UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

LANGUAGE VARIATION IN THE TRANSKEIAN XHOSA SPEECH COMMUNITY AND ITS IMPACT ON CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE MASTER OF EDUCATION DEGREE

BY

VUYOKAZI SYLVIA NOMLOMO

SUPERVISOR : MR J. ESTERHUYSE

CO-SUPERVISOR: DR D.S. GXILISHE

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DECLARATION

I, Vuyokazi Sylvia Nomlomo declare that LANGUAGE VARIATION IN THE TRANSKEI XHOSA SPEECH COMMUNITY AND ITS IMPACT ON CHILDREN'S EDUCATION is my own work and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

signature removed

V S NOMLOMO

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CHAPTER ONE

LANGUAGE VARIATION IN THE TRANSKEIAN XHOSA SPEECH COMMUNITY

1. INTRODUCTION

It is a common phenomenon that in all human speech communities individuals differ from one another in the way they speak. Some of those differences are associated with particular groups of people, sex, developmental level and others are associated with social prestige, wealth and power (Newmeyer, 1988:37)

In human societies there is always social inequality and this leads to social stratification. Regarding the speech of the different social groups, it is believed that the speech patterns of the dominant social groups are always regarded as the norm for the whole society. In other words, they are standardized and form part of written documents, law, education and the media (Montgomery, 1989:64). This implies that the attainment of the standard variety brings numerous socio-economic advantages to its speakers. It gives better chances for upward social mobility and economic success (Appel and Muysken, 1987:32).

On the other hand, lack of knowledge of the standard variety may block access to other resources such as education, jobs, wealth, political positions (O'Barr and O'Barr, 1972:293). The non-standard varieties are stigmatized and are given secondary status. In the education context, the non-standardized varieties impose disadvantages on their speakers who have relatively less power, rights and privileges than the speakers of the dominant varieties (Tollefson, 1991:6).

As the standard variety is perceived as a ladder for upward social mobility, economic success and academic achievement, the speakers of the non-standardized variety tend to shift towards the highest status variant.

This study investigates language variation in the Transkei Xhosa speech community, focusing on the different dialects spoken in this geographical area and their impact on the education of children. As the study focuses on children's education, it is hypothesized that there is a possible correlation between the dialect spoken and the student's academic achievement and life's chances. It is the sociolinguistic view-point that there exists an intimate relationship between the relative status of a speaker's language and his socio-political status (Hudson, 1980; Fishman, 1968).

The Transkeian Xhosa speech community comprises various tribes with different speech patterns (i.e. Gcaleka, Bomvana, Tembu, Cele, Ntlangwini, Baca, Hlubi, Mpondo, Xesibe). In the educational context some of these speech forms are labelled as dialectal or as deviations from the norm and therefore stigmatised. This implies that children enter the school setting as winners or losers depending on the dialect or variant they speak.

1.1 LANGUAGE AND DIALECT

In discussing differences between language and dialect, Chambers and Trudgill (1980:3) define language as a collection of mutually intelligible dialects. Peter (1957:36) in Msimang (1989:4) defines language as:

> "a system of arbitrary vocal symbols by means of which human beings communicate with one another".

Appel and Muysken (1987:11) point out that language is not only an instrument for communication of messages, but it is a means of identifying or distinguishing groups from others. This view is echoed by Myers-Scotton (1992:3) that language is used to announce the desire of one group of people to distinguish itself from other groups.

According to the Reader's Digest Universal Dictionary (1987:864) language is the aspect of human behaviour that involves the use of vocal sounds in meaningful patterns, and written symbols to communicate thoughts and feelings.

Language is one of the indispensable features of the cultural systems of all societies needed for human interaction (Herbert, 1992:1).

There seems to be a general agreement on the above definitions as it is stated that language is not the only means of communication, but also of maintaining mutual relations (Pride and Holmes; 1972:99; Trudgill, 1974:13; HSRC: Main Committee, 1985:34).

Downes (1984:28) shares the same view with the NECC Report (1992:x) that language is a cluster of related dialects. I feel that all the above definitions have to be accepted in the case of Xhosa. Xhosa as a language comprises different dialects, serves as a means of communication and is also part of culture of the Xhosa people.

The people speaking a language should understand each other. If they do not understand each other, then they are said to speak different languages (Crystal, 1985:92; Petyt, 1980:13). This statement is inappropriate in the case of Xhosa and Zulu whose speakers can understand each other although they speak different languages. It is applicable in other languages such as English, Afrikaans, Sotho, etc.

Hudson (1980:30) mentions that a language is greater than a dialect and is more prestigious than a dialect. According to Fishman (1972:17); Pride and Holmes (1972:99) language is a superordinate term. Pride and Holmes (1972:99) explain further that language, as a superordinate term can be used without reference to dialects, but dialects are meaningless unless it is implied that there are other dialects and a language to which they belong.

