/her lectures, tutorials and study notes in his/her mother tongue at university*

The majority of the respondents disagreed with this statement, citing reasons like the confusion it would cause, the expense, the risk of racial divisions and the lack of lecturers capable of lecturing in these languages, e.g.

The university will be trapped with high debts because it will have to employ people who are capable of speaking these languages. Students would be automatically restricted to certain job opportunities in the working field.

Only two respondents agreed, because: *each and every student will pass with flying colours.*

The findings here are a much stronger rejection of the above statement than the responses to the same statement in the questionnaire, which showed no clear trend in the responses recorded. Again, pragmatic, political and economic reasons were given for rejecting this notion, which corresponded with the reasons given by those who rejected the increased use of African languages in education in their written responses.

9. *I find it difficult studying my subjects in a language that is not my mother-tongue - in this case, English.*

Many of the respondents disagreed with this statement, claiming that they could cope with English at university, e.g.

English is not difficult if you want to know it and if you practise speaking it.

Smaller numbers agreed with the statement because they found English difficult, while four respondents were not sure because: *...it's seldom difficult, but sometimes I need a dictionary to understand certain words.*

Respondents were more likely to disagree with the above statement than had been the case with the questionnaire, where no clear trend was apparent.



10. *All African languages should be developed to the point where they can be used to study in at university*

Slightly more than half of the respondents disagreed with this statement. Many of the reasons given by this group were similar to the reasons given by those who disagreed with statement 8 above, which said that each student should get some academic support in his/her own language. Again, issues like cost, a lack of lecturers and the shortage of books in those languages were cited.

However, quite a large number of the respondents agreed with the statement, saying that it would create more job opportunities and that everyone was proud of his/her

own language.

Almost as many respondents supported the statement as those who rejected it. However, taking into account the strong support for this notion expressed in the quantitative analyses, there appeared to be a growing awareness of the potential and value of these languages in tertiary education.

Conclusions: The respondents expressed very positive attitudes towards their mother-tongue, Xhosa, and most felt that it was not being neglected. Despite the difficulties some respondents had with English, most agreed that it should be South Africa's only common language, as well as the only medium of instruction at UWC. They were largely negative about Afrikaans and wanted to see it dropped completely as MOI at UWC. While most of them rejected some form of mother-tongue language support for all students at UWC, they were less negative about the development of all African languages up to tertiary level. The interview as method of elicitation appeared to have influenced five of the attitudes expressed here. Respondents interviewed appeared to be much more negative about Afrikaans, and also more positive about other African languages than the large group of respondents in the survey questionnaire.

3.3.1.2 Entry level written data

The data here consisted of 60 essays written in response to the question: *Should African languages be used more widely in our education?* The text which was used

to stimulate their responses was an interview published in a local Cape Town newspaper, *The Argus*, of 15 April 1995 under the title ‘Foreign languages “hold back” Africa’s genius’. The full article can be found in Appendix XII. In the interview Prof. K. Prah of UWC’s Department of Sociology argues strongly for the development of African mother tongues so that these can be used to study in at university and also be applied in the professional sphere. Known internationally as one of the most vocal scholars on the subject of the promotion of African languages, Prah contends that

Africa will never be able to catch up with the economic, cultural, scientific and technological advances in most industrialised countries so long as its elite continues to underplay the value of indigenous languages as instruments for development.



The title of the essay students were asked to write was: *Should African languages be used more widely in our education? Give reasons for your response.*

The analysis of the written data at entry level

Of the 60 respondents whose essays were selected, 39 agreed that African languages should be used more widely, while 21 disagreed. The reasons cited by the first group who supported this notion are analysed first, followed by the analysis of the reasons given by the second group who disagreed. These reasons are supported by quotations taken from the essays. While it may of course have been easier for many entry-level respondents to agree with Prah rather than to marshall their own voices and to disagree, the analysis hopes to show whether those who agreed had

compelling reasons for doing so.

Group 1: African languages should be used more widely in our education.

This group, which made up 65% of the total number of respondents used here, agreed with the above statement for four main reasons.

1. Many tended to agree that African languages and cultures would only develop further if these languages were used at higher levels, e.g.

I would like to see African languages be highly implemented in our education. I would also like to see one of African languages on each and every label of African products. I will also like to see African languages being recognised on a national basis and internationally.



African languages should be used to restore the African culture to the African people. You may realize that if African languages are not used people will think that they are not important and decided to undermine them. The culture of Africans is determined by their language.

2. A second large group supported the wider use of African languages because of the greater freedom, confidence and understanding that would accompany the increased use of their languages in education. They believed that this would also result in increased passrates at tertiary institutions, e.g.

I believe that most of my subjects can be taught with my mother-

tongue. I can be able to get A's and B's. By using African languages we will be in a position to uplift our standard of education and receive good quality professionals as well as good results.

Many people would like to express themselves in their mother-tongue. This makes it easily for other people understanding their mother tongues to communicate with their lecturers. Those who have difficulty in answering questions in the classroom will survive.

3. A third group expressed an honest acceptance of their difficulties with English, and the problems they encountered when studying their academic subjects in this language, e.g.

When the lectures teach us we concentrate on what they are saying the problem is that we don't understand what are they saying. You can just understand two or one sentence. So that makes you become lazy to study your work. Sometimes you feel like going to her or him to ask or to tell what is your problem. He is going to ask you what you don't understand, you will not be able to tell. I mean you can say you don't understand the whole thing yes he can help but she can be tired of you because she is not teaching you the language how to understand it or how to learn it. He is teaching you the content... You sometimes suppose to do a three year course you take 5 years to finish it because we are not taught with this African language.

4. The last reason given here was that it was unacceptable politically for some languages to dominate while others were being neglected in the New South Africa,

e.g..

Now that we are living in a new SA where people have the rights to do what they want... we find that all the 11 languages are recognized as official languages, I think it can be wise if our schools and tertiary institutions can allow our students to be taught in their own languages because during the former government we were forced to use English as a media language.

...because there is no language who is super than the other languages.

Thus there are cultural, instrumental, linguistic and political reasons respectively why these respondents supported the increased use of African languages in their education, and these reasons are analysed below. It must be pointed out however, that a closer examination of the written data showed that, for many of these respondents, 'African languages' and 'Xhosa' appeared to be synonymous, and had little relationship with other BSALs. However, other respondents were arguing from their individual point of view rather than the group or Xhosa point of view.

The cultural reasons cited by the respondents in support of Prah's arguments, were expected reasons, as it is common to hear the phrase 'my language is my culture' in discussions with Xhosa students at UWC. While it is common practice in some societies to associate one language with a particular culture, it is also possible to maintain one's cultural affiliations without the ability to use the language traditionally associated with that culture. Edwards (1994:111-2), citing examples

from Ireland and Nova Scotia, has shown that people can still signal their cultural affiliation without necessarily speaking the languages. He writes ‘A “cultural loyalty” is often more widespread than a narrower “language loyalty”’. Such cultural loyalties can be seen among English-speaking Black, Coloured and Indian communities in South Africa. While they may speak English as their first language, they retain strong links with their original culture and all that it entails.

Using the political situation of the day to defend particular languages is another common phenomenon. The history of South Africa and other countries has shown all too clearly that governments have it in their power to promote or undermine particular languages. Therefore these respondents may have been justified in believing that the South African Constitution of 1996, which gave eleven languages official status, could be used to promote these languages and ensure greater contexts of use for them. However, as has been shown in Chapter One, having a particular policy does not of necessity guarantee implementation.

The more interesting of the four arguments were the instrumental and linguistic ones. These respondents clearly shared the views expressed by Prah that the true capacity of the majority of Africans had not yet been revealed because of the use of colonial languages in education. It is widely believed that cognitive development principally takes place in the first language (Heugh *et al*, 1995) and that this cognitive development has been impaired in many Africans because they were forced to study in second or foreign languages. Like Prah, these respondents appear to believe that the increased use of these languages in education would allow the

languages to grow and be used more widely, thereby enhancing their resource value.

This would ensure a better throughput of students in tertiary education, thereby enhancing their prospects of better employment.

Lastly, there was the respondents' daily struggle with English, often movingly expressed in heartfelt arguments that were expressed with some degree of fluency, but not with much accuracy. The uncertainty many respondents showed about their ability in English in the quantitative analyses on attitudes to English found much stronger expression here, with respondents more openly acknowledging that the language caused them severe difficulties. In this respect, the written data differed from the interviews, where many respondents appeared to be fairly confident about their ability to study in English.



Group Two: African languages should not be used more widely in our education.

The 21 respondents who disagreed with the increased use of African languages in education make up a significant 35% of the total. Their responses are grouped into five main reasons, which are supported by relevant quotations from the essays.

1. The most important reason cited was the power of English as the national and international language of wider communication and education, e.g.

I think that English is the only language that must be compulsory to everybody. At school we are taught in English, the most of time we have got a little time for our own African languages. When we meet with strangers, the only language we

use is English. When we went to our works on holidays we are supposed to learn English. The only language for communication is English. To communicate with different students in this university and make friends, English is the common language.

If I want to move from South Africa to study in other places like America, I won't succeed if I only understand African languages.

2. Secondly, respondents cited the problems of finding a suitable *lingua franca* as a language of learning and teaching for multilingual classes of learners, e.g.

African languages are not be used more widely in our education, because many schools have different kinds of students. There are blacks, whites and coloureds. These different types of students does not all know the same language...the language that is used more widely is English.

3. Respondents were also concerned about the difficulty and expense of translating books and research articles into the different African languages, e.g.

When a lecturer is teaching the first thing that must be done is research. Research is almost always done in English. English is the medium language. The teacher finds it sometimes difficult to translate to an African language. Some words from English are difficult and sometimes no words can be translated into Xhosa.

There are so many African languages in South Africa and that

will cost money and we do not get good education because of the African languages e.g. there are many children who were and are exposed to the African languages only and when they come to universities they cannot cope because they were never exposed to other languages.

4. Two of the respondents were worried about the tensions that might arise between different language groups if all were given equal language rights. One of them wrote:

This will create a conflict among the Africans, because each individual will need his or her own language to be used. This will make our education valueless and moreover I don't think that there will be enough teachers or lecturers for such languages. This will delay our education because there will not be enough rooms for teaching and that will make us to wait for long periods...I am avoiding the language conflict, not neglecting the African languages.

5. A further two respondents cited the relative unimportance of African languages, apart from their cultural and symbolic significance, as their reason for rejecting the wider use of those languages in education, e.g.

Xhosa is my mother-tongue, so there's no reason to used it in my education, because everyday and every night I used it at home with my family and my relatives. Some students don't even understand my language because on campus there are many students from different nations, so that is why I must always used English so that they can hear what I'm saying.

Thus there were pragmatic, political, economic and linguistic reasons why these respondents rejected the increased use of African languages in their education. Concerns were expressed about the cost and practicality of allowing a multilingual language policy to flourish in tertiary institutions. The political costs of dividing people across language lines was another concern. Finally there was the contrast between the power of English nationally and internationally as opposed to the relative unimportance of African languages. For these respondents, the value of English as a nation-building instrument and a means of communicating with all language groups could not be overstated.

Conclusions: Many respondents were in favour of the promotion of African languages in education, citing cultural, political, linguistic and instrumental reasons. However, a significant proportion rejected this argument, not only for political and linguistic, but also for pragmatic and economic reasons. The results here reveal a moderate level of support for the increased use of African languages in education. At the same time, the arguments raised by those who favoured English identified many of the problems the implementation of such multilingual language policies were likely to experience. The findings of the written data provide support for the moderate agreement in the quantitative data that all African languages should be developed up to tertiary level, but again the role of the input they received from their English 105 and Sociology courses cannot be discounted as having influenced the findings.

3.4 The relationship between the results of the quantitative and interpretive analyses in this study

Although the qualitative analyses focussed on fewer issues than the statistical analyses, both types of analyses revealed largely similar results for particular questions. However, there were also some differences, and at least one of these differences may have been caused by the type of input received in lectures and tutorials. The qualitative analyses revealed the respondents as having more positive attitudes towards other BSALs and their potential for further development than the statistical analyses, but also showed a stronger rejection of the notion of language rights for all, particularly at multilingual tertiary institutions. Another difference between the results of the quantitative and qualitative analyses was that respondents interviewed felt more certain that Xhosa was not currently being neglected, as opposed to the high degree of uncertainty that characterised responses to this statement in the quantitative analyses. The interviews also elicited more negative attitudes towards Afrikaans than had been the case with the questionnaire.

3.5 Conclusion: A summary of the quantitative and interpretive findings at entry level

This section presents a summary of the entry level group's patterns of language use and attitudes.

Language use:

A very small percentage of these respondents were able to communicate in four to five different languages. The majority, however, were non-fluent bilinguals in Xhosa and English, their main second language. Several respondents reported good to average proficiency in Zulu, which appeared to have been mainly acquired informally.



While many expressed confidence in their ability to use English at university level, it was apparent that many still struggled with the language, which was rarely used outside the domain of education by these respondents. Very few reported using it at home or with friends. While Afrikaans was known by many of these respondents because it was the third language at school for the majority, it was seldom used by them.

Language attitudes:

The strongest and highest-ranked language attitudes held by these respondents concerned English and Xhosa. They were clearly positive about their mother-tongue and wanted to see it used together with English at school, but at tertiary level most

opted for English only. They wanted to see more programmes on TV in Xhosa, and agreed that English was essential for good employment. English also emerged as the language most saw as the common language for South Africa.


Afrikaans and other BSALs excited only moderate to weak attitudes, and in many cases respondents expressed a great deal of uncertainty about the issues surrounding these languages. I have already pointed out that the level of support for the development of all African languages up to tertiary level may have been influenced by the amount of input the respondents received, but this issue needs to be examined again together with the longitudinal results. The agreement that the use of many mother-tongues in tutorials caused problems did not seem to originate from any linguisticism on the part of the respondents, but appeared to be motivated by more pragmatic concerns.



CHAPTER FOUR

LONGITUDINAL PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND USE

Introduction

In Chapter Three, an analysis was presented of the entry level language attitudes and use of a large group of Xhosa respondents, and a number of conclusions were drawn from this analysis. The focus of this chapter is to investigate whether these patterns were likely to remain constant or change over a period of three years and which factors, like the cognitive input received at university as well as respondents' social practices in this environment, may have influenced the changing and unchanging nature of the patterns. This is done through the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data drawn from twenty respondents who were surveyed longitudinally from entry to exit level at university (1996-1998).  There is a strong focus in this chapter on the extent to which individual respondents support their survey responses through their interviews and written work, and whether there are any contradictions in the findings of the quantitative and qualitative data.

The results of the entry level sample, together with theories on attitude change (see 4.2 below) and previous attitude studies in South Africa, led to a refinement of my initial hypothesis (see Introduction to Thesis). This was modified to include the following assumptions on how change might take place with my longitudinal sample:

- few changes would take place in the respondents surveyed here in terms of their largely positive attitudes towards English;
- respondents would maintain strong positive attitudes towards their mother-

tongue, Xhosa, and might wish to see it playing a larger role in their education;

- most respondents would remain sympathetic towards the development of other BSALs because of their desire for democratic practices within the new South Africa. However, this sympathy would be tempered by an awareness of the limited powers of these languages when compared with English;
- the respondents were likely to reveal changing attitudes towards Afrikaans as a result of its decline in status and the fact that it was no longer part of a state system that had formerly been used to oppress them.

In the concluding part of this chapter the theories on attitude change and my refined hypothesis are measured against the actual results of the longitudinal study.



The chapter begins with a description of the longitudinal population, followed by a theoretical description of how change in attitudes can take place. The quantitative and qualitative findings of the longitudinal group are then presented together, and compared with the findings of the larger entry level group in Chapter Three. Finally the tentative conclusions that can be drawn from these results are presented and compared with the researcher's refined hypothesis as well as the existing theories on attitude change.

4.1 Selection of Population

In Chapter Two, section 2.2, I explained how I arrived at a total number of 20 longitudinal respondents. The selection of the population for the longitudinal study was strongly affected by student availability and their willingness to participate in the study, and by exit level it was necessary to pay students in order to ensure their continued co-operation. I also wanted to survey academically successful students only, i.e. students who were able to reach exit level in three years, in order to determine whether there is a link between academic success and particular patterns of language use and attitudes. The Bachelor of Arts degree in South Africa normally takes a minimum of three years to complete, and several members of the longitudinal group managed to achieve this.



Of the twenty respondents who were tracked longitudinally, nine finished their degrees but three members of this group did not graduate owing to outstanding fees. Nine others were doing a mixture of exit and second year level courses in 1998 and therefore could not complete their degrees. Only two of the longitudinal group of respondents were still doing only second year subjects by 1998 (Source: UWC 1998 records). This choice was made in order to see whether there were any differences in attitudes and use

patterns between those who graduated at the end of three years and those who did not.¹

The sample longitudinal population consisted of eleven male and nine female respondents, who were all at entry level in 1996, the first year of data collection in this study. Thirteen of these respondents came from rural, largely monolingual towns and villages in the Eastern Cape, and one came from a small town in the Southern Cape where Afrikaans and English speakers formed the majority of the population. The other six respondents came from some of the black townships in and around Cape Town (Khayelitsha, New Crossroads, Gugulethu and Mbekweni near Paarl), although, judging from information gathered during interviews, they had originally come from the Eastern Cape. Seven of the respondents commuted daily to UWC, while the rest lived in residences on the UWC campus, where they mixed with speakers of other



¹ The failure of some of these students to complete their degrees in three years' time can be attributed not only to academic ability but also to the financial status of the students, with some only able to pay for two courses per year. It is also important to remember that the University of the Western Cape has been admitting students from educationally disadvantaged backgrounds since 1982, and this is bound to have quite a significant influence on throughput, with many students only able to graduate after five or six years of study.

South African languages.

4.2 The Causes and Relevance of Attitude Change

Research has shown that change in language attitudes may provide the catalyst for change in language preferences and ultimately language use (Baker 1988:112; Webb and Kembo-sure 1999:117). Morgan (1993:72), considering the likelihood of attitude change, writes that it cannot operate in isolation. 'In order for change to take place, some basic restructuring on a cognitive level with probable shifts in affectivity must also occur'. Morgan further argues that changes in attitudes may vary in durability so that short-term and long-term effects, which are influenced by cognitive and affective factors, need to be taken into consideration. Thus, if there is no reinforcement of the positive messages for change received in a setting like the school classroom or university lecture venue, the change may only be of relatively short duration. But if societal changes are also at work, this may lead to more long-term changes. As Baker (1988:142) puts it, 'Attitude change is essentially a cognitive activity, yet is formulated through social activity'.

In South Africa, Webb (1992:450-1) contends that language attitudes need to be changed in order to avoid

...serious consequences, such as continued language based conflict, the continued marginalization of people who have an insufficient knowledge of the dominant languages, the possibility of continued

manipulation and discrimination, the possible cultural and linguistic alienation of people and the loss of the country's linguistic diversity.

In particular, Webb (pp.452-455) wants policies in place to effect the following changes, which in turn would impact on people's existing language attitudes:

- the depoliticization of South African languages. Under the apartheid regime, languages became highly politicized, creating unreal expectations about e.g. what Webb calls the 'liberating abilities of English';
- a lowering of the high evaluation of English (which would include accepting the Africanization of English);
- removing the ambivalent attitudes of love-hate towards Afrikaans among speakers of Afrikaans;
- and the revalorization of African languages, particularly by technicalizing and modernizing these languages.



However, Webb is quick to point out that 'social change precedes linguistic change' and that meaningful social change could only be 'a product of political and economic forces.'

Change can be active, i.e. the individual can take the conscious decision to change his/her attitudes towards a particular attitude object and act on this, or passive, i.e. it can be engineered by socio-political forces and accepted by the individual over time. Triandis (1971:142-146) contends that there are four well-established ways in which attitudes can be changed:

- by first changing the cognitive component (e.g., with new information), the affective component (e.g. by pleasant or unpleasant experiences in the presence of the attitude object) or the behavioural component (e.g. by norm or behavioural changes);
- by forcing a person to act or by presenting him/her with a *fait accompli*;
- by presenting a person with what is called a ‘traumatic experience’ with the attitude object;
- through psychotherapy by increasing the person’s insight into the reasons s/he holds certain attitudes, by providing positive reinforcement for certain attitudes, by presenting an anxiety-reducing stimulus in the presence of the negative attitude object, and so on.

State language policies could, if properly and sensitively implemented, lead to the first two ways of change in attitude listed above by Triandis. Many researchers in Africa and elsewhere have pointed to the role of aggressively enforced state language policies in shaping the attitudes of people towards that language. The example of Afrikaans and its promotion by the pre-democracy governments of South Africa, and the enforcement of Russian in the former Eastern Bloc countries in Europe are frequently cited as examples of how state intervention can affect the status and vitality of a language. In Africa however, Adegbija (1994) argues that negative attitudes to the use of indigenous languages in particular domains, especially education, have become

institutionalized under the guise of official language policies in education. Unless such negative attitudes are consciously reversed and provision is made for the use of indigenous African languages in education and other areas of public communications, most of these languages will stagnate. However, Webb (1999:84-5) cautions against expecting too much attitudinal change as a result of external and direct influences. He believes that attitudes towards black South African languages can only change if the social standing of the communities themselves increase, and the communities become 'overtly successful'.

Triandis' third way of changing attitudes, the 'traumatic' experience, could lead to changes in two directions: previously positive attitudes could change to negative attitudes or vice versa. Thus hostility and racism experienced from speakers of a previously desirable language, or being sneered at because of a weak command of the language can hardly be said to lead to positive attitudes towards the language and speakers of that language. But much depends on the economic and symbolic value of that language as well as the learner's motivation for wanting to achieve a high level of proficiency in that language. If it is simply a language learned for pleasure, traumatic experiences associated with that language may lead to the abandonment of the study of that language. But a high level of *investment* (Peirce 1995:19) in the language and powerful instrumental motivation for learning the language, will mean that no amount of trauma will deflect the learner from his/her aim of reaching the necessary level of proficiency in that language.

While the kind of psychotherapy advocated by Triandis as the fourth avenue for change is naturally out of the question at national level, much can be done to change the affective component of attitudes. Africans need to associate their languages with experiences which are pleasant by the standards of modern life. As Okombo (1998:595) puts it

it is important that Africans see and hear their languages used in a dignified manner and in dignified settings by people who are successful in the modern spheres of ambition, especially in educational and professional endeavours.

Okombo joins other advocates of the increased use of African mother-tongues (wa Thiong'o 1997; Prah 1995) in calling on the African elite to do more to promote these languages instead of just using the colonial languages. It is this elite who particularly need to undergo the type of attitude change described by Triandis. However, such changes may be extremely difficult to achieve, given that speakers with a high proficiency in colonial languages in Africa are the tiny elite who dominate 'the entire judicial, legislative, executive arms of the state and the entire bureaucracy which goes with them' (wa Thiong'o 1997:23). Would such people be prepared to give up the power that their proficiency in the colonial languages has given them and be more willing to share with the majority of the population who speak African languages only?

Language activists who believe that people's attitudes towards languages can be changed through e.g. public awareness campaigns or state policies, must therefore

realize that changing language attitudes is no simple task. An individual might change his/her attitudes, but unless such changes are supported either by societal changes in attitudes or by state intervention through enforced language policies which carry the approval of the majority of the population, the individual would find it extremely difficult to sustain such changes. Indeed, actual social practices appear to have much more impact on language attitudes than language policies and educational input.

To give just one example: in the aftermath of South Africa's transition to democracy, many English and Afrikaans-speaking individuals, thinking that policies favouring the increased use of African languages were going to be enforced, were keen to learn these languages, and classes in such languages mushroomed everywhere. Many of these individuals came to such classes with fairly positive (if largely instrumental) attitudes towards the languages they were keen to learn. Today, however, we see a situation where the government's clear favouring of English in all avenues of the state (parliament, the judiciary, the media, education, etc.) has sent out the message to such people that it really is not necessary to bother with these languages. The effect has not only been to reduce the status of these languages in the eyes of these people, but also in the eyes of the mother-tongue speakers of these languages.

4.3 The Quantitative and Qualitative Analyses: Findings and Discussion

This section is an analysis and discussion of the questionnaire data collected from the 20 respondents in the longitudinal study during the three years of data collection, together with the findings of the qualitative research. The section will also indicate any

differences observed in the data collected using different methodologies (questionnaires, interviews and written work). The frequency tables pertaining to each year - the demographic data from entry to exit level, the self-rated language proficiencies in the different SA languages over three years and language attitudes to English, Xhosa, other Black South African languages and Afrikaans - can all be found in Appendix XIII. All results are given as percentages. The reasons given by the respondents in support of their questionnaire responses are included in the discussion on each sub-section, as well as any contradictions noted between the quantitative and qualitative data. The attitudinal responses over the three year period are also ranked according to uniformity and uncertainty indices (see Table Seventeen, Appendix XIII). These indices indicate what the strongest and weakest tendencies were in the patterns of change revealed each year, by revealing the strength of agreement/ disagreement, areas of strong polarity (equal numbers agreeing or disagreeing) and levels of uncertainty pertaining to each statement.

4.3.1 Demographic Data

The demographic data of the longitudinal sample are discussed here (see Tables Nine to Eleven in Appendix XIII). Note that in some cases students left certain categories blank and these are recorded as 'no response'. In other cases (languages with friends and home languages), the percentages exceed 100% because students could choose from two different statements covering more than 10 languages.

4.3.2 Discussion of Demographic data

The demographic data revealed the following information about the respondents in the longitudinal study:

Age: As with the large entry level sample, the majority of the longitudinal sample at entry level were between the ages of 20-25. The same socio-political factors that influenced the majority of the large entry level group would therefore have influenced these respondents.

Sex: Gender was unlikely to skew the results of the longitudinal sample, as there was a more even spread of male and female respondents here than in the large entry sample, with 11 males and 9 females.

High School Leaving (Matric) Results: These were largely similar to the results of the large entry level group, as were the results of the first, second and third languages learned at school. Thus the same conclusions drawn about the results of the large entry level group applied here.



Languages studied at UWC: Allied to matric performance in first and second language was performance in language courses at UWC. Table Two revealed fairly similar passrates for the foundational academic literacy course (English 105) and Xhosa I at the end of 1996, with only two failures in English 105 and none in Xhosa I. Eight of the respondents continued with Xhosa up to exit level. Most students taking English 105 could not continue with the undergraduate courses in English, so the solitary student who was doing it may have decided to start again with the first year English course in her second year, and was doing second year English in her exit year.

What was needed was to determine what had influenced the improved performances in

languages at university, if they were compared with the high school leaving results in Xhosa first language and English second language. Some influential factors here might have been the roles of continuous assessment in these courses, better teaching and learning facilities, smaller classes and less overly strict marking practices. Continuous assessment was (and still is) a key component of both English 105 and Xhosa I at UWC in 1996. In English 105, this form of assessment contributed 70% of the students' total marks in 1996, with examinations only counting 30%. Students were also given more time to develop assignments through multiple drafts, and had the assistance of trained tutors in English 105 as well as access to the university's Writing Centre, where intensive one-to-one consultation was used to assist students who made use of the Centre. Continuous assessment in Xhosa amounted to 50% of the total score, and tests and examination a further 50%.



Preferred language with friends: The language most respondents used with their friends was Xhosa. No respondents at entry level reported using English to communicate with friends. At second year and exit levels, only one respondent reported using English with friends. Another more open-ended survey done at UWC (De Witte 1998) also showed similar results for preferred language with friends.

Languages informally acquired: The language half of the entry level respondents reported having acquired informally was Zulu, for reasons already discussed in Chapter Three. Only one respondent reported having acquired Tswana informally.

The interviews conducted with selected longitudinal respondents largely supported the above findings (see Appendices VI and VII). It was also interesting to note that some

of the successful graduates appeared to have acquired more languages than those who did not complete within three years, and it might be possible that their greater degree of multilingualism or language aptitude, coupled with fairly positive attitudes to other languages, had an impact on their academic progress.