The term 'dialect' is defined as a sub-standard, low status form of language associated with peasantry, the working class, other groups lacking prestige (Chambers & Trudgill 1980:3). According to Fishman (1972:17) a dialect is a regional subunit in relation to a language and is a subordinate designation.

Myers-Scotton (1992:4) and Crystal (1985:92) mention inferiority as far as dialects are concerned. They define dialects as subdivisions of languages.

According to Wardhaugh (1989:25) and Edwards (1976:36) dialects are languages that are excluded from polite society. They are languages that have not developed to standard languages.

Dialect indicates the local form of language. In Bantu it is applicable to the language of a tribe and more particularly of a clan of a tribe (Doke, 1954:21). Mashamaite (1992:50), Richards et al. (1985:50) and Edwards (1970:39) perceive dialects as varieties which differ from other varieties in grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation.

According to Stubbs (1976) and Wilkins (1972:133) dialects refer to the product of the individual's geographical and class origin.

Petyt (1980:11) defines dialects as:

> forms of speech with no corresponding written form, or those used by uneducated people.

In view of the above definitions of language and dialect, a clear distinction between the two concepts can be established. Firstly, the difference between language and dialect is based on size and prestige. The language is said to be greater than a dialect and has prestige which a dialect lacks (Hudson, 1980:30). In other words, the distinction between dialect and language is a quantitative one. The language has more speakers than a dialect because a number of dialects constitute a language.

Secondly, there seems to exist a significant relationship between language and dialect. One is `part of' or a `version of' the other (Edwards, 1976:39). There is a strong feeling of linguistic inferiority as far as the dialects are concerned. Language is referred to as a superordinate term and can be used without dialects, but dialects are meaningless unless they are associated with language (cf. Pride and Holmes, 1972: 99). In the Xhosa context, for example, the dialects Mpondo, Hlubi, Xesibe, etc. are associated with the Xhosa language, but Xhosa as a language can be used without reference to its dialects.

One criterion which draws a clear distinction between language and dialect is that of mutual intelligibility i.e. speakers are said to be using different dialects if they can understand each other in spite of some differences in their speech. If two speakers cannot understand each other, then they are speaking different languages (cf. Petyt, 1980:13).

The other criterion is based on the existence of a standard language or a written form shared by the speakers. Petyt (1980:14) points out that if two or more groups who differ in speech regard the same form of speech as standard, or if they share a common written form, they are regarded as speaking different dialects rather than different languages.

In support of the above, the standardized Xhosa form is shared by different dialect speakers (Hlubi, Mpondo , Baca, Xesibe, Ntlangwini, Cele, Bomvana, Thembu, Mpondomise). Xhosa, as a language occurs in written form and some of its dialects have no written code.

The Xhosa dialects mentioned above correspond with the different tribes in Transkei, and they are spoken in different geographical areas of this country. This is supported by the view that dialects refer to the language of a tribe in the Bantu context (Doke:(1954), and that dialects are varieties used in certain geographical regions [Stubbs (1976) and Wilkins (1972)].

Petyt (1980:16) claims that political and cultural considerations can lead to speakers being regarded as of different languages although they can understand each other, e.g. speakers of Zulu and Xhosa. The speakers of these languages have different cultural heritage and they feel that they speak different languages. These languages belong to the Nguni group of Bantu languages (Lanham & Prinsloo, 1978:33).

Although the term `dialect' has been fully defined in 1.1 above, the term `VARIANT' is preferred and will be used throughout the thesis. According to the Reader's Digest Universal Dictionary (1987:1659) the term `VARIANT' refers to the deviation from the standard or norm. The term is preferred as it does not carry the same negative connotation which the word "dialect" acquired. This implies that the various speech patterns of the various Transkeian tribes will be dealt with in relation to the standard variant or norm.

1.1.2 LANGUAGE VARIATION

- DEFINITION

Language variation refers to the different ways of speaking and writing a particular language which may be differences in phonology, syntax or lexicon of the language (Reagan, 1992:39). According to Richards, Platt and Weber (1985:305) variation in language may be related to region, social class, educational background or to the degree of formality of a situation in which the language is used. These differences usually go hand in hand with differing degrees of access to material resources, knowledge and power (Montgomery, 1986:62). The concept of language variation will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 3.

1.1.3 AFRICAN HOME LANGUAGES OF SOUTH AFRICA

Lanham and Prinsloo (1978:16) mention seven Bantu languages which are recognised in government, law and education, namely: Xhosa, Zulu, Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho, Tswana, Tsonga and Venda. These languages are fully standardized and a number of school textbooks have been produced in all these languages (Lanham & Prinsloo, 1978:16).