Apart from their level of academic success, the respondents who reported improving their use of languages other than English and Xhosa also appeared to share two other characteristics. Firstly, most had lived in UWC student residences from 1996-8, where they had mixed with speakers of other languages. Secondly, as their lecturer and tutor, I had come to know most of them as fairly outgoing and friendly young people who associated with speakers of other languages with ease while still maintaining pride in their own language and culture. In other words, many of the factors conducive to successful language learning existed for these respondents: positive affective factors, strong cognitive skills, and plenty of informal exposure to other languages in a multilingual environment. Stern (1983:386), in summing up research on the affective aspects of language learning, points out that ‘the affective component contributes at least as much as and often more to language learning than the cognitive skills represented by aptitude assessment’.

4.3.3 Self-reported Language Proficiencies

Table Sixteen (Appendix XIII) reveals how the respondents in the longitudinal annual samples rated their own proficiency in eight of the eleven official languages of South Africa. Tsonga, Ndebele, Venda and Arabic have been omitted from this table

because all respondents reported 'poor to non-existent' proficiency in these languages.

4.3.4 Discussion of Results: Self-reported language proficiency

Xhosa: As was to be expected, respondents felt that their command Xhosa was mainly excellent. This self-rated proficiency needs to be compared with available measures of their actual proficiency, as reported in the demographic data. In their matric examinations, only one had obtained a C symbol in Xhosa First Language. Most of the others had obtained D symbols and a further two obtained E/below E symbols. Of those who did Xhosa 111, three obtained C passes at the end of 1996, while the rest all obtained D passes. Only four of the longitudinal respondents continued to study Xhosa up to exit level.



It would be tempting to suggest that many of these respondents over-estimated their proficiency in their mother-tongue, but it must be borne in mind that there were several factors influencing the actual matric and university results in the mother-tongue. I have already pointed out that several studies have indicated that there is a significant difference between the standard Xhosa taught at school and the variety of Xhosa spoken in the home. In addition, the teaching of Xhosa at school leaves much to be desired and the overall quality of education in many of the former DET schools suffers greatly from impoverished curricula, poorly-trained teachers, political disruptions and poor resources. In addition, examination performance is not the same as an individual's assessment of his/her proficiency in a language.

English: The results for English show quite strikingly that respondents felt that they had improved their proficiency from entry to exit level, with 85% reporting ‘good’ proficiency by exit level, and a further 10% reporting ‘excellent’ proficiency. There might very well be a link between this perceived improvement and their strong positive attitudes towards English, as revealed by their interviews, as well as the academic success of some of them. It is clear that those who were academically successful, were fairly competent in English. Perceived and actual proficiency in English obviously have implications for change in language use and attitudes. The only measures that were available of respondents’ actual language proficiency in English were their symbols for English Second Language in matric and for English 105 at the end of 1996. In matric, only two respondents had obtained C symbols (60%+), while eleven had obtained D symbols (50%+), and seven E or below E symbols (40%+). In English 105, an equal number of respondents (nine) had obtained C and D symbols, while two had obtained E symbols. It is certain that a good level of proficiency in English may have played a role in the academic success of the successful graduates.

It was also useful to assess the respondents’ actual level of proficiency as revealed by the short pieces of writing collected at exit level. Despite a reasonable level of fluency and communicative ability, there are many surface errors as well, which may have impeded the progress of the less successful ones to some degree. Errors include:

- The use of overlong, meandering sentences, e.g.

For me I don't see any problem that all languages should be accepted in order to uplift their standards in this new South Africa most importantly I think that it would be fruitful that English should be recognised as a medium of communication based on the

fact that almost the entire different language groups know it and are able to understand English even though they have a language of their own ;

- Frequent and incorrect use of personal hedges or qualifiers, e.g.

*'to voice out my own concern'; 'For me I don't'; 'What I can say';
'According to my opinion';*

- Incorrect use of tenses, e.g.

I am more concerned because there are many people who recognised it;

Further this practise would brought a static condition in South Africa which already occured;



- Limited vocabulary range and use of redundancy, e.g.

Each and every individual;

As far as I can see my language is not so far considered especially by people who speak it in my opinion I think if further consideration and development can be done they know that it's one of the important languages.

The above measures of actual proficiency in English appear to indicate that many respondents may have over-estimated their level of proficiency in the language. This over-estimation may have been the result of their positive attitudes towards English. It may also have been influenced by the fact that many of them had achieved exit level

status within three years with a level of English which was just adequate for their academic needs.

Afrikaans: Afrikaans also shows some growth to the point where 40% of the respondents reported ‘average’ proficiency by exit level. Factors that may have influenced this growth is the presence of large numbers of Afrikaans or bilingual Afrikaans/English students at UWC and the fact that it is a language spoken by many people in the Western Cape. It is also worth noting that at school the predominant third language of the respondents in the study was Afrikaans (see demographic data). The only respondent who felt that her Afrikaans had developed from ‘average’ to ‘excellent’, also revealed more positive attitudes towards Afrikaans, saying at exit level:



We do not have to be against Afrikaans because of its history, that was history now gone, for us to progress and to reconcile we need to know each other's languages.

Others had improved their command of the language because of friendships with Afrikaans-speaking Coloured friends, or felt that it could not be blamed for the deeds of its speakers, e.g.

...yes, I understand that some people associate it with apartheid and oppression but the language Afrikaans was not responsible for that....

Zulu: The only BSAL to feature strongly in this section is Zulu, which shows a steady growth in the ‘good’ category from entry to exit level, and fairly similar percentages in

the ‘average’ category . As reported previously, Zulu and Xhosa both belong to the Nguni language family and are linguistically very close. Increased awareness of the similarities between the two languages through class or informal discussions, as well as interactions with the small group of Zulu students at university may have had a role to play in this growth.

Class discussions (in English 105 and Sociology lectures and tutorials) on the common features of Zulu and Xhosa as dialects of Nguni may also have raised respondents’ levels of awareness about the similarities between the two languages. However, as the interviews show (see section 4.3.7.2), most respondents, even those whose Zulu had improved, were keen to emphasize the linguistic and cultural differences rather than the similarities between the two languages and therefore opposed the standardization of Nguni.



Other BSALs: Swati, another member of the Nguni family, also shows some growth from entry to exit level in the ‘average’ category. Two of the respondents reported their proficiency as ‘good’ by exit level. Swati is another member of the Nguni family of languages. It is therefore highly likely that respondents became aware of the similarities between Xhosa and Swati as well, especially from second year to exit level.

Only two respondents in Table Five reported ‘average’ ability in South Sotho at entry level, yet this was clearly not maintained at second and exit level. It was of course also possible that these two respondents may have confused their awareness of the language at entry level with actual language use. There is also evidence here of a contradiction

between self-reported ability in other BSALs and what respondents actually said about their proficiency in these languages during interviews. For example, one respondent contradicted his own exit level rating of his ability in South Sotho (average), by saying that he only spoke Xhosa and English.

4.3.5 Attitudes revealed by the Longitudinal Study

The attitudinal results of the longitudinal group are divided into the following four language categories: English, Xhosa, other Black South African languages (BSALs) and Afrikaans, in order to get a total picture of the attitudes towards a given language/group of languages as covered by this study. Only those statements repeated at every level of this study are included in this section (see Chapter Two), but statistics pertaining to all statements can be found in the Appendix XIII. In some cases, statements were only used for a period of two years, as they were deemed irrelevant at either entry or exit level. For example, at exit level respondents were not asked whether they felt that they had enough English for university studies, because many of them had proven their ability in English by making it to exit level within three years.

The tables which show the longitudinal attitudinal results in this study, can be found in Appendix XIII (Tables Thirteen to Sixteen). Note that in some cases statements were left blank by the respondents, so that these results will not total 100%.

The frequency tables showing the results for every language or group of languages were used to create one table (Table Seventeen) which ranks the degree to which

respondents specified uniformity as well as uncertainty in their responses in each year, and this table is presented here. Ranking the attitude scores in this way allowed me to establish

- the prevalence of particular attitudes within specific categories
- the general ranking of particular attitudes within the categories

An attitude statement eliciting, for example, 100% agreement would be at the top of category A, which shows the highest level of uniformity in the responses, with 80-100%, or a clear majority of 16-20 respondents out of the total of 20 either agreeing or disagreeing with the statement at a particular level. Category A is followed by four other categories with decreasing values:



- B = 70-79% (14-15 respondents agreed/disagreed)
- C= 60- 69% (12-13)
- D= 50-59% (10-11)
- E= 49% and below (9 and below)

The second trend within this ranking that requires careful consideration is the degree to which respondents were polarised on certain issues, with fairly similar percentages signalling agreement or disagreement with the issue being responded to at a particular level. These are shown, underlined, as part of the uniformity rankings. The third important trend is the degree of uncertainty elicited by a statement. It was important to ascertain whether a particular level of uncertainty towards a statement increased or

decreased, and whether this uncertainty fluctuated consistently or randomly. The uncertainty index is ranked from 55-0%, because 55% was the highest percentage indicating 'not sure'. The ranking appears in the table as follows:

- 35-55% not sure (7-11 out of the 20 respondents were not sure at a particular level)
- 20-30% not sure (4-6 out of the 20 were not sure)
- 10-15% not sure (2-3 respondents)
- 0-5% not sure (0-1)

The ranking table enabled me to separate strong tendencies from weaker ones and thus to distinguish those attitudes which were more susceptible to change over time from those which showed either no change or no clear pattern in any direction. This table is analysed and discussed here, and it is either supported or contradicted by the reasons given for these attitudes in the interviews and written work.

One of the significant results of using the ranking table was that it revealed the gradual moderation of responses over the three years. At entry level, scores range from 100% to 25%, or from 20 to 5 respondents either agreeing or disagreeing with a statement. We can calculate the *range* of the scores by subtracting the lowest score from the highest score. Thus, at entry level, we have a range of 75% or 15 respondents. At second year level, the range is reduced from 90% to 40%, (18 to 8 respondents), giving us a range of 50% or 10. And at exit level, the range is reduced from 85% to 35% (17 to 7 respondents), giving us another range of 50% or 10. If one gets rid of the

peripheral scores (the top and bottom four scores) and applies the *interquartile range*, the evidence of moderation is even more impressive: 7 (35%) at entry level, 5 (25%) at second year level and 4 (20%) at exit level. These scores show that judgements were being made in a narrower range at second year and exit levels. In other words, respondents basically showed a general tendency to less extreme attitudes at these levels.

This moderation in attitudes is also demonstrated by the scattergrams generated for each level, which can be found with the other longitudinal data in Appendix XIII. Included here are the statistics and bar-charts showing the means and standard deviations for every level. Instead of using percentages, these results are based on the actual number of respondents who agreed, disagreed or were uncertain about each longitudinal variable:



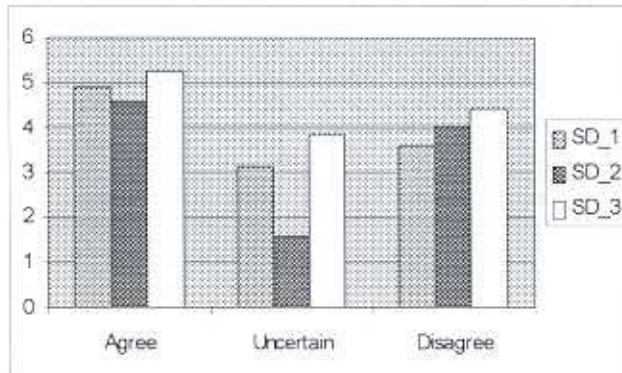
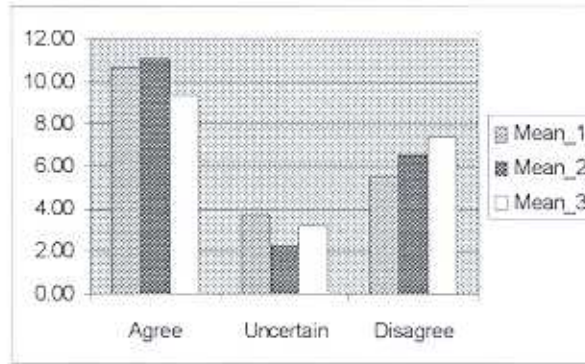
Mean and standard deviation scores - entry to exit level

Statistics (n= 20)	Period	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
Means	entry	10.68	3.72	5.60
	2 nd year	11.19	2.31	6.58
	exit	9.32	3.24	7.44
Standard Deviations	entry	4.88	3.11	3.59
	2 nd yr	4.57	1.56	4.03
	exit	5.24	3.83	4.40

The above table, as well as the accompanying two bar-charts, reveal that, particularly at entry and second year level, means tended to differ significantly between the categories 'agree' and 'disagree', whereas the means at exit level for these two categories were much closer. The standard deviations also demonstrate this gradual moderation, with exit level agree and disagree categories both being further from the mean than at previous levels, indicating a greater balance between scores for these two categories at exit level. Thus by exit level, as the accompanying two bar charts clearly illustrate, there is less distance between 'agree' and 'disagree' than at the other two levels.



Bar Charts: Means and Standard Deviations from entry to exit level (1-3)



4.3.6 Discussion of the comparative rankings of attitudes over time

The above rankings reveal the following patterns of change in language attitudes with these respondents.

4.3.6.1 Unchanging Attitudes

The attitude statements that were ranked highly by the large entry level group correspond to a large extent with the longitudinal ranking pattern. The highest ranked statements appear in Category A. Longitudinal respondents remained highly positive about their mother-tongue, Xhosa, as a vital component of their identity. In interviews and written responses, respondents gave the following reasons for this attitude:

I like it since it's my mother-tongue...I'm not scared about it, I can express myself freely. It is the language of my heart.

Mother-tongue is also very important specially in cultural activities.

I like my mother-tongue and I use it a lot...I'm proud of my mother-tongue.

Xhosa will live forever, because we are proud of our language and culture.

However, the level of agreement with the statement dropped to 75% at exit level. This slight loss of confidence in Xhosa by exit level may mean that the three respondents who disagreed with the statement and the one who expressed uncertainty at exit level were questioning the role the language would play in their future lives as compared to English. This is also reflected by the exit level interviews:

...it won't be easy for it to develop because there is a tough competition among languages, each and every language is fighting

for recognition;

...but on the question of development I do not think it can reach a stage that English has.

Their unchanging agreement that there were too many English programmes on SABC 1 and 2 may be interpreted as a desire to see more programmes in other South African languages on TV. In second year and exit level interviews, respondents had the following to say:



...something must be done to get more languages;

...material generally is very limited in my mother tongue, in fact in all the African languages;

..English is of course enjoying all these privileges.

This finding supports those of the language preference study carried out by the Broadcasting Research Unit in 1994, which showed the preference among black South Africans for programmes in their own languages on TV.

Respondents continued to support English as the only MOI at UWC . This could simply be a reflection of their pragmatic awareness of the difficulty and cost of finding alternative media of instruction at a university serving speakers of many different languages. On the other hand, it is also possibly a reflection of their experiences of languages of learning and teaching at UWC, where English ‘is the main medium in lectures...(and) it is accepted that this will remain the case for some time and should therefore be the official policy’ (Draft discussion document on UWC’s Language Policy 1998:44). In the interviews, respondents emphasized the accessibility of English, its unifying function as a *lingua franca* and its importance in their future careers:



It combines the different nations here at UWC;

This is a multilingual country and English is the only language that is accessible to everyone;

I like English because I can get a job...most of my courses and lectures are in English. I use English with Coloured students in my residence. I like the sound of English, it sounds nice. I don't have any worries about English taking over, because I use my language at home, it can't kill my language. But English is the right one, because everyone can understand it.

Thirdly, respondents supported the use of the mother-tongue together with English at

school. As pointed out in Chapter Three, the preference for the mixture of English and mother-tongue at school may simply be a reflection of the school experiences of these respondents. However, it may also indicate that they felt that their language had a definite role to play in their school education, as some of the case study interviews revealed. One respondent echoed the sentiments of many others on this issue when he said by exit level:

...at least at secondary level, English together with mother- tongue should be used as the medium of instruction so that students could see the value and importance of their own language. At primary level they should at least be taught in their own language so that they can get a strong background and develop their knowledge in their first language.



At exit level, the longitudinal group also returned fairly polarised responses to the statement which was included only at exit level: *Secondary school pupils should only be taught in English.* Here, 60% agreed with the statement, while 40% disagreed. As one respondent put it in her exit level interview:

... at secondary level English should be enforced and be used as the only MOI so that they can learn and practice it and not experience problems at tertiary level like we do.

This result appears to show that many respondents in this study felt that the mother-tongue still had a role to play in school education, even at secondary level.

A second group of strong unchanging attitudes appear mainly in category B. Two of the attitudes relate to English, three to Xhosa and one to Afrikaans. Despite dropping out of category A after entry level, the statement about English as SA's common language continued to receive strong support from respondents at 2nd year and exit level. It was highly likely that respondents may have been reacting to the lack of clear direction on the other eleven official languages by the government, together with the government's clear bias towards English in most of its pronouncements. Alternatively, they may have felt that, as everyone studied English at school and were constantly exposed to it through mass-media like TV, it was the only language every South African had some understanding of and could therefore use to communicate with speakers of other languages.

The following quotations from exit level interviews underline their sense of English as the only 'neutral' language in South Africa:

*We can't have all these languages, the best is to speak English
which is known by most of the people;*

It (English) has a unifying function...it brings people together;

(If we use all these languages) cross linguistic communication will be impossible and by that we will be reinstalling some of the old apartheid laws and therefore averting the integration process between various language groups .

This finding supports the results of earlier studies which show the preference for English as national language among black South Africans (Bosch and de Klerk 1994; Webb 1992).

The issue of English as being essential for good employment is also fairly straightforward. Most successful black people in South Africa (e.g. politicians, lecturers, business people and other high ranking professionals as well as media personalities) who may be the role models for these respondents, normally have a good proficiency in English. With the economy also still largely being controlled by white employers at the time of the study, respondents must have known that most job interviews were being carried out in English. As Ridge (1998:1) puts it ‘Despite the power of Afrikaner capital, commerce and industry function and network largely in English’. However, in the exit level interviews, some respondents expressed the view that good employment in the new South Africa does not necessarily imply having excellent English - as long as one can communicate effectively in the language and be understood, one can be employed:

...as long as they (employers) can understand, you can get as job...there are few places that require English only;

I don't think it necessarily have to do with fluency or being good in English but as long as people can understand you it's fine;

One's English does not necessarily have to be good as long as one can speak and be understood, because there are people that I know who are working in better positions and their English is not so good .

The responses here are possible indicators of the largely instrumental motivation of the respondents to reach a level of proficiency in English that enabled them to become reasonable communicators in the language instead of speakers of standard South African English.

Most respondents also agreed that there were not enough programmes in Xhosa ² on TV and were against the mixed varieties of the language they sometimes heard on TV , despite the fact that many of them used these varieties daily and probably held covert positive attitudes towards black urban varieties of Xhosa. In the interviews, the

² A study of weekly TV programmes on South African television in the first quarter of 2,000 revealed that Xhosa viewers could see the news read in their own language only three times a week (four times if the alternate Sunday news slot with Zulu was added). There was only one Xhosa drama 'Unyana Womntu' ('Our Sons'), screened once a week, and a dubbed American cartoon programme on a Saturday afternoon. All the other offerings were multilingual, and often these multilingual programme contained a lot of English.

following views were expressed:

*On SABC1 Zulu is dominating, on SABC2 Afrikaans is dominating,
and on SABC 3 English is a dominant language;*

*I don't see enough of my own language. For example, there is a
programme 'Soul City'... they use Xhosa, but they mix it with other
languages. I don't like mixed varieties...once you mix a language
you start to lose your identity.*

Some respondents were also concerned that the use of these varieties harmed the purity of the language and would influence how future generations would use the language:

*...it is totally wrong because there are some people who do not
understand English and therefore they would not be able to
understand the incorporated English word...and also, language
mixing have detrimental effects on the languages involved;*



*To mix languages in TVs and other related domains is totally
unacceptable because it kills the languages and also that sends a
wrong message to the younger people out there because they
idolise public figures therefore they will think that mixing is 'cool'.*

These respondents therefore favoured the 'pure' grammatically correct versions of Xhosa as the ideal model - possibly the standardized variety they had learned at school or a particular rural dialect.

Many respondents also continued to disagree that they preferred using Xhosa in tutorials, and this disagreement may be linked to their preference for English in all

their academic activities. The large entry level group revealed no clear trend on this issue. In the interviews, longitudinal respondents felt that they needed to use English all the time in order to improve their command of the language, which they felt was the actual key to understanding their academic subjects, e.g.:

I am very positive that Xhosa can be developed to do everything that other languages can, but right now I can't really use it here because all the lectures and notes are in English...there are not enough books or educational programmes in Xhosa;

I am against it because that will not develop our skills in English.

Lastly, many respondents, particularly at second year and exit level, supported dropping Afrikaans as MOI at universities in response to the more multilingual composition of the universities where Afrikaans used to function as MOI. This corresponds with the rejection of Afrikaans as MOI at universities by the large entry level group. As one respondent put it in his exit level interview:

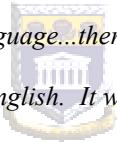
I think Afrikaans should be dropped as a medium of instruction at tertiary level because there are no valid reasons for it still to be used as a medium of instruction, it is not a dominant language and it only create divisions between its mother tongue speakers and its non-speakers. And the majority of the people do not even understand it.

A weaker unchanging attitude, with some uncertainty, emerged for the statement *English has been forced on me for historical reasons and its power as the international*

language. At entry and second year level, this statement was agreed to by 60%-65% of all respondents, dropping to 55% at exit level. More than 60% of the large entry level group agreed with the statement. The exit level interviews showed that several respondents felt that English had been forced on them for their own advantage:

English was not forced on me, I realised that it is important to learn and understand it because it is a dominant language and without it, it would have been tough for me to survive and also being 'un-English' at university is a disgrace. In fact you can notice that English is the instrument for survival...an important language;

English I can say has been forced on me but for my benefit because in most, if not all, of the institutions English is the language of interaction or common language...therefore it is compulsory for us to know and understand English. It was a preparation for one to be able to cope at tertiary level .



4.3.6.2 Changing Attitudes

This section focuses on those changes from entry to exit level that are reflected in both the quantitative and qualitative analyses. Unlike several short-term changes which occurred at 2nd year level only, it was likely that these changes from entry to exit level had received some form of positive reinforcement. In other words, the cognitive and affective factors which influenced these changes had not operated in isolation from other societal factors, thereby satisfying the main criterion for long-term change as described by Morgan (1993). Triandis (1971) also contends that a form of

psychotherapy can increase people's insight into the reasons they hold for certain attitudes. While these respondents did not undergo any such psychotherapy, they were all involved in this study for three years. This period of exposure to the issues, together with the cognitive and affective factors that were undoubtedly at play during their university years, must have affected both their unchanged and changed responses.

It is highly likely that these factors may have led to a more thoughtful consideration of their answers, especially in the more open-ended interviews at exit level.

As with the unchanging attitudes, the changing attitudes can also be ranked from relatively marked changes to more moderate changes.

Five statements elicited marked changes in attitudes over time:

The polarised scores at entry and 2nd year level for the statement *It is difficult studying in a language that is not my mother-tongue - in this case, English* changed by exit level, with 70% disagreeing that it was difficult to study through English. It is worth remembering that 85% of this group rated their English as 'good' by exit level. It is likely that their success in achieving exit level within three years may have influenced this attitude. This statement elicited a high degree of uncertainty with the large entry level group. Despite continuing difficulties which reflected the educational difficulties they had undergone in learning English, the majority of the respondents appeared to feel that they could study adequately through English by exit level:

*It is not as difficult as before...but sometimes there are difficulties
which compel me to consult a dictionary;*

...there are some English words which are quite deep and

*bombastic and that compel us to consult other aids like dictionaries
and while we are busy consulting time is upon us;*

*It was difficult then, but now it is much better because I am able to
write exams and assignments in English and pass.*

It would appear that three years of study and intensive exposure to English had lessened the difficulty of studying through the language, and that their informal acquisition of the language had continued without direct intervention after entry level. Nevertheless, the formal intervention of English 105 in improving their English at entry level, and their possible use of the university's writing centre cannot be discounted as having contributed to this changed attitude.



Two responses to other BSALs also indicate marked changes in attitudes. A low level of agreement (45%) at entry level that longitudinal respondents had improved their use of such languages informally, rose to 65% agreement at 2nd year and exit level. As was pointed out previously in section 4.2.4, this improvement appeared to be mainly in their use of Zulu. However, it is not clear whether the qualitative data supports the quantitative analysis here, because there are a number of contradictions between the survey responses and the interviews (see 4.2.7.4 below). The respondents in the large entry level group returned a wide range of responses on this question.

Responses to the statement asking for some form of mother-tongue support for all students elicited no clear response from the large entry level group. With the longitudinal group, responses went from 50% disagreement at entry level to 70%

disagreement at exit level. However, as the interviews revealed, this was not because of overt negative attitudes towards these languages, but more pragmatic concerns such as the cost and implementation of such language support in a multilingual institution:

...it will not make any sense...because lecturers, tutors and all other people will not be able to understand our different mother tongues;

There are so many things involved here; one, UWC demographics, it is extremely multilingual. Two, people to teach in all these languages - where are we going to recruit suitable people?

At exit level most respondents (65%) disagreed that there were enough good books in Xhosa, in contrast to the more polarised responses at entry and second year level. This change was most likely caused by cognitive input which established this as a fact. As some respondents said in their exit level interviews:

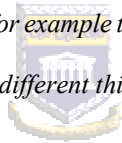
*...there is only one Xhosa newspaper which is IMVO and one magazine BONA so they are not enough;
They are very few when compared to English.*

While only 30% of respondents disagreed with the standardization of Nguni at entry level, by exit level this level of disagreement rose to 65%, indicating an increasing rejection of this issue. It is likely that the cognitive input received on the standardization issue at entry level (in English 105 and Sociology lectures) may have influenced the results at that level, and continued to influence the results at second year level. However, without such intervention at exit level, respondents' real attitudes towards the issue appeared to emerge. This result provides support for past research

(Msimang, 1994) which shows the tendency of Xhosa and Zulu speakers to reject the standardization of the two languages. Respondents had the following to say in their exit level interviews:

There are fundamental rituals that are practised by these two language groups which most, if not all, are totally different that will therefore mean that they will be suppressed or ignored in that merging process. And children will not be able to acquire them because they will not be existing then. And also that will result in job losses because they will no longer be dealing with Xhosa and Zulu as separate languages but only dealing with one language, Nguni;

Yes, Zulu and Xhosa are more like daughters of the same parents but they have differences, for example there are words which sound the same but mean totally different things;



Xhosa and Zulu and Sotho-Tswana are both mutually intelligible but their speakers are so different when it comes to cultural practices, norms and values.

This rejection of the standardization of Nguni by the respondents at exit level was in contrast to the more than 60% of the large entry level group who supported this statement. Linguists may dismiss the cultural prejudices, such as the absence of circumcision for Zulu teenagers, as minor barriers to the standardization of Nguni. But Ponelis (2000:9) reminds us that what linguists regard as minor differences are major differences to loyal speakers of a language, because *language loyalty* does not always equal *language logic*.

Three statements elicited more moderate changes:

Respondents signalled slightly more positive attitudes towards other BSALs and their potential for further development at second year and exit level than at entry level. However, fluctuating scores could have been caused by the negative structure of the sentence, leading to possible misinterpretation. The large entry level group appeared very uncertain about this statement, as could be seen from their wide range of responses. The exit level interviews revealed no clear trend on this issue:

I do not have any attitude against languages like Sotho, Zulu, etc. and if I can be given an opportunity I can learn and understand them, but there are very few mother tongue speakers of these languages that I know and they are too fast when talking. Secondly, they also fall in the same category as Xhosa, English is their main threat;



I prefer Zulu to other African languages. Other African languages as it is the case with Xhosa will only develop for their respective mother tongue speakers not for other language groups because there is this great race for recognition, therefore people are not bothering themselves with other languages but they only focus on developing their own language .

The large entry level group returned a low level of agreement (55.6%) on the issue of whether the use of the mother-tongue in tutorials had helped them to understand their academic subjects. With the longitudinal group, there were fairly high percentages of

agreement (60 and 70% respectively) at entry and second year level for this statement. But this level of agreement changed to only 35% at exit level, with 55% disagreement, which may indicate that Xhosa played an increasingly minor role for these respondents in their understanding of their academic subjects at exit level. Those who agreed with the statement nevertheless expressed some reservations about the value of Xhosa in this regard:

Yes, if I can be taught in my mother-tongue, according to the question, I can understand more better because it would be in my mother-tongue...but I am not saying that must be so because that won't develop me at all;

Yes that would be helpful to students because they will understand material much quicker and with ease but when they have to go out to search for jobs it would be difficult.



At second year level, 40% of the respondents agreed that they had improved their informal acquisition of Afrikaans while studying at UWC and living in the Western Cape. But at exit level, this percentage of respondents rose to 55%, with a further 40% disagreeing that their Afrikaans had improved. Those who reported having improved their use of Afrikaans, cited having made friends with speakers of the language as the main cause for this improvement. However, some also revealed negative attitudes towards speakers of Afrikaans at UWC in their exit level interviews, e.g.:

I know very little because here at UWC most people speak English to each other. What I hate is when people insist on speaking Afrikaans when we are present, because it makes me feel stupid. Sometimes people at UWC as well...they speak about you in

Afrikaans to discriminate against you.

4.3.6.3 Attitudes revealing no clear trend

Six of the statements elicited no clear trend over time. Responses to these statements were also characterised by high levels of uncertainty. The statement whether it was important to learn the dominant regional African languages for purposes of employment in such regions elicited fairly similar scores at entry and exit levels, but showed change at second year level. At entry and exit level almost the same percentages disagreed with the statement (45 and 40% respectively). However, at second year level 45% agreed with the statement, as opposed to the 25% who disagreed. The large entry level group also revealed no clear direction on this issue.

Polarised views emerged in the exit level interviews:

I do not think it is necessary to learn an African language for employment purposes. One can learn a dominant African language in that particular province for communication purposes;

Yes it is important to know a dominant African language in that particular region, if for example you are going to work in Eastern Cape you will definitely have to know Xhosa because some people do not understand any language other than Xhosa.

Like the large entry level group, longitudinal respondents were fairly evenly divided at entry and 2nd year level on the issue of whether 11 official languages were *not* useful and practical, but by exit level this shifted to 55% disagreement, meaning that slightly more than half of the respondents agreed with the system of 11 official languages..

The negative structure of the statement may have influenced the fluctuating responses here, as respondents were far more positive about this issue in their exit level interviews:

The present language policy is right because it will help these languages to develop and also their speakers will also feel proud about their languages and by so doing they will be able to go back to their roots and understand their cultures;

The present language policy for me is useful but the question of implementation is still my problem, because it would be really difficult for us to speak and use all these languages.

A similar pattern can be seen in response to the statement on the future development of Afrikaans - only at second year did 55% of all respondents agree with the statement. This statement also elicited the highest levels of uncertainty in respondents, particularly at entry and exit level, which may indicate that respondents were not sure about the future of this language as a result of Afrikaans losing many of its major state and official functions to English. With the large entry level group, more than half of the respondents disagreed with the statement, but many also expressed uncertainty. This uncertainty about the future of Afrikaans was mirrored in the exit level interviews:

...it is still used in some institutions as a medium of communication or instruction especial in this province (Western Cape);

Afrikaans is indeed relegated, it is no more a major prerequisite as it was in the past for other jobs, and even some of its mother tongue speakers are shifting to English. And there are very few people who are still strong and proud about Afrikaans .

More respondents (55%) were also likely to agree at exit level that they were *not* positive about Afrikaans than at entry level (45% - virtually the same score as with the large entry level group). The highest level of agreement for this statement occurred at 2nd year level (65%). This negative statement was also characterised by fairly high levels of uncertainty at entry and exit level. In the exit-level interviews, those who agreed that they were negative about the language tended to focus on the speakers of the language rather than the language itself as the reason for their negativity.

I still feel negative about Afrikaans because the majority of its mother tongue speakers do not want to involve themselves in the reconciliation process, and some of them do not even feel sorry for their role in apartheid.

Those who were more positive about the language had virtually similar arguments, pointing out that the language itself was not to blame for the past.

Two statements elicited highly polarised responses at all levels, together with high levels of uncertainty. Despite diverging patterns of responses across the three years (which can also be seen with the large entry level group), half of the longitudinal respondents rejected the standardization of Sotho and Tswana by exit level, while a further 25% were uncertain. Some respondents felt that the same issues that blocked the standardization of Nguni were relevant here. However, others admitted that they knew nothing about the two languages and therefore could not comment on the issue.

Sotho and Tswana are not completely mutually intelligible as Xhosa and Zulu therefore to merge them will be quite problematic;

I am not sure about Sotho and Tswana but I am sure they also have their own differences as it is the case with Zulu and Xhosa .

The polarisation on the issue of the neglect of Xhosa was also reflected in the interviews and written work. One respondent wrote at exit level:

As far as I can see my language is not so far considered especially by people who speak it. In my opinion I think if further consideration and development can be done they know that it's one of the important languages.

While this respondent blamed speakers of Xhosa for the neglect of the language, others laid the blame on the government and other organisations:

Although these languages have been given official status, I can't say they have clear opportunities for further development because there is nothing so drastic so far that has been done by both government and other organisations to encourage the use of these languages in public domains as a result English is still dominating them;

...Xhosa is only important for Xhosas and other language groups and government are not interested in it .

Others cited Xhosa's official status and the fact that they used the language constantly as reasons why they did not believe that the language was being neglected.

The large entry level group was polarised on this issue.

4.3.6.4 Different results elicited by different research tools

As noted in Chapter Three, interviews and written work can occasionally elicit responses that are different from the responses elicited by the survey questionnaire. With some members of the longitudinal group, the interviews appeared to elicit responses that differed from the responses they gave to the survey questionnaire. There did not appear to be any contradiction between the written responses and the questionnaire responses. The contradictions elicited by the interviews need to be examined closely in order to determine why they occur, and what they reveal about the respondents' actual language use and attitudes. One important factor may have influenced the responses collected from these different sources. The written work and surveys were done privately by the respondents, while the interviews were face to face encounters with an interlocutor. Some respondents may therefore have expressed their more private, covert attitudes when working on their own, but may have opted for a different type of response when expressing themselves to an interlocutor. They may have wanted to impress the interlocutor with their rational arguments, and to hide their own prejudices, stereotypes and beliefs. Consequently, when considering the contradictions that emerged when the transcribed interviews were read and analysed, a number of likely scenarios presented themselves:

- the possibility that some respondents were careless when completing the survey, choosing responses randomly. For example, a respondent agreed in the second year and exit level surveys that it was important to learn dominant regional African languages for employment purposes, but contradicted this agreement in his exit level interview:

I do not think it is essential to know any of the other African languages (in whichever province), because the only language that

is important...is English.

The same respondent also indicated in his surveys that he was not against the use of urban varieties of Xhosa on TV, but his exit level interview contradicted this:

I don't like the use of mixed varieties because some people do not understand them therefore a person who is using them especially in a public domain like TV will not be understood by the people. And some people will struggle with understanding the incorporated word in the case of code-switching.

- the possibility that the response to a particular issue in the interview may be a more reliable indicator of the respondent's real attitude than the survey response to that issue. One respondent, for example, agreed that eleven official languages were not useful or practical, but his exit level interview contradicted this agreement:

It is useful to have 11 official languages in the sense that if we allow only certain languages to have that status that will mean they will dominate other languages and the dominated will then be suppressed...it is practical because in other countries this is the case all languages are given this status....

- the possibility that the survey and written responses were the respondents' instinctive, first reactions and therefore more indicative of private, underlying attitudes than the more open and reflective interviews. For example, the reaction to Xhosa as the sole MOI at school revealed this contradiction between a possible affective response which governed some respondents' agreement

with the statement in the survey, and their more pragmatic concerns for Xhosa school-children in their exit level interviews, e.g.:

I do not agree with that because when they (the children) have to start learning English at other levels like junior secondary, they will experience problems as a result a person will progress as far as standard ten and be unable to express himself in English.

This may be indicative of the tension between these respondents' language loyalty and their awareness of the importance of English in education. Another respondent was strongly in favour of the use of African languages at tertiary level, as shown by his survey responses and his entry level writing. But his interview at exit level appeared to contradict this:

To use mother tongues as medium of instruction at tertiary level will not do us any good as it will limit one's employment opportunities because our mother tongues are not recognised in the job world.

The total longitudinal group were fairly polarised on this issue, while the large entry level group revealed a wide range of responses with no clear direction on this issue.

- Reported patterns of language use also often contradicted reported language attitudes, with some respondents actually denying knowledge of a language that they had reported they could use. For example, one respondent who reported in the survey that South Sotho was one of his home languages, said in his second year interview that he did not *'...mix so much with speakers of Sotho and*

Tswana..’ and also downgraded his ‘average’ South Sotho to ‘hardly any’ at exit level. Another respondent, who rated his use of Tswana and Sotho as ‘good’ by exit level, said in his exit level interview ‘...*I speak only two languages: Xhosa and English. I have not acquired anything in Afrikaans or Sotho*’. A female respondent, who agreed in the survey that she had improved her use of Afrikaans through contact with speakers of the language at UWC and in the Western Cape, claimed in her interview that this had not in fact happened, because ‘...*I do not even have friends who are Afrikaans, are mother tongue speakers, or who know it*’.

These contradictions may reveal how difficult it is to pin down specific attitudes with particular individuals. They are also reminiscent of the often low correlation between attitudes and actual behaviour (Baker, 1988:114), especially if the survey responses and written work can be seen as possible indicators of actual attitudes, and the interviews as possible indicators of actual behaviour. But this is an issue on which this study can only speculate, as actual behaviour was never measured. The main issue here, however, is that language attitude researchers need to be aware that different research tools can elicit different responses to the same attitudinal issue.

4.4 Conclusions

In this concluding part of the chapter, a summary is presented of the longitudinal group’s patterns of language use and attitudes. This is followed by more general conclusions which briefly evaluate the research methodologies, hypotheses and

theories underpinning the chapter.

Language use:

The language use patterns of these respondents show very little change over time, with Xhosa being their main language at home and with friends, and English functioning as their second language with a key role in their education, particularly at university. Zulu is rated the language most acquired informally, and it is one of only two other BSALs (the other being Swati) in which some respondents improved their proficiency. Very few respondents used English or Afrikaans in their interactions with their friends. While 40% of all longitudinal respondents reported improving their use of Afrikaans, the majority reported having improved their English, a factor that appeared to be strongly related to their degree of academic success.



Language attitudes:

In terms of language attitudes, Table Five firstly reveals the way in which respondents rank specific attitude statements. This ranking highlights the issues of greatest importance to these respondents. Secondly, the table reveals the overall pattern in which respondents rank attitudes longitudinally, with increasing moderation in their responses evident by second year and exit level.

Xhosa appears to be intimately connected with respondents' personal sense of identity.

They may also have a particular variety of Xhosa in mind which connects them to their culture - possibly the standard variety of Xhosa taught at school or some rural 'deep' variety which, for them, more truly reflects Xhosa culture and traditions. It is

such a dignified variety that they want to hear more of on TV, despite the fact that many of them speak mixed or urban varieties of the language. Although they clearly see a role for Xhosa in their school education, they also appear to feel that it has little intrinsic value for them at tertiary level, and that its use could interfere with their progress in English.

English is the language most respondents feel must be used at school together with Xhosa. But at tertiary level, most express a desire for English only. It also emerges as the language respondents regard as essential for good employment. The interviews and written responses show that many respondents are concerned about creating a unified South Africa, and feel that having one common language is an important tool for nation-building. They appear to believe that English is largely neutral, and can serve as medium of unification. At the same time they appear to believe that speaking English does not necessarily mean the end of other languages, and express little fear that Xhosa is being endangered by English. The findings on English as MOI at university and as *lingua franca* for South Africa are further supported by two other studies carried out at UWC with largely Xhosa respondents, viz. De Witte's study with 21 mainly Xhosa students at UWC (1998) and Anthonissen *et al.*'s study with 200 entry level Linguistics students (1998), of whom 63% were Xhosa home language speakers.

Afrikaans and other BSALs do not appear to excite many strong attitudinal reactions from the respondents. But there is also very little evidence of changing attitudes towards Afrikaans, unless one can interpret the high levels of uncertainty surrounding

the language and its future as a move away from outright negativity towards comparative indifference. Many of the language policy issues on other BSALs elicit polarised responses or high levels of uncertainty from the respondents, which may also indicate that they hold no strong views on these issues.

General conclusions:

A comparison of the qualitative and quantitative analyses reveals that the use of interviews sometimes leads to different results. The exit level interviews, in particular, frequently contradicted the responses to the questionnaires and in the written work.



Apart from the results on English, the findings reported in this chapter tend to challenge my modified hypothesis on the attitudes that were likely to change or remain unchanged. The results confirm that attitudes towards English remained largely unchanged with these respondents. While the respondents were positive about Xhosa, they did not appear to desire a greater role for it in their education. They also appeared fairly indifferent, rather than sympathetic, towards other BSALs. Their attitudes towards Afrikaans did not reveal much evidence of change from the negativity which had marked their entry level attitudes.

The theories on attitude change discussed in 4.1 are to some degree supported by the findings of the longitudinal study. As can be seen from the short-term changes at second year level, this study provides further evidence for Morgan's contention that

changes can be short-term or long-term (1993), as well as for Webb's argument that social change precedes linguistic change (1992). Triandis's changes to the cognitive component as an instrument of attitude change (1971) can be related to the ways in which courses like English 105 and Sociology attempted to change respondents' attitudes towards English and Black South African Languages through changed cognitive input. However, this only appeared to have influenced respondents at entry level, and to some extent at second year level. Once they stopped receiving this type of input at second year and exit level, their true attitudes surfaced. This reversion to their real attitudes, particularly at exit level, confirms that attitudes cannot change in isolation, but need shifts at both cognitive and affective levels. The type of societal changes that might have allowed the influences of the cognitive input to endure, were simply not in place for the respondents in this study.



Despite the political and societal changes that characterised the period prior to, during and after this study, conflicting messages from the government and society at large on national language issues may have caused confusion, uncertainty and even linguistic insecurity among these respondents, leading to very few tangible changes and a hardening of existing attitudes. For example, the Constitution of 1996 lists eleven languages as the official languages of South Africa, yet most of these languages are rarely heard in government statements or debates in Parliament, where English predominates (Webb 1999:66). On national television, there were many more programmes in BSALs in the early 1990s than is the case today in 2000. It may very well be that budgetary constraints makes it cheaper for the SABC to use imported English programmes than to produce local programmes in South African languages.

Nevertheless, the ‘strong bias towards English’ (Webb: 66) in a powerful medium like television may have influenced the attitudes of the respondents in this study.

Apart from societal influences and the effects of cognitive input at university, more affective factors like personality, academic success, individual and national identity may also have influenced each individual’s responses. It was noted in section 4.2.2 that the more outgoing and confident respondents, who were also more academically successful, tended to report having improved their proficiency in other languages and to hold more positive attitudes towards these languages. In addition, it was also noted that, despite their pride in their own identities as Xhosas, many of these respondents saw English as a unifying factor at national level and also believed that African languages would continue to be maintained by the speakers of these languages.



The implications of the patterns of language use and attitudes revealed by the entry level and longitudinal groups are considered in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THIS STUDY

Introduction

Chapters Three and Four sought to answer the first two research questions of this study, viz

- What are the language attitudes and language use patterns of Xhosa students at UWC?
- Do these patterns persist or change over a period of three years?

The aim of this chapter is to answer the final research question:

- How do the answers to the previous two questions relate to common assumptions, theoretical orientations and methods of data collection in attitude studies in South Africa and internationally?



The chapter starts with a summary of the main conclusions of the study. The findings of the study are used to evaluate

- my hypothesis and research methods
- the attitude theories and methods of data collection on which the study is based and
- the common assumptions on multilingualism in South Africa.

The implications of this study for the common assumptions on multilingualism, as well as language policy and practice in South Africa are then considered. The thesis concludes with a consideration of the relevance of this study and the areas that need to be addressed in order to respond to its findings.

5.1 A summary of the main conclusions of the study

Chapter One of this thesis introduced us to the key concepts underpinning this study, viz. Language Acquisition and Use, Language Behaviour and, as the core of the study, Language Attitudes. The language experiences of the mythical family in the introductory narrative are reflected to a great extent in the reported language experiences of both groups of respondents in this study - the larger entry level group as well as the longitudinal group. Most of the respondents reported acquiring Xhosa at home and learning it as their first language at school, while English was mainly learned at school as the predominant second language. For most of the respondents, Afrikaans was learned at school as a third language, while Zulu was the only other BSAL significant numbers reported having acquired and improved informally.



These patterns of language acquisition are reflected in their reported language use, with Xhosa dominant in their intimate and socio-cultural domains. Most respondents reported being satisfied with the use of both Xhosa and English in their school education, although a few reported that they would have preferred to have been educated in English only. A significant proportion of respondents in both groups indicated a preference for English as MOI at university. While the large entry level group returned polarised responses on the use of Xhosa in tutorial discussions at university, the majority of the longitudinal group rejected this at every level.

The reported language behaviour of the respondents in both groups revealed that they did not believe Xhosa to be threatened by English. However, the majority in each

group wanted to see English as the only common language in South Africa and as the only medium of instruction at university. Although the respondents in both groups clearly valued Xhosa, these findings tend to confirm Ridge's description of English (1998:1) as the *dominant*, but not *dominating* language in South Africa. The study also indicates that the respondents had developed multiple linguistic identities in order to adapt to the languages dominant in particular domains of use, especially the domains of *necessity* (Edwards 1994). They existed as speakers of Xhosa in Xhosa-dominant domains, but were able to use English well enough in order to study in it at university.

There were however also signs in both groups of a continued rejection of Afrikaans, although some exit level longitudinal respondents believed that the language could not be blamed for the actions of its users. Zulu elicited moderate to strong reactions when respondents confronted the possibility of the Nguni languages being standardized. The large entry level group offered moderate support for this standardization, but by exit level the longitudinal group rejected this. In second year and exit level interviews, most longitudinal respondents were at pains to stress the differences rather than the similarities between the two languages. Neither group appeared to hold strong opinions on the policy issues relating to other BSALs, although the large entry level group appeared to favour the development of all African languages up to tertiary level. This attitude may however have been influenced by input on these issues in their university courses like English 105 and Sociology.

It was noted in the Introduction to this study that language use patterns frequently

contradict expressed or overt language attitudes. Although some of the language use patterns revealed by the respondents in both groups served as good predictors of what the patterns of language attitudes were likely to be, they also offered further evidence of the contradiction between language use and attitudes. Of the large entry level group, 84.2% rated their proficiency in English as ‘average’ to ‘good’, but their rating was in stark contrast to the available measures of their proficiency as well as the quality of their writing. Many of the longitudinal respondents claimed ‘good’ to ‘excellent’ proficiency in English by exit level, but this was not confirmed by the quality of their writing in English at exit level. Secondly, longitudinal respondents revealed scepticism about the use of Xhosa and other BSALs at tertiary level. But what lecturers observe at UWC is that Xhosa students actually use their mother-tongue frequently in their lecture and tutorial discussions with other mother-tongue speakers.



The hierarchy in the ranking of attitude statements by both the large entry level group as well as the longitudinal group revealed clearly which language issues were important to these respondents. These issues tend to conflict with what is important to academics and language activists. In line with the thinking of other academics concerned with the promotion of multilingualism, I believed at the start of the study that several factors were likely to exert strong influences on the language attitudes of the respondents. These factors include the momentous political changes that have occurred in South Africa since the early 1990s, and the respondents’ lived experiences as students at UWC. In particular, I believed that these factors and the sense of finally having achieved political equality would imbue them with a greater sense of the value and importance of black South African languages. I assumed that this

greater awareness of the value of BSALs would lead to respondents asking for greater contexts of use for these languages, to assist in democratic nation-building and unification. A desire for the promotion of BSALs at all levels would have been in line with the thinking of those language activists in South Africa who wish to promote multilingualism at all levels. I also believed that respondents would reveal a move away from the formerly negative attitudes held towards Afrikaans by black South Africans.

Instead, both groups' ranking of the language issues which enjoyed greatest support or uniformity, together with the reasons provided by respondents in interviews and written work, offered further proof of the dominant role of English at national level as well as in their own lives. This confirmed part of my modified hypothesis, viz. that few changes would take place in the largely positive attitudes held towards English. The study also revealed respondents' loyalty towards their own language as the bearer of their culture and traditions. However, the longitudinal group revealed strong scepticism about its value in higher education, in contrast to the more polarised responses of the large entry level group. My assumption that respondents might wish to see Xhosa play a larger role in their education than it currently does was therefore not fully supported.

Many of the respondents in both groups were fairly positive about other BSALs. Several respondents had improved their informal acquisition of such languages and of Afrikaans. However, the comparative ranking of the attitudes with both groups showed that many of the issues relating to other BSALs and Afrikaans were of only slight importance to these respondents. An internalised sense of democratic

practices with regard to languages other than English and Xhosa was apparently not present in most of these respondents.

5.2. An evaluation of the hypothesis and research methodologies underpinning the study

As noted above, certain parts of my modified hypothesis on the attitudes which were likely to change over time were not supported by the evidence from this study. However, as was shown in Chapter Four, the findings supported my initial and modified hypotheses that several factors at university might impact on the language attitudes of respondents, leading to short- and long-term changes. Short-term changes in attitudes may have been brought about by the interceding role of English 105 and, in some cases, Sociology lectures and tutorials which tried to raise students' language and cultural awareness and also sought to promote linguistic tolerance. But this interceding role may not have had a lasting effect. Once respondents had moved on to exit level, most of them may have been asserting their own voices to reveal their more pragmatic viewpoints on language policy issues. Possibly as a result of this intercession, the large entry level group offered moderate support for the standardization of Nguni, and was polarised on the issue of mother-tongue support for all students. However, the longitudinal group revealed an increasing rejection of these two issues. In addition, while the large entry-level group appeared to be fairly polarised on the issue of the use of Xhosa in tutorials, the longitudinal group consistently disagreed that they preferred using Xhosa in tutorials, but were more polarised on its usefulness in helping them to understand their subjects.

The long-term changes that occurred were fairly predictable, such as their improvement in studying through English, and their relative improvement in their informal use of Afrikaans and other BSALs. It was also predictable that exit level respondents would recognize that there were not enough good publications in Xhosa, especially when they compared the number of Xhosa publications with the number of English publications. Perhaps the main long-term effect of three years of university study was the moderation of their attitudes, with exit level respondents less likely to express extremes of attitudes as a group, e.g. 100% agreement or disagreement (see section 4.2.6 In Chapter Four).

The research methods used in this study follow the most popular research methods used in attitude studies (Agheysi and Fishman 1970). On the whole, my triangulation of research methods - survey questionnaires, interviews and written work - tended to yield fairly similar results, but two methodological tools were either problematic or occasionally yielded different results. In the first instance, the use of negative statements in the survey questionnaires at times appeared to confuse respondents, particularly at entry level, and to lead to attitudes with no clear direction. Five negative statements were used, and three of these elicited polarised scores and fairly high levels of uncertainty:

It is not useful and practical to have 11 official languages

I do not feel positive about the other African languages and their potential for further development

I do not feel positive about Afrikaans, because of its history as the language of oppression

However, the other two negative statements which referred to English and Xhosa
(*You can't get a good job unless your English is good* and *There is not enough TV in my mother*

tongue) elicited high levels of agreement. It may therefore not have been the negative structure of the statements that elicited particular scores, but the languages to which they referred - Afrikaans and other BSALs. At second year and exit level clearer trends emerged for these statements.

Secondly, as was seen in Chapters Three and Four, interviews sometimes produced results that contradicted the findings of the survey questionnaires and written work. In Chapter Four, I presented some of the possible reasons why face-to-face interviews sometimes lead to different results than the more private acts of writing or responding to a questionnaire. Clearly, alternative methods of data collection used in attitude studies could have an impact on research results, and researchers need to take account of this factor.



5.3. An evaluation of the language attitude theories used in the study

The study utilizes Triandis' (1971) multi-componential model of attitudes, with its cognitive, affective and behavioural components. As was noted in Chapter One, this model is particularly appropriate for a study which has the ranking of attitudes as its core. At the same time, the contradictions which emerged through different research methods also support the notions of *overt* and *covert* attitudes (Ryan 1979), with respondents' openly-professed attitudes sometimes at odds with their more covert attitudes. The many unchanging attitudes in the study also tend to support the view of attitudes as remaining relatively stable over time (Baker 1988). As was noted in the conclusion to Chapter Four, the study also supports the theories of attitude change expounded by Triandis (1971), Morgan (1993) and Webb (1992).

The study has added further empirical evidence to South African attitude studies carried out with black respondents. In particular, past findings on attitudes towards English (e.g. Webb 1992, Young *et al.* 1991) receive strong support from this study. There is evidence, however, of a slight shift in the negative societal attitudes to BSALs beyond home and informal use reported in previous studies by e.g. Msimang (1993), Marivate (1993), Bosch and de Klerk (1994) and Gough (1998). The longitudinal respondents in this study signalled minor changes in their attitudes towards BSALs, by revealing more positive attitudes towards other BSALs in the national domain, and by clearly approving of the use of Xhosa together with English at school level. This slight shift was particularly evident at exit level, where 85% of the longitudinal respondents approved of the use of Xhosa together with English at school, and where 65% reported that they were positive about other BSALs. A further 55% felt that having 11 official languages was both useful and practical.



As regards Afrikaans, the study does not reveal much evidence of a shift in the negative attitudes reported towards Afrikaans in past attitude studies, such as in the studies by Bosch and de Klerk (1994), and Vorster and Proctor (1975). Entry-level and longitudinal respondents consistently rejected its use as MOI at university, and there were very low levels of agreement for the statement *Afrikaans will continue to develop and prosper in the new SA*. Slightly more than half of the longitudinal respondents (55%) agreed at exit level that they still felt negative about Afrikaans. A further 55% agreed that they had improved their informal use of the language, but some contradicted this reported improvement in their exit level interviews. Judging from the exit level interviews, some respondents still associated Afrikaans with pain and humiliation, but there also appeared to be a tendency to separate the language

from its speakers and simply to treat it as just another South African language.

5.4 An evaluation of the common assumptions on multilingualism and multilingual education in South Africa

Many of the assumptions held by language activists about languages in multilingual societies are often strongly influenced by socio-political ideology instead of evidence from empirical research. Empirical research can help language policy planners and those responsible for the implementation of language policies to accommodate the reality of people's attitudes and actual language use in their recommendations. In the Introduction to this study, the common assumptions on multilingualism in South Africa were discussed. The findings of this study hold a number of implications for these assumptions. They indicate, for example, that certain assumptions are not supported by empirical evidence and that these assumptions can only be realised if certain attitudes can be made to change, particularly negative attitudes towards Black South African Languages. However, without institutional support attitudes are not going to change by themselves, because the findings of this study and others show how deeply entrenched certain attitudes are in the consciousness of black South Africans. As Desai (1999:175-6) points out:

A constant refrain at conferences on language policy issues is the negative attitudes towards African languages by the speakers of these languages and how we can change these negative attitudes . Increasingly, I am beginning to think that we are not going to change these attitudes. What we need to change is our practices and attitudes will follow - whether these be racist attitudes, sexist

attitudes or attitudes towards particular languages.

Many language activists believe that the best model for South African schools is one of *additive bilingualism*. The appropriateness of this model for South Africa is described in Lockett (1995:73-78). Like Desai (1995; 1999), Lockett proposes a model according to which children will use their mother-tongues as media of instruction (MOI) until the end of secondary school, and do English as a compulsory school subject from the third or fourth grade. At tertiary level, she proposes that a regional language should be a parallel medium of instruction with English. South Africa's *Language in Education Policy* (Dept. of Education, 1997) qualifies its position towards additive bilingualism as follows:

Whichever route [towards multilingual education] is followed, the underlying principle is to maintain home language(s) while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s).

However, some researchers are currently questioning the appropriateness of additive bilingualism, first designed in Canada, for education in South Africa. Banda (1998) exposes some of the weaknesses in Lockett's additive bilingualism model. He is also critical of two of the other models described in *Multilingual Education for South Africa* (Heugh et al:1995), viz. Alexander's Multimedia School and Heugh's Modified Dual Medium model, because both these models delay the acquisition of English in which pupils will eventually have to do some of their subjects.