Zulu and Xhosa have the most speakers [Beukes (1991)]. Beukes (1991:26) states that the Zulu speakers constitute 21,6% of the Southern African population and Xhosa speakers form about 17,4% of the total population.

According to Lanham and Prinsloo (1978:17) multilingualism is very common among black South Africans. It occurs in industrial cities and border areas such as the western Transkei, where Xhosa and Zulu overlap, and Eastern Transvaal where Tsonga, Pedi and Zulu overlap.

It is generally accepted that the Zulu language has been extensively influenced by English. Consequently, it has become somewhat of a "lingua franca" which has spread from the cities to non-Zulu tribal areas as a result of migrant labour (Lanham & Prinsloo, 1978:33). Lanham and Prinsloo (1978:33) also point out that there is very little dialectal variation in Zulu.

Written Xhosa is based mainly on the dialects of the Gcaleka and Ngqika tribes. In other words, the language of these tribes is the standardized form of all the Xhosa-speaking people. Within the Xhosa language a number of dialects can be distinguished, and the differences between these have been well defined (Lanham & Prinsloo, 1978:33).

Northern Sotho is spoken in the Lebowa homeland and in the northern and eastern districts of the Transvaal. According to Lanham and Prinsloo (1978:34) the Pedi dialect is regarded as the standard for written language, but standardization has not been completed. A standard orthography is used in this language, but the grammar and lexicon of written Northern Sotho has some dialectal variations (Lanham & Prinsloo, 1978:34).

Southern Sotho is spoken in Qwaqwa, in the Orange Free State, Southern Transvaal and other districts of Natal and Transkei. For example, in the Transkei, Sotho-speakers are found in Herschel, Matatiele, Mt Fletcher, etc.

Lanham and Prinsloo (1978:34) also mention Tswana which is spoken in Bophuthatswana, western Transvaal, north-eastern Province and the parts of the Orange Free State. This language has a variety of dialects and the written language is not fully standardized.

The Venda speakers are found in the Venda homeland and the neighbouring districts of the Northern Transvaal. It is a well-standardized language with few regional variants (Lanham & Prinsloo, 1978:34).

Tsonga is spoken in the Gazankulu homeland and in the districts of Northern and Eastern Transvaal. It is well-standardized with dialectal variations and it is also related to a number of dialects spoken in the neighbouring state of Mozambique.

Beukes (1991:26) mentions three other African languages, namely, Swazi, Southern Ndebele and Northern Ndebele. According to Lanham and Prinsloo (1978:34) these languages are not prominent in education and the Swazi speakers in South Africa tend to adopt Zulu as an education medium.

From the above discussion it is concluded that most of the African languages are standardised and have written forms which are used in the education systems of these homelands. Although they are standardised to an extent, they have some dialectal variations which lead to differences within the same language. Languages which are not fully standardized include Tswana, Swazi, Southern and Northern Ndebele. Consequently, they are not prominently used in education.

1.2 AIM OF THE STUDY

The primary objectives of the study are:

1) to give a historical overview of the variants spoken in Transkei.

2) to establish the social statuses of the various variants in order to investigate the possible correlation between the status of the variant and the status of its speakers.

3) to investigate the attitudes of educators and officialdom to different variants in order to establish the possible pattern of reification and stigmatization.

4) to demonstrate that linguistic inequality is deeply entrenched in the educational system and that the very system is responsible for the perpetuation of this kind of discrimination.

5) to suggest ways and means of addressing the problem on a broad front. This will entail a survey of educational programmes in other languages where attempts have been made to handle language variation in schools in an educationally responsible way.

6) to create an awareness that variation is a natural phenomenon in all languages and that the language of all children should be accommodated in the classroom.

1.2.2 METHODOLOGY

My main approach to the research design has been an ethnographic one. I visited some schools located in the various dialect speaking areas of Transkei. Some elderly people who could speak the dialects were also approached to participate in the survey. It was believed that their contribution would give a clear picture of the dialects in their original forms.

Students taking Xhosa as a subject in school have been involved in the study together with their teachers. In order to establish means to solve the problem under scrutiny, the Xhosa subject advisor, teacher, lecturers and other informed people in the teaching of Xhosa as a first language have been approached for their views on these issues.

My research methodology has included the structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. All the information gathered in this study has been recorded and the cassettes are safely kept for reference. All the procedures, subjects and instruments involved in this study are dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 4.

1.2.3 SURVEY OF LITERATURE

Chambers and Trudgill (1980:15) mention that dialect-study began in the latter half of the nineteenth century, although such studies were on Indo-European languages.