According to Banda, Lockett's model is derived from Cummins' (1981) distinction between basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive academic

language proficiency (CALP). However, according to Cummins (1981:24) it requires 5-7 years for a child to achieve CALP that enables him/her to perform well on academic skills. Lockett does not want children to begin operating in a second language like English until CALP has been achieved. This implies that many children will already be in secondary school by the time they can start using the second language effectively for learning purposes, provided that their acquisition of English is adequate up to that point - a situation that is woefully unlikely in South Africa's current educational crisis. It is also unlikely that such children would become effective users of English at tertiary level, where the demands of academic literacy are an additional complication.

What is certain is that none of the schools in the former Department of Education and Training (black) schools are currently using the model of additive bilingualism, and Banda concludes (1998:9): 'In a nutshell, the majority of South African schools have a monolingual orientation despite government's policy of additive bilingualism. The situation is unlike to change in the near future.' Banda would prefer improved mother-tongue education together with English as MOI. His position finds support in the evidence provided by this study, viz. that the majority of the respondents in both groups reported preferring the use of Xhosa together with English at school.

The implications of this study for the other common assumptions are now discussed in terms of those assumptions which were either supported or challenged by the findings of the study.

5.4.1 Implications for the assumption strongly supported

The findings of this study offer fairly conclusive support for only one common assumption on multilingualism in South Africa:

All learners should have meaningful access to English since it has unparalleled power and status in our society at present.

The support for this assumption is based on the unchanging high ranking in the study of statements like

- English should be the only MOI at UWC
- The mother tongue should be used together with English at school
- You can't get a good job unless your English is good
- There should be one common language, and it should be English



The highly positive attitudes towards English revealed by the study are, as noted earlier, further confirmation of past studies which have shown that English 'must enjoy very substantial affirmation from the African majority in the country' (Ridge 1998:1). These attitudes to English also tend to support the section of UWC's draft language policy of 1998 which describes English as 'the main but not the only language for educational purposes and for internal and external communication' (UWC Language Policy Working Group, 1998:43). However, it challenges this policy's commitment to multilingualism which sees 'the current predomination of English...as an interim situation', as it was clear that most of the respondents in this study, especially at exit level, were sceptical about the use of other languages at tertiary level.

The unparalleled power and status of English in South African society could hold a number of serious implications for other languages in South Africa, such as language shift, decline and even death. However Eastman (1990:21) believes that the social functioning of indigenous languages will ensure that they remain part and parcel of people's culture and identity whether or not they are used at all or are used only in certain domains.

The most serious part of the assumption is captured by the phrase 'meaningful access to English', and there are two major issues that need to be unpacked here. Firstly, what type of English has power and status in South Africa? Is Black South African English at the same level of power and status as Standard British English¹? What kind of English is instinctively favoured when candidates (who are equal in all other respects) are interviewed for posts, particularly if the interviewers themselves hold certain attitudes towards a particular type of English? Edwards (1995:93) reminds us:

If popular attitudes about the superiority-inferiority of languages are resistant to change, despite the weight of linguistic evidence, then those concerning styles, accents and dialects are even more deeply ingrained....Vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar which are at variance with a received 'standard' are regularly dismissed, and a great divide is thus perceived between such a standard all other

¹ According to Titlestad (1996:170), '...the term "Standard British English" is a piece of sober linguistic description (not a recrudescence of imperialism) implying the form of the international standard most appropriate to South Africa'.

'substandard' forms.

Secondly, how should 'meaningful access' to English be improved? Education in most black schools in South Africa has continued to be marked by the following features:

- many schools in black townships remain under-resourced, with large classes and often poorly-trained and poorly-motivated teachers;
- The level of English most teachers have is often inadequate to the task of providing suitable models for the learners to copy, and learners typically have little exposure to mother-tongue speakers of English or varieties of English other than Black South African English (Mugoya 1991, cited in Gough 1996:54);
- There are inadequate supplies of reading material at schools and in the homes and a culture of reading still needs to be established among the majority of the population in SA (Mawasha *et al.* 1996);
- Teachers tend to focus on teaching English grammar and literature, instead of effective communication in English. In addition, as Jane Kembo (1999:306) points out, no attempt is made to 'shift the culture of formal education closer to the culture of the local communities'.

The above factors make it clear that, under these conditions, English remains an unattainable goal for most learners in these schools, leading to the necessity for tertiary academic development programmes to address the problem much later. It is clear, therefore, that at a time when there is political pressure to develop and maintain African languages, there is also pressure to improve the access of learners

to English. How the government will apply resources to both these areas remains to be seen. In the meantime, black parents who can afford it, continue to seek education for their children in English anywhere but in the townships, in the belief that they will achieve a much better standard of education elsewhere.

The findings also indicate that most respondents in this study preferred the use of the mother-tongue together with English in their school education. This clearly implies that the kind of bilingualism currently in operation at many black schools does not excite negative attitudes, as long as English is present. Despite the evidence of many black children receiving largely monolingual education, many schools aim for a model of bilingual education, even if the amount of English input is as low as described by Desai (1999:179). A working model is the one that is currently in operation at former white, Afrikaans-medium schools in the Western Cape (also known as 'Model C' schools). At such schools, the numbers of learners wanting to be educated through the medium of English has increased to the point where they often outnumber the Afrikaans learners. Here, dual medium education is in place, with all subjects taught either in one language or the other (except where the languages themselves are taught as subjects). The parents choose the language in which they want their children to be educated. This often means that Afrikaans-speaking or bilingual Afrikaans-English parents elect to have their children educated through English only, because, like black parents, they also believe that this will lead to a better education and better employment prospects for their children.

Thus, even if additive bilingual schools were in place, allowing parents to choose the medium of education might continue to favour English. There are of course other

ways in which the ‘minority’ language in a bilingual school can be maintained, depending on the language teachers elect to use during school functions like assemblies, sports days, concerts and in maintaining discipline on the playgrounds.

Ridge (1999), in a response to the latest draft policy of the Pan-South African Language Board (PANSALB) argues that this draft policy is at odds with the strong positive language attitudes expressed towards English by the majority of the population. State insistence on mother-tongue education could cause furious opposition from black parents and further increase negative attitudes towards black languages. As Banda (1998:11) puts it ‘...any bilingual model in South Africa that ignores attitudes of parents and pupils towards English is bound to fail.’



5.4.2 Implications for the assumptions with low support

The common assumptions for which this study revealed limited support are:

- Multilingualism in South Africa (and elsewhere) is the norm, monolingualism the exception
- Languages in education can usefully be regarded as resources, not as obstacles to learning
- African languages should be consciously promoted to enhance their status and to develop their corpus for purposes of acquisition.

The study has shown, through the reported patterns of language use, self-rated language proficiency and formal/informal language acquisition, that unstable or transitional-subtractive bilingualism in Xhosa and English is the norm for most of the

respondents in this study, rather than multilingualism in three or more languages. However, several respondents in both groups also reported differing levels of proficiency in Zulu and Afrikaans, which gives limited support to the assumption.

The type of bilingualism exhibited by the majority of the respondents in the study may lead to the further growth of English as *lingua franca* in South Africa, even though Zulu performs this role in some centres. Another consequence could be the entrenchment of ethnic groups within their own cultural and linguistic borders, which could have both positive and negative consequences for the establishment of one nation. On the one hand, a healthy diversity of cultures and languages fosters pride, individual identity and democracy. On the other hand, it could fracture the unification process, with the re-entrenchment of divisions created by the former apartheid regime.



Heugh (in Mesthrie 1995:229) believes that a *language as a resource* paradigm, where the government recognizes the resources that a linguistic community brings to the nation, can serve the needs of both the majority and minority language groups in South Africa. However, this assumption, when applied to languages in education, found only limited support among the respondents in the study. On the one hand, they clearly saw a place for Xhosa in their school education, but on the other hand, they were fairly sceptical about its value at tertiary level.

The assumption about the conscious promotion of African languages also enjoyed only limited support. Firstly, the evidence from the study suggests that the large entry level group of respondents favoured the development of all BSALs up to

tertiary level (64.9% agreed with the statement). But the longitudinal respondents returned only low levels of agreement to this statement - 50% at entry level and 55% at second year level (the statement was not included at exit level). Secondly, the large entry-level group was polarised on the issue of whether having eleven official languages was useful and practical (although the negative structure of the statement may have influenced this result). The longitudinal group was polarised on this issue at entry and second year levels, but 55% supported the use of eleven official languages at exit level. Finally, the large entry level group returned a low level of agreement on the importance of learning dominant regional African languages for employment purposes. The longitudinal group signalled a high level of uncertainty on this issue, and a further 40% disagreed with the statement by exit level. It is also important to remember that the large entry level group may have been influenced by the type of academic input they received on these issues.



Kamwangamalu (1995:89-91) lists four reasons why there is resistance in sub-Saharan African countries to the promotion of African languages:

- ethnolinguistic rivalries, such as that between Zulu and Xhosa
- ‘elite closure’ (Scotton 1990:25) with the elite favouring a colonial language for themselves and their children, while advocating mother-tongue education for the masses
- economic dependence and its corollary, linguicism - Africa’s continued dependence on Western donors automatically gives the languages of these donors a higher status than any indigenous language
- language marketability - people can see the advantages of acquiring a former colonial language rather than being educated in an indigenous one.

Even if the South African government succeeds in its policy of promoting BSALs, what purpose would they serve, and how would they be used? Would they ever be able to replace English in particular domains? Heugh (1999:168) believes that ‘the functional use of African languages will never be fully realised whilst the conquered consciousness prevails and until their potential in purely economic terms is unmasked’. Thus certain conditions first need to be in place, such as the rigorous implementation of a policy to promote multilingualism in employment and education.

Investing in these languages may only make sense to the majority of South Africans if mastery of one or more African language/s becomes a pre-requisite for employment.



5.4.3 Implications for the assumption challenged

One common assumption was challenged by the findings of this study:

- The first language (L1) is the primary medium for cognitive development

Many language activists believe that the first language is the primary medium for cognitive development in children. However, despite polarising opinion at entry level, this assumption was challenged by respondents’ rejection over time of the mother-tongue as the only MOI at school. All respondents for this study came from the former Department of Education and Training Schools, set up specifically for black schools in South Africa. This means that these respondents learned through their first language in the first four years of schooling, and from the fifth year had to switch to the medium of English.

While studies by Cummins (1977) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1988) have argued that the first language is the primary medium for cognitive development, there is considerable contestation of their claims. For example, Fasold (1984:321) points out that ‘...for every research report that indicates that mother-tongue education is effective, there is another one that indicates that it is not. The consensus on the question of whether or not mother-tongue education works is “we just don’t know”’. However, a correlation has been found between the development of literacy skills in the mother-tongue and the development of similar skills in a second language (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukoma 1976; Akkinaso 1993). This correlation, among others, has led to language activists in South Africa arguing that parents need to be convinced that their children will learn English better if their skills in their mother-tongues are first developed. But the resistance to monolingual education as a result of its stigmatization in black communities during the apartheid years is unlikely to vanish, though it may change in form. The interests of the mother-tongue might be served better in a bilingual school situation. In a fully bilingual school situation, with adequate resources and well-trained teachers, it may be possible for both languages to be taught successfully.

5.5 Conclusion: The relevance of this study and the areas that need to be addressed in order to respond to its findings

The relevance of this study lies firstly in its direct contribution to an understanding of the language issues that are considered to be of greatest importance for Xhosa university students in the new South Africa. These issues are

- language and identity. For these respondents, their mother-tongue, Xhosa was closely related to their sense of themselves and the culture and traditions of Xhosas in South Africa;
- language and education. At school, Xhosa and English were considered by the respondents to be the main languages of education, but at university they preferred to be educated through the medium of English only;
- language and employment. English clearly dominated in this area;
- language and nationhood. The study showed that the respondents favoured English as the main common language in South Africa. It also showed that, with the possible exception of Zulu, they were fairly indifferent towards other BSALs, and were either negative or indifferent towards Afrikaans.

Secondly, the study makes a contribution to the study of language attitudes and the methodologies appropriate for such study. It reveals how different methods of analysis can lead to different results. It also points out some of the problems researchers need to be alert to in constructing attitude questionnaires and in securing research populations for longitudinal studies. Perhaps the most important contribution of the study is its analysis of change in language attitudes. Its longitudinal focus on the same group of respondents over a period of three years makes its findings reliable and valid, despite the small size of the longitudinal group. Its novel methodology of ranking attitudes over time and fleshing out the meanings of these rankings is another important contribution to the analysis of attitude change.

Thirdly, the study also makes a case for sustained exposure to multilingual issues at tertiary level, as university graduates are the ones most likely to influence future

language policy issues. It became clear from this study that the debates and discussions on multilingual matters in English 105 and Sociology lectures and tutorials had influenced the language attitudes of respondents, particularly those of the large entry level group. There were also short-term changes in the longitudinal group at second year level, as well as one moderate long-term change. Respondents tended to disagree more with the statement *I do not feel positive about other BSALs and their potential for further development* at second year and exit level than at entry level. The input respondents received may have helped many of them to question the stereotypes about language with which they had entered university. Had the short-term attitude changes at second year level found support in broader socio-economic changes in the country, they might have endured.

Finally, the study draws further attention to the need to acknowledge language attitudes if existing language policies are not to fail dismally. It is clear from this study that people's social practices may be more significant than policies and educational practices, and that public campaigns to change attitudes (called for by e.g. Alexander 1999) could turn out to be a waste of money. Policy makers also have to accept that attitudes towards BSALs are unlikely to change unless there is some system of reward for acquiring black languages. This implies that there need to be greater contexts of use for BSALs.

The implementation of language policy also needs to be done with sensitivity to people's existing language attitudes. For PANSALB, the greatest challenge is charting a way forward that acknowledges all aspects of South Africa's multilingual reality. Much needs to be done to enhance the teaching of both first and second

language at school, as both are clearly vital to educational advancement in South Africa. Webb (1999:73-4) feels that a single generalised language policy statement is possibly not wise, and that, in the South African context, there is a need for different policies for each of the following sociolinguistic situation types - the larger urban areas, the smaller urban areas and the deep rural areas. Webb goes on to expand on other sociological factors that need to inform policy in these areas, for example whether English and/or Afrikaans have strong dominant presences, whether there are urban varieties of African languages, Afrikaans and English, and whether strong urban identities have developed and there is resistance to 'traditional ways of life'. Clearly, in all of these factors attitudes play a central role and cannot be ignored by those who plan policies and direct the implementation of such policies.

The promotion of African languages as languages of learning would clearly only work where there is one dominant speech community in a school, but (unless other preventative measures are in place) this may only hasten the flight of learners from township or rural schools to other schools where English is the main medium of instruction. The most radical solution might be to make dominant regional African languages compulsory in schools (Plüddemann 1997:27). Making fluency in at least one African language a pre-requisite for employment in certain areas might also enhance the status of these languages. However, the government seems reluctant to commit itself to a policy of 'compulsory regional languages' perhaps because of increasing migrations from the rural heartlands of certain languages to the cities. The government may also be reluctant to promote one African language over another in regions like Gauteng Province where there are large numbers of speakers of different black languages, for fear of creating inter-lingual strife and competition.

A more practical solution for schools with no dominant speech community might be the one proposed and implemented by the IiLwimi Centre for Multilingualism at the University of the Western Cape. One of its recent projects (1999 to the present) has been the active promotion of the multilingual classroom in formerly Afrikaans 'Coloured' schools in the Western Cape Province, which has seen a rise in the intake of Xhosa home language pupils. The Centre's solution has been to present language awareness workshops to the teachers in these schools, and also to teach them basic communication skills in Xhosa which allow them to communicate with the Xhosa pupils. This has helped to break down barriers between pupils and teachers, created a greater atmosphere of multilingual tolerance, and encouraged the teachers to use the pupils as resources (UWC *Perspectives* Winter 2000:21).



In conclusion, policy makers need to accept the fact that the language attitudes expressed in this study are a 'natural outcome of language democratization' (Kamwangamalu 1995:100), with all South Africans finally being free to make their own choices about languages.

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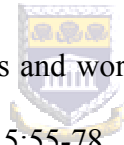
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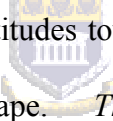
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APPENDICES

Appendix I

Survey Questionnaire I (entry level) : Language Attitudes, Preferences and Usage

I am attempting to look at the attitudes of students at the University of the Western Cape towards all South African languages, and to find out which languages students say they prefer to use and what they actually use. Your assistance and co-operation will be greatly appreciated as this involves you as well as the future direction of language policy at the University of the Western Cape. All responses will be strictly confidential.

Sections One and Two of the survey look at your personal information and general language profile. Read each statement and darken the appropriate symbol (A-E) next to the number of the statement on the answer sheet. Section Three looks at your language education profile. Respond to these statements in the same way as Section One. Section Four looks at your language attitude profile, while Section Five looks at your language in education attitude profile. You will find the instructions accompanying these sections when you get to them.

Section One: Personal Information

N.B. Please write down your full name and student number in the spaces indicated on the answer sheet. Then continue as follows: Please darken the appropriate symbol matching your answer on the answer sheet.

1. Age:
 - A. under 20
 - B. 20-25
 - C. 26-30
 - D. 30-35
 - E. older than 35

2. Sex:
 - A. male
 - B. female

3. Matric symbol for First Language:
A/B/C/D/E
Please note that E should be darkened for all symbols lower than D.

4. Matric symbol for Second Language:
A/B/C/D/E
Please note that E should be darkened for all symbols lower than D.

5. Overall Matric symbol:

A/B/C/D/E

Please note that E should be darkened for all symbols lower than D.

6. Year of Study at University:

A. First Year

B. Second Year

C. Third Year

D. Fourth Year (but not postgraduate)

E. Fifth Year (but not postgraduate)

Section Two: Language Profile

Please darken the appropriate symbol on the answer sheet that matches your answer to each question. Omit any question that does not apply to you, but always make sure that the number you are answering. For example, if your home language is Swati, you will omit question 7 but answer question 8.

7. My home language is:

A. Xhosa

B. Afrikaans

C. English

D. Zulu

E. Tswana

(If you have answered question 7, go on to question 9)

8. My home language is:

A. Pedi (North Sotho)

B. South Sotho

C. Swati

D. Tsonga

E. Other

9. The language I usually speak when talking to my friends outside UWC is:

A. Xhosa

B. Afrikaans

C. English

D. Zulu

E. Tswana

(If question 10 also applies to you, please answer it. Otherwise, go on to question 11.)

10. The language I usually speak when talking to my friends outside UWC is:
- A. Pedi (North Sotho)
 - B. South Sotho
 - C. Swati
 - D. Tsonga
 - E. Other

N.B. The following sets of questions are to determine how good you are at the different South African languages. The symbols mean the following:

A= Excellent. I can do anything with this language, in any context.

B= Good. I can do most things in this language even if I make some errors.

C= Average. I speak and understand the language, but not very well.

D= Poor. I only have some understanding of the language, and can barely speak it.

E= Hardly any or no understanding of the language.

Is this clear to you? Now begin.

- 11. Darken your appropriate symbol for XHOSA.
- 12. Darken your appropriate symbol for AFRIKAANS.
- 13. Darken your appropriate symbol for ENGLISH.
- 14. Darken your appropriate symbol for ZULU.
- 15. Darken your appropriate symbol for TSWANA.
- 16. Darken your appropriate symbol for PEDI.
- 17. Darken your appropriate symbol for SOUTH SOTHO.
- 18. Darken your appropriate symbol for SWATI.
- 19. Darken your appropriate symbol for TSONGA.
- 20. Darken your appropriate symbol for NDEBELE.
- 21. Darken your appropriate symbol for VENDA
- 22. Darken your appropriate symbol for ARABIC.
- 23. Darken your appropriate symbol for ANY OTHER LANGUAGE you use. (You may omit this question if it does not apply to you, and go on to question 24.)

Section Three: Language Education Profile

Please darken the appropriate symbol on the answer sheet that matches your answer to each question. Again, omit any question that does not apply to you, but take care to match the number of the question you are answering with the number on the answer sheet. For example, if you learned Tsonga at school as your first language, you will omit question 24, and question 25.

24. I learned the following language formally at school as my first language:

- A. Xhosa
- B. Afrikaans
- C. English
- D. Zulu
- E. Tswana

(If you have answered question 24, go on to question 26)

25. I learned the following language formally at school as my first language:

- A. Pedi
- B. South Sotho
- C. Swati
- D. Tsonga
- E. Other

26. I learned the following language formally at school as my second language:

- A. Xhosa
- B. Afrikaans
- C. English
- D. Zulu
- E. Tswana

(If you have answered question 26, go on to question 28)

27. I learned the following language formally at school as my second language:

- A. Pedi
- B. South Sotho
- C. Swati
- D. Tsonga
- E. Other

(N.B. If questions 28, 29 and 30 do not apply to you, please continue with question 31).

28. I learned the following language formally at school as my third language: (do not answer this question if it does not apply to you):
- A. Xhosa
 - B. Afrikaans
 - C. English
 - D. Zulu
 - E. Tswana

(Omit questions 29 and 30 if they do not apply to you)

29. I can also understand AND speak the following language although I did not learn it at school but picked them up from relatives, friends and acquaintances:
- A. Xhosa
 - B. Afrikaans
 - C. English
 - D. Zulu
 - E. Tswana
30. I can also understand AND speak the following language although I did not learn it at school but picked them up from relatives, friends and acquaintances:
- A. Pedi
 - B. South Sotho
 - C. Swati
 - D. Tsonga
 - E. Other
31. I am studying/have studied the following language/s formally at the University of the Western Cape (you may darken more than one symbol):
- A. Xhosa
 - B. Afrikaans
 - C. English
 - D. German
 - E. French

Section Four: Language Attitude Profile

Complete Sections Four and Five by reading each statement and then darkening the symbol on the answer sheet that represents your most honest and accurate response to each statement.

These Symbols mean the following:

- A=agree totally
- B=agree
- C=not agree

D=disagree
E=disagree totally

32. It is not useful and practical to have 11 official languages in South Africa.
33. There should be one common language, and it should be English.
34. Afrikaans will continue to develop and prosper in the New South Africa.
35. I do not feel positive about Afrikaans, because of its history as the language of oppression.
36. I feel positive about my mother-tongue and its potential for further development.
37. I do not feel positive about the other African languages and their potential for further development.
38. There are not enough good books, newspapers and magazines in my mother-tongue.
39. There are enough programmes in my mother-tongue on TV.
40. There are too many English programmes on SABC 1 and 2.
41. I don't like to hear urban varieties (e. g. "Tsotsitaal", "Kaapse Afrikaans" etc.) of my language on TV. They should only use the "pure", grammatically correct versions.
42. You can't get a good job unless your English is good.
43. It is essential to learn the dominant African language in your region in order to get employment in the new South Africa.
44. My own language is being neglected so that other languages can develop and dominate nationally.
45. English has been forced on me because of historical reasons and its power as the international language.

Section Five: Language in Education Attitude Profile.

Continue answering as for Section Four.

46. The mother-tongue should be used as the only medium of instruction at primary and secondary school
47. The mother-tongue should be used together with English as the medium of instruction at primary and secondary school.
48. I enjoyed the way my first language was taught at school.
49. I enjoyed the way English was taught at school (omit this question if English is your first language, and go on to question 50)
50. I enjoyed the way I learned a third language at school (omit this question if it does not apply to you, and go on to question 51).
51. English should be the only medium of instruction at the University of the Western Cape.
52. Afrikaans should be dropped as medium of instruction at all South African universities, because of changing student populations.
53. Our constitution guarantees language rights for all. Therefore, each student should receive some, if not all, of his/her lectures, tutorials and study notes in his/her mother-tongue at university.
54. All African languages should be developed to the point where they can be used to study in at universities.
55. A standardized version of Nguni (Zulu and Xhosa) should be developed as one language to be used education.
56. Similarly, a standardized version of Sotho and Tswana should be developed as one language to be used in education.
57. I have difficulty in following lectures with an African accent.
58. I have difficulty in following lectures with an Afrikaans accent.
59. I feel that I have enough English to enable me to cope with university studies.
60. I find it difficult studying my subject in a language that is not my mother-tongue - in this case, English (omit this question if English is your mother-tongue).
61. I prefer using my mother-tongue during discussions in tutorials.

62. It caused problems in our tutorials when everyone spoke in their mother-tongues.
63. The use of the mother-tongue in tutorials enabled me to understand my subjects much better.
64. The use of the mother-tongue in English 105 tutorials improved my understanding of English as well as my confidence in using it.
65. I have improved my use and understanding of other African languages through informal contact with speakers of these languages on campus.

MANY THANKS FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

CHARLYN DYERS
DEPT. OF ENGLISH, UWC 1996

Appendix II

Survey Questionnaire II (second year level): Language Attitudes, Preferences and Usage

I am attempting to look at the attitudes of students at the University of the Western Cape towards all South African languages, and to find out which languages students say they prefer to use and what they actually use. Your assistance and co-operation will be greatly appreciated as this involves you as well as the future direction of language policy at the University of the Western Cape. All responses will be strictly confidential.

Sections One and Two of the survey look at your personal information and general language profile. Read each statement and darken the appropriate symbol (A-E) next to the number of the statement on the answer sheet. Section Three looks at your language education profile. Respond to these statements in the same way as Section One. Section Four looks at your language attitude profile, while Section Five looks at your language in education attitude profile. You will find the instructions accompanying these sections when you get to them.

Section One: Personal Information

N.B. Please write down your full name and student number in the spaces indicated on the answer sheet. Then continue as follows: Please darken the appropriate symbol matching your answer on the answer sheet.

1. Age:

- A. under 20
- B. 20-25
- C. 26-30
- D. 30-35
- E. older than 35

2. Sex:

- A. male
- B. female

3. Symbol obtained for English 105 in 1996:

A/B/C/D/E (darken E for any symbol below E).

4. Symbol obtained for Xhosa I in 1996: (omit this question if you did not study Xhosa I):

A/B/C/D/E (darken E for any symbol below E).

Section Two: Language Profile

Please darken the appropriate symbol on the answer sheet that matches your answer to each question. Omit any question that does not apply to you, but always make sure that the number on the answer sheet matches the number of the question that you are answering.

5. My home language is:

- A. Xhosa
- B. Afrikaans
- C. English
- D. Zulu
- E. Tswana

(If you have answered question 5, go on to question 7)

6. My home language is:

- A. Pedi (North Sotho)
- B. South Sotho
- C. Swati
- D. Tsonga
- E. Other

7. The language I usually speak when talking to my friends outside UWC is:

- A. Xhosa
- B. Afrikaans
- C. English
- D. Zulu
- E. Tswana

(If question 8 also applies to you, please answer it. Otherwise, go on to question 9.)

8. The language I usually speak when talking to my friends outside UWC is:

- A. Pedi (North Sotho)
- B. South Sotho
- C. Swati
- D. Tsonga
- E. Other

N.B. The following sets of questions are to determine how good you are at the different South African languages. The symbols mean the following:

A= Excellent. I can do anything with this language, in any context.

B= Good. I can do most things in this language even if I make some errors.

C= Average. I speak and understand the language, but not very well.

D= Poor. I only have some understanding of the language, and can barely speak it.

E= Hardly any or no understanding of the language.

Is this clear to you? Now begin.

9. Darken your appropriate symbol for XHOSA.
10. Darken your appropriate symbol for AFRIKAANS.
11. Darken your appropriate symbol for ENGLISH.
12. Darken your appropriate symbol for ZULU.
13. Darken your appropriate symbol for TSWANA.
14. Darken your appropriate symbol for PEDI.
15. Darken your appropriate symbol for SOUTH SOTHO.
16. Darken your appropriate symbol for SWATI.
17. Darken your appropriate symbol for TSONGA.
18. Darken your appropriate symbol for NDEBELE.
19. Darken your appropriate symbol for VENDA.
20. Darken your appropriate symbol for ARABIC.
21. Darken your appropriate symbol for ANY OTHER LANGUAGE you use. (You may omit this question if it does not apply to you, and go on to question 22.)

Section Three: Language Education Profile

Please darken the appropriate symbol on the answer sheet that matches your answer to each question. Again, omit any question that does not apply to you, but take care to match the number of the question you are answering with the number on the answer sheet.

22. I am studying the following language formally at the University of the Western Cape:
- A. Xhosa
 - B. Afrikaans
 - C. Arabic
23. I am studying the following language formally at the University of the Western Cape:
- A. English
 - B. Other

Section Four: Language Attitude Profile

Complete Sections Four and Five by reading each statement and then darkening the symbol on the answer sheet that represents your most honest and accurate response to each statement.

These Symbols mean the following:

- A=agree totally
- B=agree
- C=not agree
- D=disagree
- E=disagree totally

Is this clear to you? Now begin.

24. It is not useful and practical to have 11 official languages in South Africa.
25. There should be one common language, and it should be English.
26. Afrikaans will continue to develop and prosper in the New South Africa.
27. I do not feel positive about Afrikaans, because of its history as the language of oppression.
28. I feel positive about my mother-tongue and its potential for further development.
29. I do not feel positive the other African languages and their potential for further development.

30. There are not enough good books, newspapers and magazines in my mother-tongue.
31. There are enough programmes in my mother-tongue on TV.
32. There are too many English programmes on SABC 1 and 2.
33. I don't like to hear urban varieties (e. g. "Tsotsitaal", "Kaapse Afrikaans" etc.) of my language on TV. They should only use the "pure", grammatically correct versions.
34. You can't get a good job unless your English is good.
35. It is essential to learn the dominant African language in your region in order to get employment in the New South Africa.
36. My own language is being neglected so that other languages can develop and dominate nationally.
37. English has been forced on me because of historical reasons and its power as the international language.

Section Five: Language in Education Attitude Profile.

Continue answering as for Section Four.

38. The mother-tongue should be used as the only medium of instruction at primary and secondary school.
39. The mother-tongue should be used together with English as the medium of instruction at primary and secondary school.
40. English should be the only medium of instruction at the University of the Western Cape.
41. Afrikaans should be dropped as medium of instruction at all South African universities, because of changing student populations.
42. Our constitution guarantees language rights for all. Therefore, each student should receive some, if not all, of his/her lectures, tutorials and study notes in his/her mother-tongue at university.
43. All African languages should be developed to the point where they can be used to study in at universities.

44. A standardized version of Nguni (Zulu and Xhosa) should be developed as one language to be used education.
45. Similarly, a standardized version of Sotho and Tswana should be developed as one language to be used in education.
46. I have difficulty in following lectures with an African accent.
47. I have difficulty in following lectures with an Afrikaans accent.
48. I feel that I have enough English to enable me to cope with university studies.
49. I find it difficult studying my subject in a language that is not my mother-tongue - in this case, English (omit this question if English is your mother-tongue).
50. I prefer using my mother-tongue during discussions in tutorials.
51. It caused problems in our tutorials when everyone spoke in their mother-tongues.
52. The use of the mother-tongue in tutorials enabled me to understand my subjects much better.
53. I have improved my use and understanding of other African languages through informal contact with speakers of these languages on campus.
54. I have improved my use and understanding of Afrikaans through informal contact with speakers of Afrikaans while studying while studying at UWC and living in the Western Cape.

MANY THANKS FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

CHARLYN DYERS
DEPT. OF ENGLISH
UWC, 1997

Appendix III

Survey Questionnaire III (exit level): Language Attitudes, Preferences and Usage

I am attempting to look at the attitudes of students at the University of the Western Cape towards all South African languages, and to find out which languages students say they **prefer** to use and what they actually use. Your assistance and co-operation will be greatly appreciated as this involves you as well as the future direction of language policy at the University of the Western Cape. All responses will be strictly confidential.

Sections One and Two of the survey look at your **personal information** and **general language profile**. Read each statement and **darken** the appropriate symbol (A-E) next to the number of the statement on the **answer sheet**. **Section Three** looks at your **language education profile**. Respond to these statements in the same way as Section One. **Section Four** looks at your **language attitude profile**, while **Section Five** looks at your **language in education attitude profile**. You will find the instructions accompanying these sections when you get to them.

Section One: Personal Information

N.B. Please write down your full **name** and **student number** in the spaces indicated on the answer sheet. Then continue as follows:

Please darken the appropriate symbol matching your answer on the answer sheet.

1. Age:

A: under 20

B: 20-25

C: 26-30

D: 30-35

E: older than 35

2. Sex:

A: male

B: female

Section Two: Language Profile

Please **darken the appropriate symbol** on the answer sheet that matches your answer to each question. **Omit any question that does not apply to you, but always make sure that the number on the answer sheet matches the number of the question that you are answering.**

3. My **home** language is:

- A. Xhosa
- B. Afrikaans
- C. English
- D. Zulu
- E. Tswana

(If you have answered question 5, go on to question 7)

4. My **home** language is:

- A. Pedi (North Sotho)
- B. South Sotho
- C. Swati
- D. Tsonga
- E. Other

5. The language I usually speak when talking to my friends outside UWC is:

- A. Xhosa
- B. Afrikaans
- C. English
- D. Zulu
- E. Tswana

(If question 6 also applies to you, please answer it. Otherwise, go on to question 7)

6. The language I usually speak when talking to my friends outside UWC is:

- A. Pedi (North Sotho)
- B. South Sotho
- C. Swati
- D. Tsonga
- E. Other

N.B. The following set of questions are to determine how good you are at the different South African languages. The symbols mean the following:

A = Excellent. I can do anything with this language, in any context.

B = Good. I can do most things in this language even if I make some errors.

C = Average. I speak and understand the language, but not very well.

D = Poor. I only have some understanding of the language, and can barely speak it.

E = Hardly any or no understanding of the language.

Is this clear to you? Now begin.

7. Darken your appropriate symbol for XHOSA.

8. Darken your appropriate symbol for AFRIKAANS.

9. Darken your appropriate symbol for ENGLISH.
10. Darken your appropriate symbol for ZULU.
11. Darken your appropriate symbol for TSWANA.
12. Darken your appropriate symbol for PEDI.
13. Darken your appropriate symbol for SOUTH SOTHO.
14. Darken your appropriate symbol for SWATI.
15. Darken your appropriate symbol for TSONGA.
16. Darken your appropriate symbol for NDEBELE.
17. Darken your appropriate symbol for VENDA.
18. Darken your appropriate symbol for ARABIC.
19. Darken your appropriate symbol for ANY OTHER LANGUAGE you use. (*You may omit this question if it does not apply to you, and go on to question 20.*)

Section Three: Language Education Profile

Please darken the appropriate symbol on the answer sheet that matches your answer to each question. Again, omit any question that does not apply to you, but take care to match the number of the question you are answering with the number on the answer sheet.

20. I am studying the following language formally at the University of the Western Cape:
A. Xhosa
B. Afrikaans
C. Arabic

21. I am studying the following language formally at the University of the Western Cape:
A. English
B. Other

Section Four: Language Attitude Profile

Complete Sections Four and Five by reading each statement and then darkening the symbol on the answer sheet that represents your **most honest and accurate response** to each statement. **These symbols mean the following:**

A = agree totally

B = agree

C = not sure

D = disagree

E = disagree totally

Is this clear to you? Now begin.

22. It is not useful and practical to have 11 official languages in South Africa.
23. There should be one common language, and it should be English.
24. Afrikaans will continue to develop and prosper in the New South Africa.
25. I do not feel positive about Afrikaans, because of its history as the language of oppression.
26. I feel positive about my mother-tongue and its potential for further development.
27. I do not feel positive the other African languages and their potential for further development.
28. There are enough good books, newspapers and magazines in my mother-tongue.
29. There are not enough programmes in my mother-tongue on TV.
30. There are too many English programmes on SABC 1 and 2.
31. I don't like to hear urban varieties (e.g. "Tsotsitaal", "Kaapse Afrikaans" etc.) of my language on TV. They should only use the "pure", grammatically correct versions.
32. You can't get a good job unless your English is good.
33. It is essential to learn the dominant African language in your region in order to get employment in the New South Africa.
34. My own language is being neglected so that other languages can develop and dominate nationally.

35. English has been forced on me because of historical reasons and its power as the international language.

Section Five: Language in Education Attitude Profile

Continue answering as for Section Four.

36. The mother-tongue should be used as the only medium of instruction at primary school.

37. The mother-tongue should be used together with English as the medium of instruction at primary and secondary school.

38. Secondary school pupils should only be taught in English.

39. English should be the only medium of instruction at the University of the Western Cape.

40. Afrikaans should be dropped as medium of instruction at all South African universities.

41. Our constitution guarantees language rights for all. Therefore, each student should receive some, if not all, of his/her lectures, tutorials and study notes in his/her mother-tongue at university.

42. A standardized version of Nguni (Zulu and Xhosa) should be developed as one language to be used in secondary and tertiary education, in those parts of South Africa where these languages are most commonly used.

43. Similarly, a standardized version of Sotho and Tswana should be developed as one language to be used in secondary and tertiary education in those parts of South Africa where these languages are most commonly used.

44. I still find it difficult studying my subjects in a language that is not my mother-tongue - in this case, English.

45. I prefer using my mother-tongue during discussions in tutorials.

46. Using my mother-tongue during discussions in lectures and tutorials enabled me to understand my subjects much better.

47. I have improved my use and understanding of other African languages through informal contact with speakers of these languages on campus.

48. I have improved my use and understanding of Afrikaans through informal contact with speakers of Afrikaans while studying at UWC and living in the Western Cape.

MANY THANKS FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. IF YOU HAVE ANY FURTHER OPINIONS ABOUT THE DIFFERENT SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGES, ESPECIALLY YOUR OWN LANGUAGE, PLEASE WRITE A SHORT PARAGRAPH IN THIS SPACE:

Charlyn Dyers
Dept. of English
UWC, 1998.

Appendix IV

ENTRY LEVEL QUANTITATIVE DATA

Table One – Total Results

NUMBER	A	B	C	D	E
1 Age	5.3	64.9	22.8	7.0	0
2 Sex	28.1	71.9			
3 Matric symbol first lang	0	5.3	22.8	38.6	31.6
4 Matric symb. Sec. Lang	0	1.8	12.3	36.8	47.4
5 Overall matric symbol	0	0	8.8	31.6	52.6
6 year of study	94.7	1.8			
7 home language (Xhosa – Tswana)	100				
8 HL (Pedi – other)	1.8	3.5	1.8	0	8.8
9 lg with friends Xhosa /Afi/Eng/Zulu/Tswana	94.7	0	5.3	0	0
10 lg with friends (Pedi – other)	3.5	3.5	1.8	0	10.5
11 prof. Xhosa	85.0	7.5	7.5	0	0
12 prof. Afrikaans	0	5.3	8.8	33.3	45.6
13 prof. English	7.0	56.1	28.1	3.5	3.5
14 prof. Zulu	1.8	21.1	28.1	29.8	10.5
15 prof. Tswana	1.8	1.8	1.8	14.0	73.7
16 prof. Pedi	0	3.5	1.8	5.3	89.4
17 prof. S. Sotho	0	1.8	10.5	5.3	82.4
18 prof. Swati	0	0	1.8	8.8	89.4
19 prof. Tsonga	0	0	0	0	100
20 prof. Ndebele	0	0	0	8.8	82.5
21 prof. Venda	0	0	0	5.3	84.2
22 prof. Arabic	0	0	0	1.8	87.7
23 prof. Other	5.3	0	3.5	0	14.0
24 1 st lg at school (Xhosa-Tswana)	87.7	0	3.5	0	5.3
25 1 st lg. at school (Pedi-other)	3.5	0	1.8	0	7.0
26 2 nd lg at school (Xhosa-Tswana)	2.5	8.0	88.9	0	0.6

Table One ctd.					
27 2 nd lg at school (Pedi-other)	0	0	1.8	0	3.5
28 3 rd lg at school (Xhosa-other)	0	85.2	1.9	11.1	1.9
29 lg informally acquired (Xhosa-Tswana)	1.8	1.8	3.5	36.8	3.5
30 lg informally acquired (Pedi-other)	8.8	8.8	3.5	1.8	3.5
31 lgs studied at UWC	36.3	1.8	100	1.7	2.5
32 11 off. Lgs not pract.	17.5	24.6	12.3	28.1	17.5
33 Eng as common lg	47.4	15.8	3.5	19.3	14.0
34 Afr. Continue to dev.	0	15.8	29.8	21.1	33.3
35 not pos. Afrikaans	24.6	21.1	21.1	17.5	14.0
36 positive about MT	70.2	22.8	0	5.3	0
37 not pos. Other BSALs	5.3	14.0	31.6	28.1	21.1
38 enough lit in own lg	19.3	21.1	31.6	22.8	5.3
39 not enough TV in MT	24.6	38.6	7.0	17.3	10.5
40 too much Eng on TV	47.4	31.6	7.0	7.0	5.3
41 anti urban varieties of MT on TV	36.3	31.6	5.3	14.0	10.5
42 no good Eng, no good job	36.8	38.6	3.5	17.3	3.5
43 learn dom. Reg. Af lgs for employment	24.6	21.1	24.6	10.3	10.5
44 own lg neglected	22.8	14.0	21.1	24.6	14.0
45 Eng forced on me	40.4	24.6	10.5	14.0	10.5
46 MT only medium at school	15.8	24.6	5.3	33.3	21.1
47 MT with Eng at school	36.8	45.6	7.0	5.3	5.3
48 enjoyed 1 st lg at school	54.4	33.3	3.5	5.3	1.8
49 enjoyed Eng at school	26.3	36.8	8.8	7.0	3.5
50 enjoyed 3 rd lg at school	1.8	8.8	3.5	5.3	7.0
51 Eng only MOI at UWC	70.2	10.5	7.0	1.8	7.0
52 Afr dropped as MOI at university	54.4	8.8	12.3	5.3	19.3
53 MT Lg support for all at univ.	21.1	22.8	15.8	22.8	17.5
54 dev all AF lgs to tert. Level	31.6	33.3	28.1	5.3	1.8
55 standardize Nguni	36.8	26.3	19.3	8.8	7.0
56 standardize Xhosa	10.5	21.1	22.8	21.1	19.3
57 diff. Af accents	10.5	8.8	22.8	35.1	17.5

Table One ctd.					
58 diff Afr. Accents	40.4	21.1	10.5	8.8	10.5
59 enough Eng for univ.	21.1	26.3	24.6	19.3	3.5
60 diff studying in Eng.	5.3	31.6	14.0	22.8	17.5
61 pref. MT in tuts	26.3	19.3	5.3	31.6	15.8
62 probs in tuts - too many MTs	45.6	33.3	5.3	7.0	3.5
63 MT in tuts helped	33.3	31.6	7.0	10.5	8.8
64 MT in Eng 105 tuts impr. Eng understanding	31.6	24.6	5.3	19.3	15.8
65 impr other AF lgs inf.	14.0	33.3	31.6	14.0	1.8

Table Two: Demographic data at entry level to university

Demographic variables of Xhosa home language students in 1996	Results at entry year level (1996) n=198
Age. The age-range categories are: A:18-19 B:20-25 C:26-30 D:30-35 E:35+	Age A: 5.3% B: 64.9 C: 22.8 D: 7.0 E: 0
Sex	A: 28.1 male B: 71.9 female
First language symbol in school leaving exam A: 80%+ B: 70%+ C: 60%+ D: 50%+ E/below E: 40%+ or below 40%	A: 0 B: 5.3 C: 22.8 D: 38.6 E/below E: 31.6 No response: 1.8
Second language symbol in school leaving examination	A: 0 B: 1.8 C: 12.3 D: 36.8 E/below E: 47.4 No response: 1.8
Overall symbol in school leaving examination	A: 0 B: 0 C: 8.8 D: 31.6 E/below E: 59.6 No response: 7.0
Home language: respondents could choose from Xhosa, Afrikaans, English, Zulu and Tswana	100% Xhosa
Home language: respondents could choose from Pedi, South Sotho, Swati, Tsonga or Other	1.8% Pedi 3.5 S. Sotho 1.8 Swati 0 Tsonga 8.8 Other 84.1 No response
Language with friends: respondents could choose from Xhosa, Afrikaans, English, Zulu and Tswana	94.7 Xhosa 0.0 Afrikaans 5.3 English 0.0 Zulu 0.0 Tswana
Language with friends: respondents could choose from Pedi, South Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, and Other.	3.5 Pedi 3.5 S. Sotho 1.8 Swati 0.0 Tsonga 10.5 Other 80.7 No response.

Table Two ctd. 1st language at school: respondents could choose from Xhosa, Afrikaans, English, Zulu and Tswana	87.7 Xhosa 0.0 Afrikaans 3.5 English 0.0 Zulu 5.3 Tswana 3.5 No response
1st language at school: respondents could choose from Pedi, South Sotho, Swati, Tsonga and Other.	3.5 Pedi 0.0 S Sotho 1.8 Swati 0.0 Tsonga 7.0 Other 87.7 No response
2nd language at school	88.9 English 8.0 Afrikaans 2.5 Xhosa 0.6 Tswana
3rd language at school	85.2 Afrikaans 11.0 Zulu 1.9 Tswana 1.9 English
Languages studied at UWC	100 English 105 36.3 Xhosa 2.5 Other (French/German) 1.7 Arabic 1.8 Afrikaans
Languages informally acquired: Note that the findings here were drawn from responses to two statements. One asked respondents to choose from Xhosa, English, Afrikaans, Zulu and Tswana, while the other asked respondents to choose from Pedi, S Sotho, Swati, Tsonga and Other.	36.8 Zulu 8.8 S.Sotho 8.8 Pedi 3.5 Swati 3.5 English 3.5 Tswana 3.5 Other 1.8 Xhosa 1.8 Afrikaans 1.8 Tsonga 26.2 no response

Table Three: Self-reported language proficiency at entry level (n=198)

Language	Excellent	Good	Average
Xhosa	85%	7.5	7.5
Afrikaans	0	5.3	8.8
English	7.0	56.1	28.1
Zulu	1.8	21.1	28.1
Tswana	1.8	1.8	1.8
Pedi	0	3.5	1.8
S.Sotho	0	1.8	10.5
Swati	0	0	1.8

Table Three continued

Language	Poor	Hardly any or no Understanding
Xhosa	0	0
Afrikaans	33.3	45.6
English	3.5	3.5
Zulu	29.8	10.5
Tswana	14.3	73.7
Pedi	5.3	89.4
S.Sotho	5.3	82.4
Swati	8.8	89.4

Table Four: Attitudes to English at entry level to university (n=198)

Uniformity index (highest=1)	Statement	A	B	C	D	E
6	There should be one common language, and it should be English	47.5	15.8	3.5	19.3	14.0
3	There are too many Eng progs on SABC 1&2	47.4	31.6	7.0	7.0	5.3
5	Can't get a good job without good English	36.8	38.6	3.5	17.3	3.5
7	Eng forced on me for historical reasons	40.4	24.6	10.5	14.0	10.5
2	MT should be used with English at school	36.8	45.6	7	5.3	5.3
4	Enjoyed the way English was taught at school	30.6	45.6	7.8	10.7	5.3
1	Eng should be only MOI at UWC	70.2	10.5	7.0	1.8	7.0
8	I have enough Eng for univ. studies	21.1	26.3	24.6	19.3	3.5
9	It is difficult to study through non-MT (Eng)	5.3	31.6	14.0	22.8	17.5

Table Five: Attitudes to Xhosa at entry level to university

Uniformity index (highest=1)	Statement	A	B	C	D	E
1	I feel positive about my MT	70.2	22.8	0	5.3	0
8	There are enough good books, newspapers in MT	19.3	21.1	31.6	22.8	5.3
4	There is not enough TV in the MT	24.6	38.6	7	17.3	10.5
3	Don't like urban varieties of MT in media	36.3	31.6	5.3	14.0	10.5
11	The MT is being neglected	22.8	14.0	21.1	24.6	14.0
10	The MT should be the only MOI at school	15.8	24.8	5.3	33.3	21.1
2	I enjoyed the way my first lg. was taught at school	47.2	36.0	5.6	7.6	3.6
5	A standardized version of Nguni shd be created	36.8	26.3	19.3	8.8	7.0
7	I prefer using my MT in tuts	26.3	19.3	5.3	31.6	15.8
6	Use of MT in tuts helped understanding of subjects	24.9	30.7	11.6	19.5	13.3
9	Use of MT in tuts helped with English	23.5	16.9	12.8	27.2	19.8

Table Six: Attitudes to other BSALs at entry level to university

Uniformity index (highest=1)	Statement	A	B	C	D	E
6	11 Off. Lgs are not useful and practical	17.5	24.6	12.3	28.1	17.5
8	I am not positive about other BSALs	5.3	14.0	31.6	28.1	21.1
4	Important to learn dominant regional Afr. Lg.	24.6	21.1	24.6	10.3	10.5
5	There should be some MT support for all students	21.1	22.8	15.8	22.8	17.5
2	All Af. Lgs should be developed to tertiary level	31.6	33.3	28.1	5.3	1.8
7	Sotho-Tswana should be standardized	10.5	21.1	22.8	21.1	19.3
9	Experience difficulty with Af. accent lecturers	10.5	8.8	22.8	35.1	17.5
1	Too many Mts caused problems in tutorials	45.6	33.3	5.3	7.0	3.5
3	Have improved use of other Af. Lgs informally	14.0	33.3	31.6	14.0	1.8

Table Seven: Attitudes to Afrikaans at entry level at university

Uniformity index (highest=1)	Statement	A	B	C	D	E
4	Will continue to develop and prosper	0	15.8	29.8	21.1	33.3
3	Not positive about Afrikaans	24.6	21.1	21.1	17.5	14.0
1	Dropped as MOI at UWC	54.4	8.8	12.3	5.3	19.3
2	Diff. following Afr. Accent lecturers	40.4	21.1	10.5	8.8	10.5

Table Eight: Comparative Ranking of Entry Level Attitudes on Uniformity Index; n=198

Category	Statements
A: 80%-100% agreed with the statement	<p>Positive about my MT (93% - 70.2% strongly agreed)</p> <p>Enjoyed way first lg was taught at school (83.2% - 47.2% strongly agreed)</p> <p>MT plus English as MOI at school (82.4%)</p> <p>English only MOI at UWC (80.7% - 70.2% strongly agr.)</p>
B: 70%-79% agreed with the statement	<p>Too much English on SABC 1 and 2 (79% - 47.4% strongly agreed)</p> <p>Problems in tuts - too many MTs (78.9% - 45.6% strongly agreed)</p> <p>Enjoyed way English was taught at school (76.2%)</p> <p>No good job without good English (75.4%)</p>
C: 60-69% agreed with the statement	<p>Anti urban varieties on TV (67.9%- 36.3% strongly agr.)</p> <p>English forced on me for historical reasons (65% - 40.4% strongly agreed)</p> <p>Develop all African lgs to tertiary level (64.9% - 31.6% strongly agreed)</p> <p>One common lg, English (63.3% - 47.4% strongly agreed)</p> <p>Not enough TV in MT (63.2%)</p> <p>Afrikaans dropped as MOI at univ (63.2% - 54.4% strongly agreed)</p> <p>Standardize Nguni (62.9% -36.8% strongly agreed)</p> <p>Diff Afrikaans accent lecturers (61.5% - 40.4% strongly agreed)</p>
D: 50-59% agreed or disagreed	<p>Enough English for univ. studies (57.4% agreed; 22.8% disagreed)</p> <p>Use of MT in tuts helpful with subjects (55.6% agreed; 32.8% disagreed)</p> <p>Afrikaans continue to develop (54.4 disagreed)</p> <p>MT only MOI at school (54.4 disagreed; 40.6 agreed)</p> <p>Diff with African accent lecturers (52.6 disagreed)</p>

<p>E: 49% and below agreed or disagreed with the statement</p>	<p>Not positive other BSALs (49.2 disagreed) Pref using MT in tuts (<u>47.4 disagreed; 45.6% agreed</u>) Improved use of other BSALs (47.3% agreed) Use of MT in tuts helped with English (<u>47 disagreed; 45.6 agreed</u>) Learn dominant regional Af lgs (45.7% agreed; 20.8% disagreed) Not positive about Afrikaans (45.7 agreed) 11 Official lgs not useful (<u>45.6 disagreed; 42.1 agreed</u>) MT support for all ss (<u>43.9 agreed; 40.3 disagreed</u>) Standardize Sotho-Tswana (<u>40.4 disagreed; 31.6 agreed</u>) Diff studying through Eng (<u>40.3 disagreed; 36.9 agreed</u>) Enough publications in MT (40.4% agreed; 28.1% disagreed) MT being neglected (<u>38.6 disagreed; 36.8% agreed</u>)</p>
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Uncertainty Index – Comparative Ranking

Category	Statements
25-35% uncertainty	<p>Enough publications in MT (31.6%) Not positive other BSALs (31.6%) Improved use of other BSALs (31.6%) Afrik continue to develop (29.8%) Develop all Afr lgs to tertiary level (28.1%)</p>
20-24% uncertainty	<p>Enough Eng for university (24.6%) Learn dominant regional Af lgs (24.6%) Standardize Sotho-Tswana (22.8%) Difficulty with Af accent lecturers (22.8%) MT being neglected (21.1%) Not positive about Afrikaans (21.1%)</p>
14-19% uncertainty	<p>Standardize Nguni (19.3%) MT support for all ss (15.8%) Diff study through Eng (14%)</p>
13% and below	<p>MT in tuts helped with Eng (12.8%) 11 Off lgs not useful (12.3%) Afrik dropped as MOI at univ (12.3%) MT in tuts helpful with subjects (11.6%) Diff with Afrik accent lecturers (10.5%) Eng forced on me (10.5%) Enjoyed way Eng was taught at school (7.8%) Eng only MOI at UWC (7%) MT plus Eng at school (7%) Too many Eng progs on SABC 1 & 2 (7%) Not enough TV in MT (7%) Enjoyed way first lg was taught at school (5.6%) Anti urban varieties on TV (5.3%) MT only MOI at school (5.3%) Pref using MT in tuts (5.3%) Probs in tuts - too many MTs (5.3%) One common lg Eng (3.5%) No good job without good Eng (3.5%) Positive about MT (0%)</p>

Appendix V

ENTRY LEVEL INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED IN SEPTEMBER 1996 WITH AN ENGLISH 105 TUTORIAL GROUP.

The 25 students were all asked to respond to the following ten statements taken from the survey questionnaire.

1. *I feel positive about my mother-tongue and its potential for further development.*
2. *I do not feel positive about the other African languages and their potential for further development.*
3. *My own language is being neglected so that other languages can develop and dominate nationally.*
4. *English should be the main language of South Africa.*
5. *Afrikaans will continue to develop and prosper in the new South Africa.*
6. *English should be the only medium of instruction at UWC.*
7. *Afrikaans should be dropped as medium of instruction at UWC.*
8. *Each student should receive some, if not all, of his/her lectures, tutorials and study notes in his/her mother tongue at university.*
9. *I find it difficult studying my subjects in English.*
10. *All African languages should be developed to the point where they can be used to study in at university.*

Here follows a **summary** of their responses during the interviews.

Responses to statement 1: *I feel positive about my mother tongue and its potential for further development*

23 Agreed, because

- It was the first language I knew from birth
- I like it and I knew it better than other tongues
- I like it and I understand it perfectly
- I love it because it's the language I acquire from birth
- It's the only language I knew and speak it perfectly
- It is my mother tongue and I'm proud of it
- My mother tongue help me in writing literature like novels, drama, poems
- It's where I learn the values and norms of my society

2 said they were not sure:

-I am not sure. I support that, if I were to live without the influence of the West economically and technologically, I would agree. But due to the fact that we are living the nuclear era, international communication is of vital importance.

-Xhosa tells stories through various ways, and feelings and ideas are conveyed in a very intelligent way. But many of our cultural activities are diminishing. We, as the owners of Xhosa, need to spend more time studying Xhosa and comparing it with other languages and cultures.

Responses to statement 2: *I do not feel positive about other African languages and their potential for further development*

23 Disagreed, because

- I respect them as his own language
- Other African languages are useful to the users in writing literature and developing writing skills
- Each and every language is important
- Every language is neither inferior nor superior than the other
- Each and every language has the right to develop

2 said they were not sure:

-The development of other African languages moves parallel to our identities but on the other hand, the West is more powerful. Thus it would be of greater importance for one to be a bilingual or multilingual with English as one of his or her languages.

-There is no language as important as English in the world today. Other languages come under English.

Responses to statement 3: *My own language is being neglected so that other languages can develop and dominate nationally*

8 Agreed, because:

- English is dominating in South Africa, because it is a medium of instruction
- there are only a few things like newspapers and magazines published in my language

15 Disagreed, because:

- My language is among the eleven officially recognized South African languages
- It is not neglected because most of the time I use it. I learn English only in class and to communicate with others who didn't know my language.

2 Not sure:

- I don't know how much it is used in the media
- I don't know how many other people can speak my language

Responses to statement 4: *English should be the main language of SA*

21 Agreed, because

- Many people can understand it and speak it
- It is well known
- There are many different languages at SA in which most people did not know but they know their own language and English
- The main language should be one not many
- Each and every school, college, technical, technikon and varsity in SA is influenced by it
- English is an international language so it should be used to communicate with other developed countries to boost South African economy

4 Disagreed, because:

- If English can be the main, we would be putting our own culture in the grave
- African languages must be the main
- All African languages must be considered

Responses to statement 5: *Afrikaans will continue to develop and prosper in the new SA*

20 Disagreed, because:

- It is very difficult to understand
- Most people in SA don't know it
- Most blacks are having a negative attitude towards Afrikaans as they regard it as the language of oppressors. On the other hand, Afrikaans speakers are proud of their language and they are doing their best to see it developing
- Only one language, English, will develop and prosper in the new SA
- Afrikaans is only used by an ethnic group

3 not sure, because

- the Afrikaner people wants to develop their language

2 agreed, because

- because people understand it easy and quick
- but not Afrikaans only, all 11 official languages should develop and prosper in the new SA

Responses to statement 6: *English should be the only medium of instruction at UWC*

22 Agreed, because

- it is the most common language at UWC
- many students understand it
- there are many different languages at UWC and everyone can't learn in their own language
- English is like an international passport. Students should be fluent in English and they will stand better opportunities in the working field abroad
- it combines the different nations here at UWC
- most of us we learn English and mother tongue at our schools and if it should be not only medium of instruction, there will be misunderstanding both students, lecturers and staff.
- In our future we must speak English so that you can communicate with different people in the world. If you speak English you have got everything that you are looking for. To me English is a better life.

3 disagreed, because

- other students do not know English well
- there are different languages here at UWC
- all languages can be used here

Responses to statement 7: *Afrikaans should be dropped as MOI at UWC*

21 Agreed, because:

- not all of us have learned Afrikaans
- if Afrikaans continues as the medium of instructions, that would retard English communication skills for Afrikaans speakers. On the other hand, it would be a disadvantage for the non-Afrikaans speakers like the Blacks.
- it is not main language in SA
- it is very difficult

2 were not sure, because:

- what about the speakers of the language?
- racism is still existing at UWC

2 disagreed, because:

- there are still many people here who understand it
- because UWC is a university of Afrikaans-speaking people

Responses to statement 8: *Each student should receive some, if not all, of his/her lectures, tutorials and study notes in his/her mother tongue at university*

23 Disagreed, because

- it will create racism among the students and lecturers
- because there are different languages at the university the other lecturers did not know
- it will lead to confusion
- the university will be abnormal
- because in future of professionals we will not accommodate many people, like people who do not know your mother tongue and others outside SA
- the university will be trapped with high debts because it will have to employ people who are capable of speaking these languages. Students would be automatically restricted to certain job opportunities in the working field.
- we are mixed in UWC, everything must thought about the main language except languages like Xhosa or Afrikaans or any other languages

2 Agreed, because

- it will increase passing rate and decrease fail rate
- each and every student will pass with flying colours

Responses to statement 9: *I find it difficult studying my subjects in English*

16 Disagreed, because

- English is not difficult if you want to know it and if you practise speaking it
- it is the only language that is easy for me
- the Oxford dictionary is available for any difficulties

4 were not sure because

- sometimes I don't understand everything
- it's seldom difficult, but sometimes I need a dictionary to understand certain words

5 agreed, because

- English is very difficult
- English is not my mother tongue

Responses to statement 10: *All African languages should be developed to the point where they can be used to study in at university*

14 Disagreed because:

- other group of people are very few at UWC and the university will spend a lot of money in looking for lecturers
- the cost of living is too high, this will need maybe eleven lecturers for one subject
- there are many African languages and most of the books we use are printed in English. Thus we will automatically be denied the information we deserve

I I Agreed because:

-everyone are proud of his or her language

-there should be chances to other people and the lot of employment will appear and people will get jobs, to teach these different subjects at varsity

Appendix VI
SECOND YEAR LEVEL INTERVIEWS
Conducted in September 1997

Student #1

What do you enjoy watching on TV, or reading in your spare time?

... My favourite TV Programme is Generations, because I like to seeing black people rich and successful like people in 'The Bold and the Beautiful.' The Argus is my favourite newspaper here in Cape Town, and I also like reading 'You' and some Xhosa novels.

Which language do you use the most in your spare time, and here at university?

... When I'm not at university I prefer to use my own language, Xhosa, because in it I am free to express myself. But here at university I prefer English. I don't think English is a destroyer of other languages... we just need it for study work. It is used in the whole world, and most of the people here can understand it.

What about Afrikaans?

Well, in the townships we usually associate people who speak Afrikaans with a lower level of education, like tsotsis - they use a lot of Afrikaans words, mixed with other languages sometimes. Better people speak English and good Xhosa. But I don't have a problem with Afrikaans speakers here at UWC. I talk and socialize with them quite freely.

What should be the main medium of instruction in SA, and the main official language?

English is the best language for education and for formal situations, like parliament. We must use it here at university and at school from sub A, then we wouldn't have such big problems as now.

But don't you think Xhosa can die if we don't use it in education?

Why are you worried about Xhosa? Xhosa will continued to be used, even if we don't use it at schools we still speak it at home and in our cultural activities. Xhosa will live forever, because we are proud of our language and culture.

Were there any changes in the way responded to the questionnaire this year as compared to last year?

No, I haven't really changed the way in which I answered the questionnaire last year.

Any other comments about the questionnaire

None.

Student #2

I see that your symbol for English 105 and Xhosa 111 were the same in 1996. Can you explain why?

I didn't have enough time, especially for Xhosa.

What is your preferred language at home or with your friends?

Definitely Xhosa. It is my mother tongue and I can relax in it.

What about Afrikaans?

I am very interested in Afrikaans, because I have some Coloured friends. They laugh at me sometimes, but I have very much improved my Afrikaans because of them.

How do you feel about English?

The language is really like is English. I want to improve it. It has many advantages international and in education.

How do you respond to statement 24 "It is not useful and practical to have 11 official languages in SA"?

I disagree strongly with this ... each person is entitled to his own language... we must not limit language.

And the question about English as the common language?

Oh yes, yes I agree with this... everyone can understand it.

OK, let's look at Afrikaans now...statement 26. How did you respond to this?

I agree...strongly. Like I said before, I like Afrikaans. I have many Afrikaans friends in the res and I am going to work in the Western Cape when I'm finished here.

What was your response to statement 28 "I feel positive about my mother-tongue and its potential for further development?"

Agree. I am proud of being a Xhosa speaker, but it can't put me in a high level, it can't challenge me. It can't take you further.

Statement 30?

I am not really interested in a lot of magazines...I only read the Sowetan and other English newspapers like the Argus.

Statement 32?

Yes, there are too many English programmes on SABC1 and 2, but it's OK. I like the American soap operas.

Statement 33?

We mustn't give bad models of our language to children and others.

Statement 36?

Yes, I agree strongly. It is painful. Here at university our question papers are only in English or Afrikaans. I think they must translate all the question papers, even if we still answer in English.

Statement 37?

I didn't like English. I hated it at school. English 105 changed that. Now I enjoy it.

Statement 44?

No. We don't share a culture. And the language have many differences.

Statement 46?

The main problem is lectures who speak too fast and with American accents. I don't have a problem with other accents, like Afrikaans.

Statement 48?

No. I must still have more practice in my English in second year.

Statement 51?

Yes, it causes problems...and then the groups separate. We must not separate, but speak one language in tutorials.

Student #3

What is the language you usually speak when not at UWC?

Xhosa...my colleagues are not so familiar with English so we communicate in Xhosa...I feel more comfortable in Xhosa. When I meet Xhosa students here at UWC, we usually speak English, but we try to improve in the new SA we want to be something in the future, so that is why we use English.

Favourite TV programme?

I don't watch a lot of TV...it wastes a lot of time, but usually watch some programmes, specially Felicia Mabuza-Suttle show, that is the one I like, because I learn a lot from it...and I watch the news - Nxolo Grootboom is my favourite newsreader...she reads at half past seven on SABC 1. I like her style...she is in fact very clear when she speaks.

How good is your Afrikaans.

I'm not familiar...I didn't learn it at school.

What about English.

I'm familiar with English, but not to the larger extent, but I can talk many things with English, I can do anything although I make some errors.

Zulu?

In fact Zulu I can understand it, but don't know how to communicate with it if someone speaks to me in Zulu, but I do understand it because it is related to Xhosa. I can't speak it just understand it.

Tswana?

I'm lost in the labyrinth in Tswana. I'm interested, but I don't understand a lot of it. I have some colleagues here at UWC, and I told them I'm interested. Maybe one day I'll reach that peak.

Sotho?

Let me make it easier for you. I think the languages I understand is Xhosa, English, the so-called Zulu...I think they are three languages I understand.

Are you doing Xhosa II this year?

No, I did Xhosa last year when I was doing five subjects. I got a C for Xhosa, and a C for English 105.

Statement 24?

...it is appropriate to have all those languages. Each and every ethnic group should be allowed to practice their own language.

Statement 25?

I strongly agree because English is the common language that everyone understands. It has a unifying function...it can bring people together.

Statement 26?

At present I cannot say anything, but I think Afrikaners should be allowed to practice their own language. Although we are having problems with other ethnic groups, but that time has gone now. We must unify ourselves.

Statement 27?

I'm not negative towards Afrikaans. Although they oppressed other groups.

Other African languages?

I think they have a future. The people are proud of their languages...so they even have a future.

Statement 30?

Unfortunately not...too many English books. The academics need to write more.

Statement 32/33

I don't see enough of my own language. For example, there is a programme 'Soul City'...they use Xhosa, but they mix it with other languages. I don't like mix varieties...once you mix a language you start to lose your identity. I don't like mix varieties...once you mix a language you start to lose your identity. On SABC 1...there are too many English programmes, so something must be done to get more languages.

Statement 34

Absolutely true. That's the first thing they look for - how good you are in English.

Statement 35

You cannot study only English, Afrikaans and Xhosa... we must teach children other people's languages, in case they want to work in other parts of the country. They must learn as many as they can, as long as it does not encroach on their cultural identity.

Statement 36

I don't think my language is being neglected, but English is necessary to communicate with other groups.

Statement 37

English was not forced on us, because we do study our own languages from school, and here at UWC. But conditions are forcing me to leave my language, even though I'm proud of it.

Statement 38

I think it is important to study your mother tongue at primary school, because at the higher levels, eg at UWC, you can study your language further. It should be used from Standard one to eight, but from nine it should be English so they can communicate with others.

Statement 40

I think the medium of communication at UWC is English...

Statement 41

We have no right to drop other people's language although they are a minority. The majority of the students here at UWC come from different cultural backgrounds, so each group should be allowed to practice their own language.

Statement 42

By giving students handouts, we can use English. Although we are coming from different backgrounds, people are able to understand English.

Statement 43

I think for me it's possible. We can start it, so that we can develop other people's cultures and languages. I feel the same for Sotho and Tswana, as long as it doesn't encroach on other people's cultures.

Accents?

I was having problems this year...in fact, our lecturer in Statistics...I was having many problems with his accent. I didn't experience any Afrikaans lecturer.

Statement 48/9

I think I have enough English by this time. I learned many things from UWC...English 105 played a major role in this, especially by tutor Jackie. And my lecturer Chaka Chaka promoted my language.

Statement 50/1

If the majority are Xhosa, it's OK, but if we are mixed I would prefer English as medium of communication, because the other students like the Afrikaners can't understand our language.

Statement 52

Yes it helped me, my language helped me to understand, but I am trying, especially Tswana

Statement 54

I didn't come into contact with Afrikaans-speaking students.

Student #4

Favourite TV programme?

In fact, I like Generations, because of the characters like Karabo and also his brother's wife. They mix languages a lot... Sotho, Zulu, English and also Xhosa...I like that...also Afrikaans. I like hearing the languages mixed up like that. My favourite newsreader is Nxolo Grootboom in Xhosa, and Desiree Makoto in English. They speak so nicely, they speak clearly and I can understand them. I don't really SABC 3.

What do you read in your spare time?

I like English novels, and also Xhosa novels like the prescribed ones. I like Cape Argus and Sunday Times, also You for the TV programmes.

Own language?

I speak Xhosa, Zulu, Seswati and English. I understand Setswana and Afrikaans, because my roommate is Setswana. I learned Seswati from my church (Baptist). I use Xhosa at home, with my friends who don't know English, but sometimes we used mixed up language with English, Afrikaans, Tswana, Xhosa.

Standardization of Zulu and Xhosa?

That language...it is going to be difficult because the spelling is so different for some of the Zulu Words.

Xhosa only at school?

You are not going to learn other languages if you are just based in your own language.

Publications in Xhosa?

There should be much more. There should be much more because our Xhosa poetry is now mixing Xhosa with English...they forget about their culture from Xhosa...they mix it with other languages.

Use of Xhosa in tutorials?

No...there are others there who don't speak Xhosa.

What is the best thing about Xhosa?

I like it since it's my mother tongue...I'm not scared about it, I can express myself freely. It is the language of my heart.

What about English?

I like English because I can get a job...most of my courses and lectures are in English. I use English with the Coloured students in my res. I like the sound of English, it sounds nice. I don't have any

worries about English taking over, because I use my language at home, it can't kill my language. But English is the right one, because everyone can understand it.

Afrikaans?

I don't speak it. I learn Afrikaans only for two years at school. But some people think I'm coloured and they speak Afrikaans, Then I answer in English 'no, I don't speak Afrikaans'. Here in Cape Town there are many people who speak Afrikaans, most people who are not educated, just standard two, they speak Afrikaans. Even the prisoners here, they speak Afrikaans. I socialize with other Afrikaans-speakers, but we speak English, and we watch the soaps 'Days' and 'Bold' together.

Choice of medium for education of children?

Both. I like my children to study at a school where they can learn English and Xhosa. I don't want them to have the same problems like me. They must learn English from Sub A. If a child does go to an English school, that is going to cause problems because he's a Xhosa child.

APPENDIX VII
EXIT LEVEL INTERVIEWS
(transcribed from Xhosa by P. Dadlana)

Student #1

22 Disagree totally !

" We can't have all these languages, the best is to speak English which is known by most of the people.

23 Disagree

"... yha, ya... Because the situation is like this,I would agree.

24 Not sure

Some Black people feel negative about Afrikaans they are think of the past that is why I am saying I am not sure.....

25 Disagree

"I do not have a problem with the language itself... but some people have a problem with it because of its history... We do not have to blame a language for what happened, speakers of the language are to be blamed... Even in History as I am a History student, the 1976 students' protest, Afrikaans was not a major issue it came later as a secondary factor..."

31 Agree totally !

Yaa I strongly agree with that because I am saying I do not like to see tsotsi taal and mixed language on TV. TV itself is a very influential... people especially young children, will follow and learn that, of which is wrong because urban varieties like mixed Xhosa, mixed Afrikaans are so mixed. TVs should therefore use pure grammatical correct versions, if it is English it must be pure if it Xhosa it must be pure and children should learn correct versions.

32 Agree

Look what is going on now... before someone can get a job she have to be interviewed first and if their English is not too good.. there are slim chances that they can get that job because interviews are conducted in English.

33 Not sure!

Yaa! although am not sure but I think it is important for example here in Cape Town you must be able to speak Afrikaans at least because it is a dominant language and in Eastern Cape also you have to learn Xhosa because there are so many Xhosa speakers in that province. For example Ghanaians which were deployed in there had to learn Xhosa because they could not communicate.... and I think communication is very important..but I would not say one have to learn an African language for employment purposes but for communication reasons.

26 Agree

Yes there are critics against Xhosa, you'll find people asking you questions like you came all from Eastern Cape to study IsiXhosa at university.. and connotative terms like 'isiqwati' are used to refer to it but to me Xhosa as a language has a potential to develop, I do not know whether I am too ambitious.

27 Disagree totally

I don't have a problem With any language.. but about their potential to develop I don't know because I do not even know them"

28 Disagree !

' Although there are some but they are very few when compared to English for example... For instance there is only one good Xhosa magazine that I know ie BONA, and also one newspaper ie

IMVO and there is another one which was launched recently called EYETHU... I only know those whereas in English there is plenty of them

29 Disagree!

"mh I do not watch TV more oftenly, but SABC 1 I think at least there are enough programmes.."

30 Agree !

'Even if there are programmes in some other languages like Xhosa or Sotho but they always give an English translation in the bottom of the TV screen....'

34 Disagree!

I won't say it has been neglected ... because even here there are some coloured people and other non mother tongue speakers of Xhosa who have registered for Xhosa 105, I do not know whether it is because our President is a Xhosa speaker... therefore I won't say it has been neglected, in some areas it has been respected and also most of the heroes are Xhosas (political leaders). But I do not think it can be a dominant language at national level as compared to English, but among other African languages I can say Xhosa will develop and dominate... (Therefore Xhosa at least is one of the languages that are recognised.,

35 Disagree

English was not forced on me, its I realised that it is important to learn and understand it because it is a dominant language and without it would have tough for me to survive and also being "un-English" at university level is disgrace. In fact you can also notice that English is the instrument for survival... an important language,

36 Disagree totally

"Yha... yha... I'm still saying that I strongly disagree with that.... For example I'm Xhosa and I'm using this language at home why now do I have to learn and study through it at school, the reason why I went to school is because I wanted a new knowledge therefore I know my mother tongue already. teaching children with their mother tongue will limit their knowledge ... unless they are English mother tongue speakers because they are on the advantage side. But I strongly encourage teaching of Xhosa in Xhosa, English in English, Afrikaans in Afrikaans and so on. The purpose of education is to teach people things that they do not know like English

37 Disagree!

It would be difficult if we can take two languages and make them medium of instruction at least English is okay... We already know our mother tongues therefore that is minus one problem.

38 Disagree !

The use of ONLY in the question made me to disagree with it... English must continue to be the medium of instruction ... But my point is, Xhosa should be taught in Xhosa and Afrikaans in Afrikaans, Sotho in Sotho etc.

39 Agree !

There are different people at UWC who speak different languages English is therefore a common language which is accessible to everybody (not only in South Africa but t also in the world)

40 Agree !

As I already stated above, Afrikaans can be dropped and focus be on one thing ie English... But I don't have a problem with Afrikaans.

41 Disagree !

Even in classes there are different people, the use of mother tongue will be quite problematic because ... what if for example the person who is chairing the debate or the tutor do not understand my language, communication breakdown will definitely be experienced. That can only be practised in a homogenous

class although that is not possible at UWC and in any other education institution in South Africa even in secondary schools it is very rare to find a homogenous class, people move from one place to another speaking different languages with English as their common language.

42 Disagree

That would be quite difficult because these are two different languages and in our mentalities exist side by side not as one language... For example our cultural practices are different, ritual like circumcision for instance. And most of them have a problem with pronouncing clicks. Even if a compromise can be reached one side will have to suffer.

43 Disagree

I don't have anything to say about Sotho and Tswana because I know nothing about them, but I am sure they also have fundamental differences.

44 Disagree !

It was difficult then, but now it is much better because I am able to write exams and assignments in English and pass. Yes indeed I can understand more clearly if I can be taught in Xhosa but there is no alternative therefore I have to adjust myself in this situation... it is difficult to some extent because sometimes you have to use dictionaries to understand some words.

45 Disagree

If my mother tongue can be used in tutorials that will definitely be unfair to other students who cannot speak Xhosa (mother tongue)

46 Agree !

Yes if I can be taught in my mother tongue, according to the question, I can understand more better because it would be in my mother tongue... but I am not saying that must be so because that won't develop me at all

47 Agree

Yes I strongly agree with that because now at least I can greet someone in Sotho and I know at least the basics of Sotho and Tswana words like "dumelang" (Good morning) and "le kaye?" (how are you?) ... I have friends who are Sotho speakers and they socialise with us and sometimes speak Sotho with us

48 Agree

Afrikaans also, I have a friend who is staying with us at hostel, Afrikaans is his mother tongue and he used to teach us Afrikaans and even if we are trying to speak it he always correct and laugh at us sometimes.

Student #2:

22

It is useful to have 11 official languages in the sense that if we allow certain languages to have that status that will mean they will dominate other languages and the dominated will then be suppressed... it is practical because in other countries this is the case all languages are given this status so I do not see any reason why this cannot be work in this country.

23

I agree that there should be one common language because it won't be easy for some people to learn all the South African languages. Therefore English should be that common language but other languages not be abandoned.

24

I do not think that Afrikaans will develop and prosper in the New South Africa because other languages have also gained recognition. It will only develop and prosper in those 'conservative sectors which still use it as the only medium of communication.

25

I am not positive about Afrikaans because the Afrikaner people really oppressed us and it was painful, but yes it can be used because it is their language....

26

Definetely I am positive about Xhosa... but it won't be easy for it to develop because there is a tough competition among languages, each and every language is fighting for recognition. Otherwise as a language it have the potential for development but the present situation will not make it easy for it to develop.

27

I do not have, any attitude against languages like Sotho, Zulu etc and if I can be given an opportunity I can learn and understand them but there are very few mother tongue speakers of these languages that I know and are too fast when talking. Secondly, they also fall in the same category as Xhosa, English is their main threat.

28

I do not think there are enough Xhosa books, newspapers and magazines, for example there is only one Xhosa newspaper which is IMVO and one magazine ie BONA so they are not enough.

29

Yes there are not enough programmes in my mother tongue on TV for instance on SABC 1 Zulu is dominating and on SABC 2 Afrikaans is dominating and on SABC 3 English is a dominant language.

30

Yes it is true, there are so many English programmes on TV

31

I am against these urban varieties because you will find that even words that are used in these varieties are misused and misapplied and it sound so odd...

32

Not necessarily, as long as they (employers) can understand you can get a job but also Afrikaans, here in Western Cape is still a dominant language if you know w at least it you can get a job because there are few places that require English only

33

Yes it is important to know a dominant African language in that particular region, if for example if you are going to work in Eastern Cape you will definitely have to know Xhosa because some people do not understand any language other than Xhosa.

34

Yes it was like that during the apartheid era because only two languages were recognised but I think now there is a little improvement here and there because you can speak it anywhere and be accepted... but in other domains like media there is still a lot that needs to be done to involve these languages.

35

English, I can say has been forced on me but for my benefit because in most, if not all, of the institutions English is the language of interaction or common language.. therefore it is compulsory for us to know and understand English. It was a preparation for one to be able to cope at tertiary level.

36

I do not agree with that because when they have to start learning English at other (senior) levels like junior secondary, they will experience problems as a result a person will progress as far as Standard Ten and be unable to express him/herself in English.

37

I agree with the view that English together with mother tongue should be the medium of instruction at primary and secondary school, because English developed me.

38

I also agree that, because even if one other language can be introduced as the medium of instruction at this level some students will be on the disadvantage side end because not everybody will be able to understand the second medium.

39

Yes, UWC is so diverse, and it have people who have different backgrounds and also different languages therefore if we say we will introduce Afrikaans or Xhosa as also medium of instruction other students will suffer.

40

I think Afrikaans should be dropped because the majority of South Africans cannot speak it for example I wanted to study at the university of Stellenbosch but I couldn't because I was forced to register and study another course in Afrikaans which I do not even understand. In other words some people do not have access to other universities because of Afrikaans.

41

I would agree with that point provided the university will increase the number of staff who will be able to teach hand conduct other academic activities with these languages so that everybody can be accommodated. However mother tongue education has disadvantages than advantages. For example if you want to go abroad where you mother tongue is not known to you will have to go with an interpreter and if do not have enough money to hire one you will miss the opportunity. Even in South Africa if you can compare provinces like Mpumalanga and Eastern Cape, they have total different languages.

42

There are fundamental rituals that are practised by these two language groups which most, if not all, are totally different that will therefore mean that they will be suppressed or ignored in that merging process. And children will not be able to acquire them because they will not be existing then. And that also will result in job losses because they will be no longer two dealing with Xhosa and Zulu as separate languages but only dealing with one language, Nguni.

43

I can't comment on Sotho and Tswana because I know nothing about them but I also believe that they will experience the same problems.

44

It is not difficult as much I do not know whether my skills have developed but sometimes there are difficulties which compel me to consult dictionary.

45

No, that will not develop our skills in English which is a dominant language and that will also limit our opportunities because English is the only language that is used in the job world.

46

Yes that would be helpful to students because they will understand material much quicker and with ease but when they have to go out to search for jobs it would be difficult.

47

No I did not socialise with other language speakers so I cannot say I've managed to pick up some things on them.

48

Yes in Afrikaans I do have a dim understanding because I was working with Afrikaans speakers and I managed to pick up some few words in it, so I can say I've improved in Afrikaans. Here I use English with non-Xhosa speakers.

Student #3:

22 It is useful to have 11 official languages, because people will be able to learn other languages 23 Yes I think English should be the only common language because it is the only language which is used widely by people and is well known also.

24 I do not think it will develop because I cannot even speak it. Also in some other schools in Eastern Cape it was abolished and even now is still not used more widely.

25 I do not like it but I can't say I hate it, but I do not want it to be used here (UWC) because I do not understand it but it is not difficult especially when you are determined.

26 Yes I do like Xhosa because it is my mother tongue but on the question of development I do not think it can reach a stage that English has.

27 Also other African languages are more like Xhosa in as far as development is concerned, I cannot say I hate or like them because I don't even understand them.

28 There are not enough books in my mother tongue for instance there is only one magazine that I know which is BONA and newspapers also are very few.

29 Even in TV there are very few programmes in my mother tongue

30 Yes English is the dominant language on TV (in all the channels).

31 I am really against language mixing I keep on asking myself why are people, mixing languages because I think one must do one thing at a time if is speaking Xhosa must be Xhosa only and if English, English only. But because we are used in that it just happen automatically. 32 I don't think it necessarily have to do with fluency or be good in English but as long as people can understand you its fine.

33 Yes I think it has been neglected because even in TV's it is rare to find it, even here at UWC there are very few books in Xhosa.

34 Nobody forced me to learn English, I forced myself because I believe English is an important language

35 I do not think Xhosa should be the only medium of instruction because English have to be introduced in lower levels so that the kids grow up knowing it because you can't use Xhosa when you are searching for a job.

36 I agree entirely with that because it is a must that a person be able to speak English.

38 I think English should be the only medium of instruction at secondary school because there our mother tongue cannot help us when you are looking for a job, want to go overseas also in some provinces here in South Africa.

39 Yes English should be the only medium of instruction because this is a multilingual country and English is the only language that is accessible to everybody.

40 I think it must be dropped because the majority of people do not understand it, that is therefore unfair.

41 No I do not agree with That because I think it should be taught as a subject because we did not come here to study English material in Xhosa, secondly, at tertiary level it will not make any sense to be taught in Xhosa.

42 I think they are combinable because they are already mutually intelligible and the process of combining them will not be difficult.

- 43 I won't comment on that because I do not know them ie Sotho and Tswana.
 44 Yes in some cases you find it difficult to understand some of the things in English....
 45 Yes everybody will prefer his or her mother tongue but, that is impossible because lecturers, tutors and all other people will not be able to understand our different mother tongues
 46 Yes that will enable me to understand easily
 47 No I have not acquired anything in them
 48 Afrikaans also, because I do not even have friends who are Afrikaans are mother tongue speakers or who know it

Student #4:

Afrikaans was a tool that was used to advance the apartheid policies and apartheid itself was inhumane. I was also the victim of it and its wounds to me has not yet healed so therefore I am still negative against it. I am still interested in other African languages and it would be a dream come true if I can be able to speak some of them.

I think English should stay and be used as a common language and also be used as the only medium of instruction especially at tertiary level because it is a dominant language, it is accessible to everybody and because of its international status.

I think Afrikaans should be dropped as a medium of instruction at tertiary level because there are no valid reasons it is still used as a medium of instruction, it is not a dominant language and it only create divisions between its mother tongue speakers and its non-speakers. And the majority of people do not even understand it.

At least at secondary level, English together with mother tongue should be used as the medium of instruction so that students could see the value and importance of their L1s. In other words to stress that their L1s has a place also in their linguistic wardrobe. At primary level they should at least be taught in the L1s so that they can get a strong background and develop their knowledge in the first language.

The present language policy is right because it will help these languages to develop and also their speakers will also feel proud about their languages and by so doing they will be able to go back to their roots and understand their cultures.

There is still a lot that need to be done in this country so to save our limited resources, all the languages that are mutually intelligible like Xhosa and Zulu, Sotho and Tswana etc should be combined to form big language groups.

Although these languages have been given official status, I can't say they have clear opportunities for further development because there is nothing so drastic so far that has been done by both government and other organisations to encourage the use of these languages in public domains as a result English is still dominating them.

Afrikaans has not been neglected or demoted because it is still used in some other institutions as a medium of communication/instruction especial in this province.

TV programmes, material general is very limited in my mother tongue, in fact in all the African languages. Even here at UWC in Xhosa (African languages) Department most of the material is written in English and some lecturers are presented in English.

I speak only two languages: Xhosa and English, I have not acquired anything in Afrikaans nor Sotho.

Student #5:

22 The present language policy, for me is useful but the question of implementation is still my problem, because it would be really difficulty for us to speak and use all these languages 11 languages. Secondly the financial demands of the whole process.

23 Yes I think English should be the only common language because to say we will use all these official languages, that will cost us. English should be the only medium of communication.

24 I regard Afrikaans now as other African languages because it has been 'demoted', and the domains in which it was widely used before are reduced therefore its chances for further development in the present dispensation are very slim.

25 For me, there is nothing wrong with the language Afrikaans but it was used as a weapon for oppression. But English I think should be the only medium of communication therefore even if it can be dropped I won't have a problem with that because I think English should be the only common language. In some cases Afrikaans is used by some people to achieve their own personal objectives like to discriminate unfairly against the non-Afrikaans (those who cannot speak nor understand Afrikaans) people.

26 Yes I am positive about Xhosa, and to me IsiXhosa can only develop for Xhosas not for other language groups.

27 I prefer Zulu to other African languages. Other African languages as it is the case with Xhosa will only develop for their respective mother speakers not for other languages groups because there is this great race for recognition, therefore people are not bothering themselves with other languages but they only focus on developing their own language.

28: Yes there are books in my mother tongue but are very few when compared to English.

29 Also in TVs there are very few programmes in my mother tongue (Xhosa).

30 English is of course enjoying all these privileges.

31 I don't like the use of mixed varieties because some people do not understand them therefore a person who is using them especially in a public domains like TV will not be understood by the people. And also some people will struggle with understanding the incorporated word in the case of code switching.

32 If ones English is good he /she is standing good chances of getting a job in SA.

33 I do not think it is essential to know any of the African languages (in whichever province), because the only language that is important and everybody speak and understand is English.

34 I would say because there are not opportunities for people who know Xhosa or they have not been created, therefore Xhosa is only important for Xhosas and other language groups and government are not interested in it.

35 Because of our system of Education everybody was forced to know English and if one's English is very bad was not allowed to proceed to another class as it was the only medium of instruction.

36 No I do not agree with that because they are still young at that stage therefore they have to start there to learn English and grow up with it.

37 At secondary level I also think that English should be used as the only medium of instruction and Xhosa be taught as a subject not be used as the medium of instruction because English is the dominant language and if one start to learn it at that stage have great chances of going anywhere in the world.

38 I strongly agree with that , English should be used as the only medium of instruction because of the reasons I mentioned above.

39 Yes.

40 Afrikaans should be dropped because most of the people do not understand it especially those who come from the former Transkei and it is unfair to them.

41 There are so many things involved here; one UWC demographics, it is extremely multilingual, Two; people to teach in all these languages where are going to recruit suitable people.

42 I think there was one Nguni language and split. There were reasons for that it would be quite difficulty for us to go back. And also there differences between these languages themselves, for instance in Zulu there are no clicks.

43 I am not sure about Sotho and Tswana but I am sure they also have their own differences as it is the case with Zulu and Xhosa.

44 Yes sometimes is difficult because there are some English words which are quite deep and bombastic and that compel us to consult other aids like dictionaries and while we busy consulting time is upon us.

45 No I do not prefer my mother tongue to be used for academic purposes because I want to learn and study in English as it is the only common language not only in SA but also in the world. Also to studying through English will develop my confidence and make more perfect.

46 Yes I can understand more easily because it is my mother tongue but that won't develop me at all.

47 No I can't say it has improved because socialisation among different language groups that exist here is not so close and tight and even in cases where they happened to be together they use English for communication.

48 That is also the case with Afrikaans.

Student #6:

It is important to have all these 11 official languages because if we can say that some will be deleted which ones would be deleted and for what good reasons.

English is a very important language because with it one can communicate with almost everybody in the world.

I do not have any attitude against Afrikaans, yes I understand that some people associate it with apartheid and oppression but the language Afrikaans was not responsible for that, the speakers of the language are to be blamed.

I don't have anything against other African languages (but I can't speak them except Zulu) because I regard as South African languages also therefore are also our languages.

Materials, books, newspapers etc are very limited in Xhosa and even in TVs there are very few programmes in Xhosa, English is still the dominant language and Zulu on the African language pool/side.

Language mixing seem to be a fashion but I am against it especially in public places like TVs, because TV is like a classroom so children will easily pick and learn these varieties as their L1s.

One's English does not necessarily have to be good as long as one can speak and be understood, because there are people that I know who are working in better positions and their English is not 'so good'.

I do not think my mother tongue (in fact all the African languages) has been neglected because there are so many projects in place to develop these languages they are also given official status.

I think at primary level, children need to be taught in their mother tongue because an early exposure to a language which is not their mother tongue will affect their ability and competence in their L1 and this will cause them to forget their backgrounds and roots.

At secondary level English should be enforced and be used as the only medium of instruction so that they can learn and practise it and not experience problems at tertiary level like we do.

I think Afrikaans should be dropped as the medium of instruction at tertiary level because it is unfair to those who do not understand it.

Yes, Zulu and Xhosa are more like the daughters of the same parents but they have differences, for example there are words which sound the same the same but mean totally different things for example: 'geza', imbali which means wash and flower in Zulu but in Xhosa mean silly and history respectively.

I know nothing about Tswana and Sotho so I won't comment.

Yes I do experience some problems in English but we learn by mistakes.

Student #7:

The issue of 11 official languages is a bit crazy for me because it is really impossible for government to use all these official languages, even if we can try to break it down and encourage the use of that languages that are spoken in a particular province, some provinces like Gauteng will experience problems because it has a density of languages. I would therefore suggest that English be used as it is a dominant language but not be used at the expense of others in other words to suppress other languages.

To me Afrikaans has never been neglected but the point is that other African languages have gained recognition and the competition among languages is a bit tighter now.

Although it has a very bad history I do not have anything against it because now we are busy with reconciliation and we are also trying to reconstruct our country.

I am proud of my language because it links me with my culture, reminds of my background and so on and I believe Xhosa as a language has a potential for development but government on the other hand is failing to or it has not created a conducive environment for the African languages to develop.

We as South Africans need to be really careful and also try not to be overambitious by enforcing our mother tongues in both education and other public domains at the expense of other languages otherwise we will never develop this country.

TV is a very influential medium and mixing languages in such is unacceptable and need to be rooted out because in some cases you will find that it is not even easy to determine which language does one speak.

If we encourage the use of mother tongue only in schools that will limit people's mobility and cage them in their own provinces as they will not be able to use other South African languages and even English which is an international language.

Combining African languages like Xhosa and Zulu together, and Sotho Tswana on the other pool will be quite problematic because speakers of these languages have differences, for example their cultures, values are different.

Although the use of mother tongues as medium of instruction will help everybody in terms of understanding the material but it won't have long term benefits.

I won't say my understanding in these languages have improved solely because of contact with the speakers of them because here there are slight divisions between various language groups.

Student #8:

To use mother tongues as medium of instruction at tertiary level will not do us any good as it will limit one's employment opportunities because our mother tongues (African languages) are not recognised in the job world.

At primary, at least they can be used as medium of instruction so that the kids can grow up knowing their L1s and at higher primary English should be slightly introduced then at secondary level be used as the only medium of instruction.

I still feel negative about Afrikaans because the majority of its mother tongue speakers do not want to involve themselves in the reconciliation process, and some of them do not even feel sorry for their role in apartheid.

I don't have anything against other African languages because they are South African languages which were also suppressed, just like my mother tongue, by the former government.

I think Afrikaans should be dropped as a medium of instruction at tertiary level because the majority of people do not understand it especially those who come from the former TBVC states.

And also I do not think dropping it will put it under threat because it will still be an official language.

The question of merging Zulu and Xhosa to form one Nguni language will cause problems on both languages, because one language will have to succumb to another and that will be unfair and not do any good for both languages.

Sotho and Tswana are not completely mutually intelligible as Xhosa and Zulu therefore to merge them will be quite problematic.

I do not think it is necessary to learn an African language for employment purposes one can learn a dominant African language in that particular province for communication purposes.

The use of mixed varieties in TVs and other related domains is totally wrong because there are some people who do not understand English therefore they would not be able to understand the incorporated

English word. I am therefore strongly in favour of correct grammatical versions especially in public domains. And also, language mixing have detrimental effects on the languages involved. The opportunities for development in African languages to me are limited because mother tongue speakers themselves are not interested in these languages and also their development.

Student #9:

I do not agree with that i.e., the use of mother tongues as medium of instruction especial at tertiary level because South African tertiary institutions have people who have different backgrounds and languages. Mother education will also mean that people will be monolingual, and that will make it very difficult for them to get jobs non-Xhosa environments for example, outside their provinces or outside the country.

At secondary level both English and mother should be used but English be dominant because most secondary schools are multilingual.

At primary at least mother tongue can be used as a medium of instruction so as to develop the linguistics abilities of the children in their L1, to develop their identity and also to create a strong bond between these kids and their language and culture.

Most people really struggle with Afrikaans (including myself), yes it also have a very bad history but I do not think we have to punish it for that because there is lot that need to be done in this country and there is still a long way to go to achieve and fulfil our ambitions so let us let Afrikaans be part of the process.

I do not have any attitude against other African languages, in fact nay language, it is my dream to speak all these languages.

Xhosa to me is a bit neglected by even its speakers and the majority of them prefer English. Also there are very few projects in place to encourage the development and use of these languages.

To me it is unnecessary to have 11 official languages and also we have to think of the demands that have to be met in the whole process.

If we can encourage mother tongue education especially at tertiary level, cross linguistics communication will be impossible and by that we will be reinstalling some of the old apartheid laws and therefore averting the integration process between various languages groups.

In tutorials, if it is monolingual then a common language which may any of the official languages can be used.

Xhosa and Zulu and Sotho Tswana are both mutual intelligible but their speakers are so different when it comes to cultural practices, norms and values.

Afrikaans should be dropped as a medium of instruction at tertiary level because the majority of people do not understand it.

To mix languages in TVs and other related domains is totally unacceptable because it kills the languages and also that send a wrong message to the younger people out there because they idolise public figures therefore they will think that mixing is 'cool'.

Student #10:

I do not think it is right to use mother education at tertiary level because that will not do us any good, and also linguistic composition or profile of our tertiary institutions make it really impossible to use mother tongue as medium of instruction.

At secondary level English also should be used as the only medium of instruction because secondary level should be used as the preparation for students to cope at tertiary level. In other words English need to be enforced from as early stages be so that children grow up speaking it as it an 'economic language', and also its status not only in South Africa but also in the international world. Therefore if we do not want to deprive these opportunities we must strongly encourage the use of English as a medium of instruction.

We do not have to be against Afrikaans because of its its history, that was history now is gone, for us to progress and to reconcile we need to know each other language. Even African languages, I do not have

any attitude against them because it does not make any sense for a person to develop an against a languages he does not even understand and more than that they are also South African languages therefore they also belong to us.

Afrikaans is indeed relegated, it is no more a major prerequisite as it was in the past for other jobs/posts, and even some of its mother tongue speakers are shifting to English. And there are very few people who are still strong and proud about Afrikaans.

Also Xhosa and African languages have very slim opportunities for further development because there is a massive mixing of them with English and interestingly the mother tongue speakers seem to be more comfortable when mixing.

Material and TV programmes in my mother tongue are very few, and even literature writers have to translate their work into English before it go to the market. Even those TV programmes that are Xhosa and in other African languages do not have good lessons so that people can associate themselves with.

Appendix VIII

Entry Level Written Responses

1. Extracts from written responses by one group of 1996 English 105 entry level respondents in their final English 105 examination.

The question was: Should African languages be used more widely in our education? This was a question used to prompt their opinions on the Kwesi Prah article 'Foreign languages hold back Africa's genius' (Weekend Argus, 15 April 1995 - interview conducted by Mxolisi Mgxashe).

39 students replied YES, because:

1. Many people would like to express themselves in their mother tongue. This makes it easy for other people understanding their mother tongues to communicate with their lecturers. Those who have difficulty in answering questions in the classroom will survive.
2. I believe that most of my subjects can be taught with my mother tongue. I can be able to get A's and B's. By using African languages we will be in a position to uplift our standard of education and receive good quality professionals as well as good results. I think that African languages must be dominant in this continent of Africa, and stop using foreign languages as mediums of instruction. I believe that here in SA if we Africans can learn English and be fluent in it, then there is no problem with whites learning our language.
3. Now we are living in a new SA where people have the rights to do what they want...we find that all the 11 languages are recognized as official languages, I think it can be wise if our schools and tertiary institutions can allow our students to be taught in their own languages because during the former government we were forced to use English as a media language.
4. Because if it is not given a wide chance to be used in schools, that will cause people not to understand their language fluently. Again language also is one of the crucial agents of transmitting culture. Then if language is not given a wide chance to be practised that will mean we are killing our culture. Through language we become aware of our selves and standards of our own societies.
- 5...because there is no language who is super than the other languages.
- 6...if the lecturer uses Afrikaans or English only, the white people are given more marks because the lecturer uses their mother tongue, there is no difficulty in their exams.
- 7...even the people of other countries would be interested in African languages if we used it in our education.
8. In these days our mother tongues or our languages as African are not recognised they are taken as inferior languages not by foreigners only but by the indigenous people, for instance if someone is highly educated s/he will always mixing his mother tongue with English, by so doing people become confused because there are people who are illiterate. As a result the people become shy to express their opinion in front of educated people because he doesn't have English terms in order to mix so that he could be recognised. I would like to suggest that African languages be highly implemented in our education. I would also like to see one of African languages on each and every label of African products. I will also like to see African languages being recognised on a national basis and internationally.
9. Students are feeling much free to communicate with their own mother tongues. Students sometimes don't participate because they don't want to be embarrassed of making mistakes.
10. ...most of us are Africans. Almost all of the students like to speak their language except when a lecturer is asking the question. We can teach each other our languages so there can be no conflict in the communication.

11. ...because I think that the standard of African languages will be increased, because even foreign language speakers will be able to know African language more deeply and also to know the specific rules of African language.
12. Maybe you will work with African people in future. These people are speaking different languages. How will you cope with these people?
13. ...because it will help us to know our African languages more deeply, and help other people of other nations to have a chance of knowing the language.
14. If one can be able to speak at least three of African languages he can be able to communicate and understand many African people and this will create a friendship between Africans.
15. African languages should be used to restore the African culture to the African people. You may realize that if African languages are not used people will think that they are not important and decided to undermine them. The culture of Africans is determined by their language. It will also bring the spirit of relationship among different people if it is not taught Africans will start isolating themselves from others.
16. ...because we Africans a lot of us are suffering. When the lectures teach us we concentrate on what they are saying the problem is that we don't understand what are they saying. You can just understand two or one sentence. So that makes you become lazy to study your work. Sometimes you feel like going to her or him to ask or to tell what is your problem. He is going to ask you what you don't understand, you will not be able to tell. I mean you can say you don't understand the whole thing yes s/he can help but she can be tired of you because she is not teaching you the language how to understand it or how to learn it. He is teaching you the content. I mean content like Georgraphy, Maths, Physiology. What I suggest is that we can be taught with our African language. And then when someone is interested to learn other languages s/he can go and learn them or else if somebody is going to work with other people who don't use African languages as their mother tongue s/he can go and learn it. You sometimes suppose to do a three year course you take 5 years to finish it because we are not taught with this African language. We want everybody to be satisfied. I am not actually doing this for me. I am also thinking about the other because this is what I have experience when we were having some group discussions.
17. ...this will make clear to the lecturers whether a student is intelligent or not. It is difficult for lecturers to be sure whether a student knows or doesn't know the answer when using languages that are not theirs.
18. I think that the same standard that is provided to other languages should also be provided to African languages. It is possible for us to learn subjects like Psychology with our own language...The door of Education will also be open to all people of this country irrespective of whether they understand and know what was previously know as 'two official languages'.
19. African languages should not be undermined by the government, they should be developed like English and Afrikaans...to make interaction positive between African and non-African humans, African languages should be used extensively in education.
20. It is well known by everybody that these languages like English, Afrikaans have come with the Europeans in order to take our land. They want us to learn their languages in order to communicate with them. So we cannot take another cultures because we have our norms and values.
21. students said NO because:
1. When a lecturer is teaching the first thing that must be done is research. Research is almost always done in English. English is the medium language. The teacher find it sometimes difficult to translate to an African language. Some words from English are difficult and sometimes no words can be translated in Xhosa. Some books used by teachers and students are written in English. Some writers

or these books are the English people coming from different universities and places. It is difficult to teach some subjects like Maths, Psychology, Sociology which are going to be difficult to be translated in African language.

2. It is very difficult for others to put Xhosa language into our institutions because others do not understand. According to my views I suggest that in my education English language is the best for better and higher status of institutions because everybody can express their needs. This country is just an aspect of the wider problems and have so many languages so this is impossible to get rights and benefits in our country.

3. In our universities people come from different countries... English is a medium language to all of us. If we use African languages we will suffer in many things because on these days there's no apartheid in schools. Lectures also use English so that every student must understand what a lecturer says. If you want to communicate with other departments, you are supposed to use English. When you finish your studies you are supposed to use English for work.

4. There are so many African languages in South Africa and that will cost money and we do not get good education because of the African languages e.g. there are many children who were and are exposed to the African languages only and when they come to universities they cannot cope because they were never exposed to other languages. African languages are important but they should not be used more widely in our education.

5. This will create a conflict among the Africans, because each individual will need his or her own language to be used. This will make our education valueless and moreover I don't think that there will be enough teachers or lecturers for such languages. This will delay our education because there will not be enough rooms for teaching and that will make us wait for long periods...I am avoiding the language conflict, not neglecting the African languages.

6. Let us say maybe over time we are taught in Shangaan or Venda. I as an individual won't be able to understand that, even though I am an African, but if there is going to be a Psychology Xhosa speaking tutor, Geography Xhosa speaking tutor and a Library Xhosa speaking tutor then that is fine for me. The reason for saying that I know I would be privileged to have Xhosa speaking tutors for my courses. I know that I was going to pass with flying colours. But I know that this won't happen, so all I am saying is, I don't think that my African language should be used more widely in my education. That won't be fair to me and other African language speakers.

7. I am very surprised with the article because if we are saying we must use indigenous languages in order to solve the big problem that we have in country which means we are practising apartheid again. I don't think that will solve the problem instead we will create new problems each and every year. For example the other people will claim that their languages are indigenous languages too, like Afrikaners.

8. The African languages should not be used more widely because there are many languages in Africa. Languages like Xhosa, Sotho, Tswana etc. If I can concentrate very much on them according to my education that will confuse me. I prefer to study only my own language because I don't think that other African languages are useful for me. Even if I will visit other countries, e.g. Namibia I will communicate with Namibians with English. If African languages will be used in education that will divide people of Africa.

9. No, I don't think so because it is English which links us with other subjects. It can be very difficult for us to read books in African languages. It is better to continue with our education in English. Even in other countries subjects are being taught in English. It will be very difficult for some writers to have so many books in different languages so that we get every book in every language. If we use them more widely we will be losing our English that will be very difficult for us.

10. English is taught from the lower standards so it is easy for everybody to understand and to speak it.

11. We must all make sure that we understand at least our mother tongue and an official language. To

me it's no use to prefer my studies to be done in my mother tongue because my communication skills will not be improving at all, whereas I study to improve them.

12. I think that English is the only language that must be compulsory to everybody. At school we are taught in English, the most of time we have got a little time for our own African languages. When we meet with strangers, the only language we use is English. When we went to our works on holidays we are supposed to use English. The only language for communication is English. To communicate with different students in this university and make friends, English is the common language.

13. If I want to move from South Africa to study in other places like America, I won't succeed if I only understand African languages. We can use English as a medium in our education.

14. I'm not agree with this statement. Firstly it is not important to learn only the African languages. We suppose to learn another languages. By learning another languages it is very important, especial for communication. Communication is very important especial in tertiary level. If you learn everything in Xhosa, it will be difficult for you. In other words, when you meet someone whose language is not Xhosa, how can you communicate with this person? For instance when I was doing the lower classes it was very difficult for me to speak English. One day I was very hungry and all my money was lost. I met a white man, then I want to ask for money but I was unable to speak English. On the same year I was robbed by the two coloured boys there at kicking sport. There came a white policeman, now I supposed to express all what it was happened to me. It was also very difficult for me. Really it is not important to learn only African languages.

15. African languages are not be used more widely in our education, because many schools have different kinds of students. There are blacks, whites and coloureds. These different types of students does not all know the same language... the language that is used more widely is English; because English is the subject which combining different types of people or students. English also the language which people are easy to communicate....In my educations, African language is useless because in more times I can't speak my home language because other students know nothing about my language.

16. ...if we are taught in our own languages, this will mean division in our country. This does not mean that our languages are not important, but what we are looking at is uniting the pupil and not dividing them. This will cause us to have Afrikaans class for Afrikaans speaking people, Xhosa also as everyone will be interested in his or her language.

17. I must always use English in my education so that I could know it. It is not my mother tongue but I must always learn to speak it. Xhosa is my mother tongue, so there's no reason to used it in my education, because everyday and every night I used it at home with my family and my relatives. Some students don't even understand my language because on campus there are many students from different nations, so that is why I must always used English so that they can hear what I'm saying.

Appendix IX

Exit Level Written Responses

#1

What I can say is that it's important for everyone to know all the languages of South Africa especially English because it is the medium of instruction. I would like to encourage each and every person to be proud of his/her language especially we Xhosa speakers we have a tendency to neglect our language, I think we are more westernized because most of the time we use English even when it is not necessary. I think this is the time for everyone to be proud of his/her language.

#2

The only thing I can say about languages is, each and every individual must given a change to use his/her mother tongue. But there is a need to have other languages as a medium. The other thing is all of us in South Africa, we must respect all the languages and try to know them if we are still alive.

#3

I would like to convey my sincere thanks to you for giving me this opportunity to voice out my opinions concerning our 11 languages. For me I don't see any problem that all languages should be accepted in order to uplift their standards in this new South Africa most importantly I think that it would be fruitful that English should be recognised as a medium of communication based on the fact that almost the entire different language groups know it and are able to understand English even though they have a language of their own. Most of ethnic groups are fluent in English, like myself even though we are not Europeans. To restate my opinion, I would like to say English should be allowed as a medium of communication!

#4

I feel that all languages should be allowed to develop so that people should not lose their cultures. Using all languages could also create many jobs for educators and translators. In other countries there are many employed translators. Mother tongue is also very important specially in cultural activities.

#5

I do feel that English should be a dominant language helping us to understand one another with less difficulty. Other languages should be given a place in this society by being studied fully in the primary and secondary level. As for the standardization idea, it can be good if it does not mean that I should forfeit my culture of circumcision. Someone said language serves the means of identity, meaning that our African people tend to identify themselves fully with their different customs and beliefs ranging from among others lobola, family values and circumcision.

The idea of mother-tongue being used in lectures and tutorials is completely wrong. Nearly all different South African people are found at this university and we do not know their languages. I also feel that in an extremely diverse province like Gauteng, making all languages official would be expensive. Therefore I say English should be used for all communication and development.

#6

The issue of different languages is really confusing for instance if one can look at the Xhosa speaking people I'm also using Xhosa as my mother tongue but the most of Xhosa speaking people are having a negative attitude to other languages like Sotho, Tswana, Swati etc. In our campus the Xhosa speaking people are mostly anti social. Therefore the mechanism of bringing peace and socialization at UWC is that, all the departments at UWC must encourage students to speak English during the lecturing hours and even around the campus. It is embarrassing to see students not knowing to express themselves with English at tertiary level. To speak English, it helps for academic purposes.

Attitudes are based on assumptions, in order to change attitudes one must first change one's assumptions. Control your thoughts and you will control your life. It is good to have different languages in our country, but we must not have negative attitudes towards other languages, people must learn to speak many languages as they can. If we can treat everybody as the most important person in the world, we can achieve liberty and we can build an excellent rainbow nation. I would like to say to you Xhosa speaking, Sotho, Tswana, Venda, Tsonga, Afrikaans, English speaking people let's wake up for the future of the younger generation.

#7

I do not have a problem with my own language, Xhosa. I am more concerned because there are many people who recognised it. A number of these speakers are beginning to learn it. However they seem to ignore some languages and give them , a lower status. We need to treat everyone language as important as ours. But at the same time we need to have a common language which can unite all the South Africans. Be it English or a new language I don't mind; as long as everybody will understand it and feel free to speak it.

#8

I think it would be very important for South Africans to choose English as national language. This would help us to communicate with people from different provinces and various parts of the world. In the case of provinces two languages must be official in each province. I think this would help other ethnic groups to maintain their identity. Since we have different mother tongues, English must be used as centre for communication.

#9

According to my opinion, knowing more than one language is advantageous, because you can socialise to other kinds of ethnic groups, not only your own. For instance if you can just know your own language your knowledge will be limited as well. Being a student you must be curious of knowing more. That's stupid sentiment to have any negative attitude to any language. And being a university student knowing only your own language is a disgrace.

#10

As far as I can see my language is not so far considered especially by people who speak it in my opinion I think if further consideration and development can be done they know that it's one of important languages. For instance programme in my language are very few on TV if such things can be done and people given changes to use it, it can develop maybe.

#11

I think it would be a waste of tax payers money, to allow government to impose the usage of different languages during lectures in UWC. Further this practise would brought a static condition in South Africa which already occurred, in terms of employment abroad. Even in the working fields there is no such thing as the usage of ones language. Lastly I do not think we would develop the technological if we follow this of ones specialization of his/her own language what South Africa need is the knowledge of different languages by different communities.

But to enforce usage of my language in all my course, would be a blunder, where is development on that. I have been studying most of my subjects in S.S.S. mostly in my language. This practise had really put me in the corner, when I had to go to S.S.S. I was forced to adjust myself, as a result if you can read my English critical its not up to a standard of a university student, South Africans had to face reality English is the common language in all societies, and it had made communication easier when it come to intersection of different societies.

#12

I see nothing wrong with us here in South Africa having eleven official languages. This helps us a lot to know each other better. I think everybody has to be proud of his/her mother tongue, and try to expand it in casual talks, ie. informal gatherings. For example in order for me to be interested in knowing other languages, so as to learn them. I have to here other people talking them. By the way I like my mother tongue and I use it a lot, especially when someone I'm talking to is using his or her own language.

I remember one day, when I was shopping in Cape Town, a gentlemen came to me and greeted me in Afrikaans then I responded in Xhosa Because I realised that he was using his own language, so why shouldn't I use mine. We kept on talking, exchanging words and I found that he understand Xhosa very well like I do with Afrikaans of his because he answered me exactly what I ask and I did the same thing to him.

We had a very interesting conversation in so much that at the end he knew some words from my Xhosa speaking and I learned some of his Afrikaans. When he asked me why did I not use English or Afrikaans I told him that it's because I'm proud of my mother tongue like he is. Then he laughed and asked me out for some lunch.

See, I learned from him and he learned from me. But this is not always the case, when meeting with strangers, we use to communicate in English, especially the black Africans from the North of South Africa.

APPENDIX X

UWC Computerized Answer Sheet

See attached page.

APPENDIX XI

Map: Origins of UWC Students in 1997

See attached page.

ORIGIN OF UWC STUDENTS

Total students 1997
OTHER COUNTRIES

154

TOTAL
13 150



APPENDIX XII

Argus Article based on interview with Prof. Kwesi Prah

See attached page.

Foreign languages 'hold back Africa's genius'

MXOLISI MGXASHE
Weekend Argus Reporter

AFRICA will never be able to catch up with the economic, cultural, scientific and technological advances in most industrialised and industrialising countries so long as its elite continues to underplay the value of indigenous languages as instruments for development.

University of the Western Cape sociology professor Kwesi Prabh, who is engaged in intensive research of this subject, says no society has been able to develop on the basis of a borrowed or imported language.

He says that since language is a repository of all knowledge, African governments, educationalists and linguists should take advantage of its utility to arouse the creativity and genius of millions of people who have difficulty understanding English, French, Portuguese and Spanish.

"We build on what the people have. We cannot by-pass what they already know and expect them to know things we teach them in languages that are strange to them and which they find very difficult to comprehend," Professor Prabh says.

Professor Prabh, who is Ghanaian by birth but now lives permanently in South Africa, blames the elite in Africa for refusing to promote indigenous languages to a level at which they can actually become the main medium of instruction in a wide vari-

ety of subjects in institutions of higher learning.

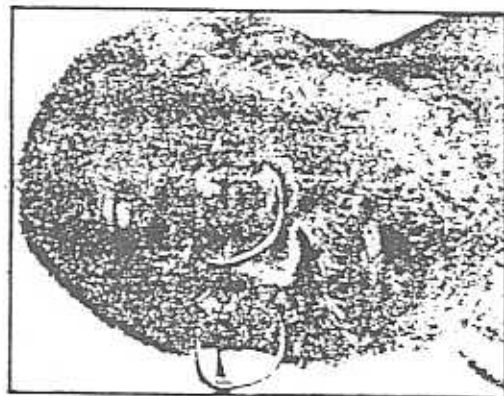
"Africa is one area of the world where this problem remains one of the most serious in our efforts to develop. Look at the Arab world. For the past three to four decades we have seen an increasing usage of Arabic in universities to a point where all the studies are in Arabic.

The astonishing development that has been achieved by countries such as Japan and China which were not so very long ago among the world's "underdog" nations, should also be seen in the light of aggressive efforts to ensure that their indigenous languages were given an appropriate place in their societies."

Professor Prabh has come out as one of the most vocal scholars on a subject that has been raised by others, but not in as articulate and detailed a manner. He has done so at several conferences and workshops and in a booklet, *"Mother Tongue for Scientific and Technological Development in Africa"*, published by ZED publishing house in Bonn, Germany, last year.

In the booklet Dr Prabh argues that the process of scientific and technological knowledge generation in Africa and elsewhere in the third world must also be seen as a process which "empowers the masses" — a process which gives them a voice in society and a window to the wider world.

This can take place realistically



Picture BRENTON BEACHT/Weekend Argus

(1) ROOTS: University of the Western Cape sociology professor Kwesi Prabh.

only in their own languages. Education must thus be conceptualised as a process which empowers the masses by placing within its reach the instruments for understanding nature and reality better, and act in an informed fashion on issues existentially affecting their lives," Dr Prabh contends.

Applying his theory to the South African setting, Dr Prabh concedes that it may perhaps be a bit cumbersome and extremely difficult

to use all official languages for this purpose.

He suggests standardisation of both the Nguni and Sotho/Tswana languages to make them the major indigenous languages of education, science and technology.

"South Africa is not peculiar, but is just an aspect of the wider problem in Africa. Some people say: 'Because we have so many languages in Africa it's impossible to have science and technology taught in our languages'. I call this the theory of the 'Tower of Babel'.

"It is possible, for instance, to produce a standardised version of Nguni to be spoken, read and written as far afield as Malawi, Matabeleland in Zimbabwe, Swaziland and KwaZulu-Natal, to include the Cape. This area is definitely much bigger than can be found in Europe," he argues.

Professor Prabh also suggests the same standardisation could also be applied to Sotho/Tswana to cover areas like Botswana, the North West Province, Namibia, Zambia, Northern Transvaal and Lesotho.

Laudable efforts were being made by radio and television to promote the importance of indigenous languages in keeping with the new democratic spirit, but Professor Prabh says these were not enough.

In the South African experience Professor Prabh cites the example of Afrikaans as a language that has largely been able to accomplish precisely what he is advocating

APPENDIX XIII

LONGITUDINAL QUANTITATIVE DATA

Table Nine: Entry level demographic data

Demographic variables of Xhosa home language respondents in 1996	Longitudinal sample at entry level (1996) n=20
Age. The age-range categories are: A:18-19 B:20-25 C:26-30 D:30-35 E:35+	Ages: A: 0% B: 65 C: 25 D: 10 E: 0
Sex	55% male 45 female
High School leaving (matric) symbol first language (A-E)	A: 0% B: 5 C: 30 D: 30 E/below E: 35
High School leaving (matric) symbol second language	A: 0% B: 0 C: 10 D: 55 E/below E: 35
overall High School leaving (matric) symbol	A: 0% B: 0 C: 5 D: 20 E/below E: 75
home language	100% Xhosa
Language with friends	100% Xhosa
1 st language at school	95% Xhosa 5 English
2 nd language at school	90% English 10 Afrikaans
3 rd language at school	90% Afrikaans 10 English
Languages studied at UWC	100% English 65 Xhosa 5 Afrikaans
Languages informally acquired	50% Zulu 5 Tswana 45 no response

Table Ten: Second year level demographic data

Demographic variables for 1997	Longitudinal sample n=20
Sex	55% male 45 female
symbol for the foundational academic literacy course (English 105) in 1996	0% A 0 B 45 C 45 D 10 E
symbol for entry-level Xhosa in 1996	0% A 0% B 15 C 55 D 30 no response
Language with friends	95% Xhosa 5 English

Table Eleven: Exit level demographic data

Demographic variables for 1998	Longitudinal sample n=20
Sex	55% male 45 female
Lgs studied at exit level	40% Xhosa 5 English 55 left blank
Language with friends	95% Xhosa 5 English

Table Twelve: Self-reported language proficiency in the Longitudinal annual samples

Language	Excellent			Good			Average		
	entry	2 nd yr	exit	Entry	2 nd yr	exit	entry	2 nd yr	exit
Xhosa	85%	90	90	5	5	5	5	5	5
Afrikaans	0	0	5	10	5	0	15	20	40
English	5	5	10	55	65	85	35	25	5
Zulu	0	0	5	10	20	35	30	45	30
Tswana	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	5
Pedi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
S.Sotho	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0
Swati	0	0	0	0	0	10	5	10	15

Table Twelve continued

Language	Poor			Hardly any or no understanding		
	entry	2 nd yr	exit	entry	2 nd yr	exit
Xhosa	5%	0	0	0	0	0
Afrikaans	35	60	35	40	15	20
English	0	5	0	5	0	0
Zulu	35	30	25	20	5	5
Tswana	20	15	20	75	75	75
Pedi	5	10	10	90	90	90
S.Sotho	0	15	20	90	85	80
Swati	0	0	10	90	90	65

Table Thirteen: Attitudes to English in the longitudinal annual samples (n=20)

Statements	Entry level					Second year level					Exit level				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
One common lg for SA – Eng	75	5	5	5	10	65	10	10	10	5	60	10	0	20	10
	mean: 1.70; sd: 1.38					mean: 1.80; sd: 1.28					mean: 2.10; sd:1.55				
Too many English progs on SABC 1&2	45	45	5	5	0	55	25	15	5	0	50	35	10	0	5
	mean: 1.70; sd: 80					mean: 1.70; sd:92					mean: 1.75; sd:1.02				
No good job without good Eng	40	35	5	20	0	50	35	0	15	0	40	35	10	10	5
	mean: 2.05; sd: 1.15					mean: 1.80; sd: 1.06					mean: 2.05; sd:1.19				
Eng forced on me – historical and internat.	45	15	10	15	15	35	30	10	20	5	25	30	10	20	15
	mean: 2.40; sd: 1.57					mean: 2.30; sd:1.30					mean: 2.70; sd:1.45				
MT used together with Eng at school	35	50	0	15	0	40	35	5	5	15	25	60	5	5	5
	mean: 1.95; sd: 1.00					mean: 2.20; sd: 1.44					mean: 2.05; sd:1.00				
Eng should be only MOI at UWC	70	15	10	5	0	65	15	5	15	0	55	30	0	5	5
	mean: 1.50; sd: 89					mean: 1.70; sd: 1.13					mean: 2.05; sd: 1.96				
Has enough Eng for university	25	30	35	10	0	25	25	15	35	0	Statement not included at third year				
	mean: 2.30; sd: 98					mean: 2.60; sd:1.23									
Diff to study through non-MT (Eng)	10	20	30	25	15	10	45	5	25	15	10	20	0	55	15
	mean: 3.15; sd:1,23					mean: 2.90; sd:1.33					mean3.45; sd:1.28				

Table Fourteen: Attitudes to Xhosa in the longitudinal annual samples

Statement	Entry level					Second year level					Exit level				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
Feel positive about MT	65	35	0	0	0	60	30	5	5	0	60	15	5	15	0
	mean: 1.35; sd: .49					mean: 1.55; sd: .83					mean: 2.10; sd: 1.97				
Enough good books etc. in MT	20	20	30	25	5	10	30	15	30	15	5	20	20	40	15
	mean: 2.75; sd: 1.21					mean: 3.10; sd: 1.20					mean: 3.40; sd: 1.14				
not enough TV in MT	25	45	5	15	10	30	40	5	20	5	15	60	5	20	0
	mean: 2.40; sd: 1.31					mean: 2.30; sd: 1.26					mean: 2.30; sd: .98				
Anti urban varieties of MT in media	25	45	5	20	5	30	35	15	5	15	45	20	0	15	20
	mean: 2.35; sd: 1.23					mean: 2.40; sd: 1.39					mean: 2.45; sd: 1.67				
MT being neglected	20	10	30	20	20	15	25	20	35	5	5	25	15	40	15
	mean: 3.10; sd: 1.41					mean: 2.90; sd: 1.21					mean: 3.35; sd: 1.18				
MT only MOI at schools	15	35	0	40	10	20	5	10	35	30	5	30	15	25	25
	mean: 2.95; sd: 1.36					mean: 3.50; sd: 1.50					mean: 3.35; sd: 1.31				
Standardized version of Nguni	30	25	10	30	0	0	30	20	30	20	0	20	10	35	30
	mean: 2.75; sd: 1.92					mean: 3.40; sd: 1.14					mean: 4.05; sd: 1.61				
MT in tuts useful with subjects	15	45	0	30	10	35	35	20	5	0	5	30	10	40	15
						(no response:5)									
Prefer using MT in tutorials	20	10	5	55	10	20	5	5	55	15	0	25	5	45	25
	mean: 3.20; sd: 1.32					mean: 3.40; sd: 1.39					mean: 3.70; sd: 1.13				

Table Fifteen: Attitudes to other BSALs in the longitudinal sample.

Statement	Entry level					Second year level					Exit level				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
11 off. Lgs. not useful and practical	15	35	10	20	20	35	5	10	20	25	20	5	20	20	35
	mean: 2.95; sd: 1.43					mean: 3.25; sd: 2.15					mean: 3.45; sd: 1.54				
Not positive about other BSALs	0	10	35	30	25	10	10	5	30	45	0	10	25	40	25
	mean: 3.70; sd: .98					mean: 3.90; sd: 1.47					mean: 3.80; sd: .95				
Learn dominant regional Af. lg.	5	15	35	15	30	15	30	25	15	10	10	20	30	30	10
	mean: 3.50; sd: 1.24					mean: 3.05; sd: 1.85					mean: 3.10; sd: 1.17				
Lg support for all students	10	25	15	35	15	5	15	10	20	45	10	5	15	40	30
	mean: 3.20; sd: 1.28					mean: 4.15; sd: 1.73					mean: 3.75; sd: 1.25				
Develop all Af. Lgs to tertiary lev.	25	25	35	15	0	15	40	10	20	15	Statement not included at exit level				
	mean: 2.40; sd: 1.05					mean: 2.80; sd: 1.36									
Standardize Sotho-Tswana	10	25	25	20	20	0	20	30	25	25	0	30	20	20	30
	mean: 3.15; sd: 1.31					mean: 3.55; sd: 1.10					mean: 3.50; sd: 1.24				
Diff. With Af. Accent lecturers	10	30	25	30	5	5	25	15	25	30	Statement not included at exit level				
	mean: 2.90; sd: 1.31					mean: 3.50; sd: 1.32									
Probs. In tuts – too many MTs	55	35	5	5	0	70	20	0	10	0	Statement not included at exit level				
	mean: 1.60; sd: .82					mean: 1.50; sd: .95									
Improved use of other BSALs informally	5	40	40	15	0	10	55	5	10	20	15	50	0	25	10
	mean: 2.65; sd: .81					mean: 2.75; sd: 1.37					mean: 2.65; sd: 1.31				

Table Sixteen: Attitudes to Afrikaans in the longitudinal sample

Statement	Entry level					Second year level					Exit level				
	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E	A	B	C	D	E
Afrikaans continue to develop	0	20	55	20	5	10	45	25	0	20	5	30	35	20	10
	mean: 3.10; sd: .79					mean: 2.75; sd: 1.29					mean: 3.00; sd: 1.08				
Not positive about Afrik.	10	35	30	10	10	35	30	10	20	5	35	20	20	20	5
	mean: 3.05; sd: 1.79					mean: 2.30; sd: 1.30					mean: 2.40; sd: 1.31				
Dropped as MOI at UWC	60	0	10	5	25	55	15	10	15	5	45	20	20	0	10
	mean: 2.35; sd: 1.79					mean: 2.00; sd: 1.34					mean: 2.40; sd: 2.01				
Diff. With Afrik. Accent lecturers	40	15	10	10	15	30	25	15	15	15	Statement not included at exit level				
	mean: 3.05; sd: 2.52					mean: 2.60; sd: 1.47									
Improved use of Afrik. Informally	Statement not included at entry level					5	35	15	20	25	10	45	0	25	15
						mean: 3.25; sd: 1.33					mean: 3.20; sd: 1.91				

Table Seventeen: Comparative Rankings on Uniformity Index from entry to exit level; n=20

Category	Entry level	Second year level	Exit level
A (80-100% agreed/ disagreed with statement)	100% Positive about MT		
	90% Too many English progs on SABC 1 & 2	90% Positive about MT	
	85% i English only MOI at UWC ii MT plus English at school	85% No good job without good English	85% i English only MOI at UWC ii Too many Eng progs on SABC 1 & 2 iii MT plus Eng at school
	80% One common lg in SA - English	80% i English only MOI at UWC ii Too many Eng progs on SABC 1 & 2	
B (70-79% agreed or disagreed with statement)	75% No good job without good English	75% i MT plus English at school ii not positive other BSALs (disagreed)	75% i No good job without good English ii Positive about MT iii Not enough TV in MT
	70% i Not enough TV in MT ii Anti urban varieties of MT on TV	70% i Afrikaans dropped as MOI at univ ii One common lg - Eng iii MT helpful iv Not enough TV in MT v Pref using MT in tuts (disagree)	70% i Pref using MT in tuts (disagreed) ii MT support for all ss (disagreed) iii One common lg - Eng iv Diff studying through Eng (disagreed)
C (60-69% agreed or disagreed with statement)	65% Pref using MT in tuts (disagreed)	65% i MT only at school (disagreed) ii Anti urban varieties iii English forced on me iv MT support for all students (disagreed) v Improved use of other BSALs vi Not positive Afrikaans	65% i not positive other BSALs (disagreed) ii Improved other BSALs infor. iii Anti urban varieties iv Standardize Nguni (disagreed) v enough good books in MT (disagreed) vi, Afrik. dropped as MOI at univ.
	60% i English forced on me ii MT in tuts helpful iii Afrikaans dropped as MOI at univ		

<p>Table seventeen ctd. D (50-59% agreed or disagreed with statement)</p>	<p>55% i Standardize Nguni ii not positive about other BSALs (disagreed)</p>	<p>55% i Diff studying through English ii Improved Afrik. infor. iii Afrik. continue to develop</p>	<p>55% i English forced on me ii. 11 off. lgs not useful and pract. (55% disagreed; 25% agreed) iii MT in tuts helpful (55%disagreed; 35% agreed) iv. MT being neglected (55% disagreed; 30% agreed) v. Improved Afrikaans informally (55% agreed; 40% disagreed) vi. Not positive about Afrikaans (55% agreed; 25% disagreed)</p>
<p>Table seventeen ctd.</p>	<p>50% i MT only at school (50/50 split) ii. 11 off. lgs not useful (50/40 split) iii. MT support for all students (50% disagreed; 35% agreed)</p>	<p>50% i Standardize Nguni (50% disagreed; 30% agreed) ii Standardize Sotho-Tswana (50% disagreed; 20% agreed)</p>	<p>50% i MT only MOI at school (50% disagreed; 35% agreed) ii Standardize Sotho-Tswana (50% disagreed; 30% agreed)</p>

Table seventeen ctd. E (49% and below agreed or disagreed with statement)	45% i Not positive Afrikaans ii Learn dominant regional Af lg (disagreed) iii Improved other BSALs inf.	45% i Enough good books in MT (45% disagreed; 40% agreed) ii 11 Official lgs not useful (45% disagreed; 40% agreed) iii. Learn dominant regional Af lgs	
	40% i Enough good books in MT (30% disagreed) ii MT being neglected (30% disagree) iii. Standardize Sotho- Tswana (disagreed) iv. Diff studying through English (40% disagreed, 30% agree)	40% MT being neglected (40-40 split)	40% Learn dominant regional African lg (40% disagreed; 30% agreed)
			35% Afrikaans will continue to develop and prosper
	25% Afrikaans will continue to develop and prosper		

Uncertainty Index – Comparative Ranking

Category (Uncertainty)	Entry level	Second year level	Exit level
35-55% not sure	55% Afrikaans continue to develop 40% Improved use of other BSALs 35% Learn dominant regional Af lg Not positive other BSALs	30% Standardize Sotho-Tswana	35% Afrikaans continue to develop 30% Learn dominant regional Af lg
20-30% not sure	30% Diff studying through Eng Enough good books in MT MT being neglected Not positive about Afrikaans 25% Standardize Sotho-Tswana	25% Learn dominant regional Af lg Afrikaans continue to develop 20% MT being neglected Standardize Nguni MT in tuts helpful	25% Not positive other BSALs 20% Enough good books in MT 11 Official lgs not useful Standardize Sotho-Tswana Not positive about Afrikaans Afrikaans dropped as MOI at univ
10-15% not sure	15% MT support for all ss 10% Eng only MOI at univ Eng forced on me Standardize Nguni 11 Official lgs not useful Afrikaans dropped as MOI at univ	15% Too many Eng progs on TV Eng forced on me One common lg - Eng Enough good books in MT Anti urban varieties Improved use of Afrik. 10% MT only MOI at school 11 Official lgs not useful MT support for all ss Not positive about Afrik Afrik. dropped as MOI at univ	15% MT being neglected MT only MOI at school MT support for all ss 10% Too many Eng progs on TV No good job without good Eng Eng forced on me Standardize Nguni MT in tuts helpful

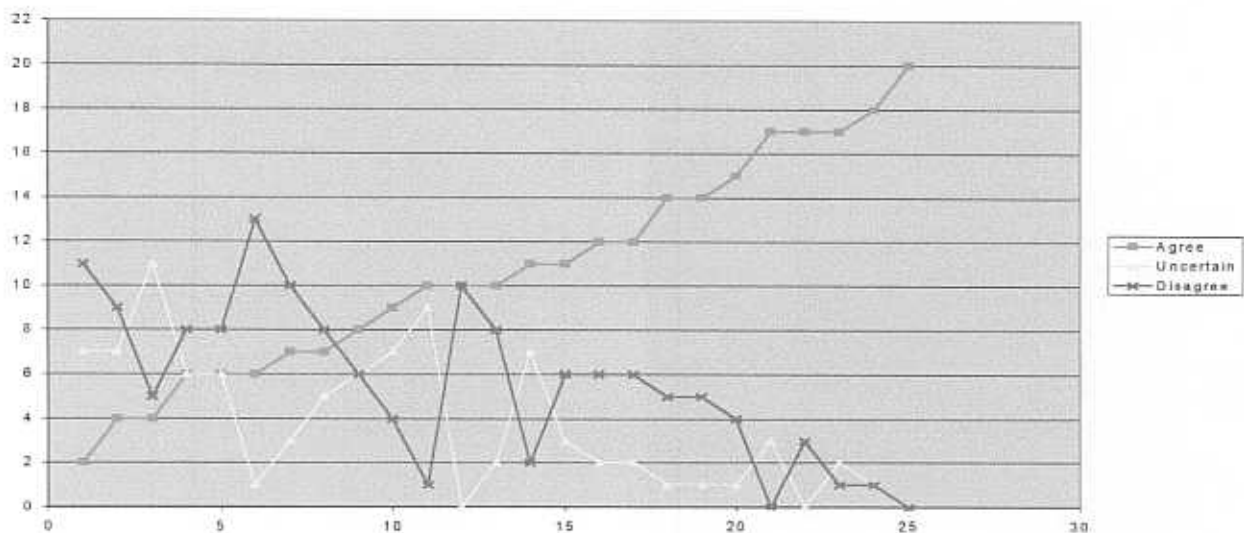
<p>Uncertainty index ctd. 0-5% not sure</p>	<p>5% One common lg - Eng Too many Eng progs on TV No good job without good Eng Not enough TV in MT Pref using MT in tuts Anti urban varieties 0% MT used with Eng at school Positive about MT MT only MOI at school MT in tuts helpful</p>	<p>5% MT plus Eng at school Eng only MOI at univ Diff studying through Eng Positive about MT Not enough TV in MT Pref using MT in tuts Not positive other BSALs Improved use of other BSALs 0% No good job without good Eng</p>	<p>5% MT plus Eng at school One common lg - Eng Eng only MOI at univ Pref using MT in tuts 0% Diff studying through Eng Positive about MT Not enough TV in MT Anti urban varieties Improved use of other BSALs Improved use of Afrik.</p>
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Scattergrams showing raw scores for each level

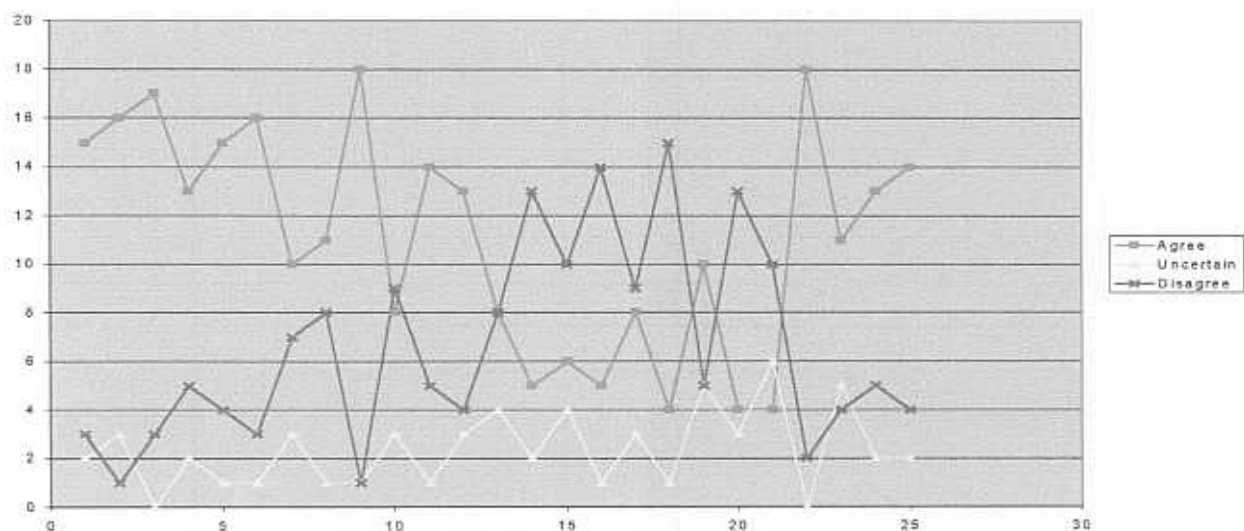
See attached page.

SCATTERGRAMS showing range of scores

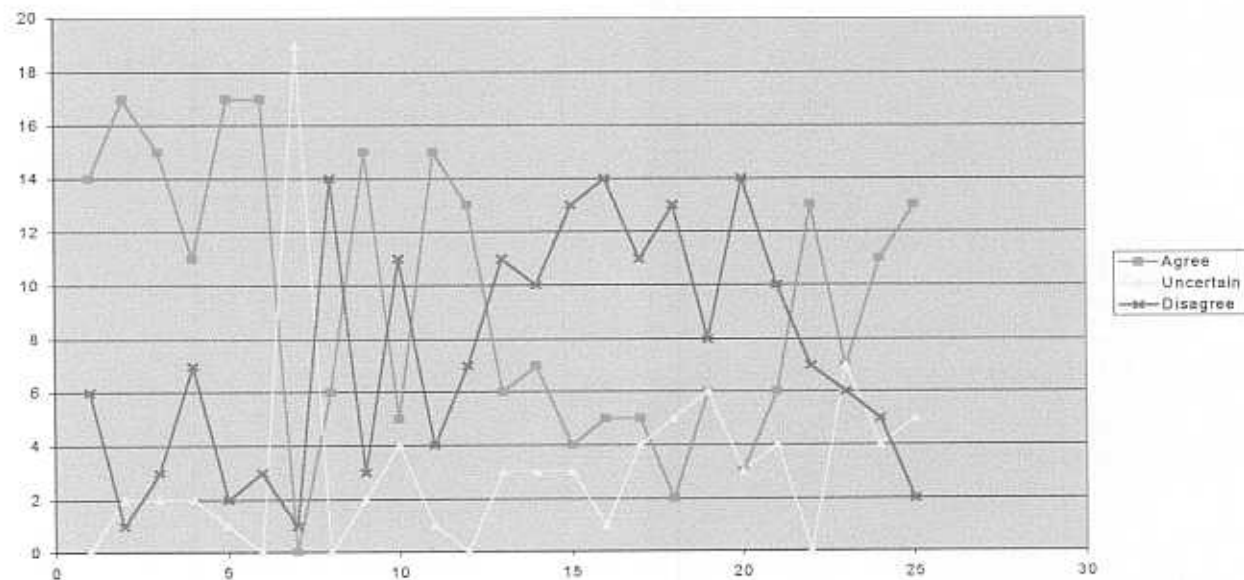
ENTRY LEVEL



SECOND YEAR LEVEL



EXIT LEVEL



Summary

This thesis is a study of patterns of language attitudes and language use among Xhosa home language speakers at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. Speakers of Xhosa form the largest speech community at the university, and the second largest speech community in South Africa, second only to speakers of Zulu. The analysis of the respondents' patterns of language use provides the background to the core of the study - their attitudes to the eleven official languages in South Africa: English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, Zulu, South Sotho, Pedi (North Sotho), Tswana, Swati, Venda and Ndebele.

Although some of the language use patterns reported in the study served as good predictors of what the patterns of language attitudes were likely to be, they also offered further evidence of contradictions between language use and attitudes. The hierarchy in the respondents' ranking of attitudes, as revealed by the larger entry level group and the smaller longitudinal group, clearly reveals which language issues were important to these respondents, and these issues tend to conflict with or offer only limited support for what is important to particular academics and language activists seeking to promote multilingualism in South Africa.

In particular, the study offers further proof of the dominant role of English at national level as well as in the lives of the respondents. It also reveals respondents' loyalty towards Xhosa as the bearer of their culture and traditions, despite their scepticism about its value in higher education. The comparative ranking of the attitudes shows that many of the issues relating to other BSALs and Afrikaans were of minor importance to these respondents.