At this juncture I deem it necessary to give a brief description of surveys conducted on African languages in general. It is strongly felt that such survey will shed light on what aspects of language variation in the South African context have been dealt with, as well as what aspects still need to be researched.

According to Msimang (1989:21) the pioneering work on the Nguni languages is the doctoral thesis of Lanham (1960) where he compares the phonology of the four Nguni languages, namely, Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele and Swati.

Mzamane (1962) is also mentioned for his doctoral work on the Southern Nguni dialects, namely: Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo, Mpondomise, Hlubi, Baca and Nhlangwini (Msimang, 1989:21).

Msimang (1989:22) mentions Edgar Posselt (1975) who deals with Zunda and the Tekela dialects in his Masters' dissertation.

This study concentrates on one aspect of Nguni phonology, namely: the identification of Nguni phonemes which are reflexes of Ur-Bantu. Posselt (1975) deals with the Zunda dialects, namely: Zulu, Xhosa, Zimbabwe-Ndebele, Southern Transvaal Ndebele and Mpondo and the Tekela dialects: Swati, Bhaca, Lala, Phuti, and Sumayela Ndebele. There is a good balance between Zunda and Tekela in this study (Msimang, 1989:22).

Other sources mentioned by Msimang (1989:22-23) include Tucker (1949); Ziervogel et al (1967), Rycroft (1972) and Louw (1979).

According to Msimang (1989:23) all the above sources use Zunda-Nguni as a point of departure.

Recent studies on Nguni languages include Msimang's doctoral thesis (1989) and Thipa's (1989) doctoral thesis.

Msimang's (1989) study concentrates on the phonological aspects of Tekela-Nguni dialects, namely: Swati, Bhaca, Lala, Nhlangwini, Phuti and Sumayela Ndebele. He has given a historical overview of the Tekela peoples in one of the chapters. A comparative analysis of the phonemes and tone is the focus of this study.

In his thesis, Thipa (1989) examines the concept of language variation, focusing on the differences between rural and urban Xhosa varieties. His study is sociolinguistic, and it deals with such aspects as language variety, culture, speech community lexical borrowing, terminology and language standardization, with less emphasis on grammar.

Zungu (1989) based her Masters' study on the Nhlangwini dialect. In this study she gave a historical background of the Nhlangwini group. Much emphasis is on the phonological differences between Standard Zulu and Nhlangwini. She has also discussed a few differences in the field of lexicon and semantics.

Judging from the various studies above, it can be concluded that few studies have been conducted on African dialects. Further research in the area of language variation is required in order to preserve what we can of these dialects as they are gradually dying out or undergoing changes due to effects of education, radio and television (Msimang (1989:28).

1.2.4 THE RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

As this study focuses on the possible correlation between the variants spoken by the students and their education, the findings should be of value to educational planners and curriculum developers as it should inform them about the linguistic disadvantages built into the educational system. Hopefully, the study will lay down some guidelines in the handling of language variation with special reference to the Transkeian Xhosa speech community.

1.2.5 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

This study covers five chapters, titled as follows:

CHAPTER 1 : LANGUAGE VARIATION IN THE TRANSKEIAN XHOSA SPEECH COMMUNITY

In this chapter an attempt is made to give a brief overview of language in the Transkeian Xhosa speech community. The aims of the study are stated. This chapter concentrates on Xhosa and its variants. An overview of other studies on these variants is given.

CHAPTER 2 : VARIABILITY, LANGUAGE CONTACT AND CHANGE

This chapter concentrates on variability, contact and change within the Xhosa language. It also gives a brief description of the Xhosa variants with special reference to their phonetic structure, phonology and lexicon. All these aspects are dealt with in relation to the standardised version of Xhosa.

CHAPTER 3 : STANDARDIZATION AND VARIATION

In this chapter the processes of standardization and variation are discussed within the Xhosa context. The process of standardization is described and the effects of standardization and variation on the education of children are being examined.

CHAPTER 4 : A SURVEY OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN THE BROAD EDUCATIONAL FIELD

Firstly, the research methods employed in the collection of data are described. Secondly, the data is analyzed and interpreted.

CHAPTER 5 : CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter will form my conclusion and will summarise the main findings of my research and will also present some general comments and recommendations.

1.3 A DESCRIPTION OF THE NGUNI LANGUAGES

1.3.1 XHOSA, ZULU, SWAZI, NDEBELE

According to Msimang (1989:17) the term `Nguni' is used linguistically to refer to Bantu languages, namely: Xhosa, Zulu, Swazi and related dialects. Ziervogel et.al. (1976:1) classifies the Nguni group into two subdivisions, the Zunda and Tekela subgroups. He states that the difference between the two subgroups (Zunda and Tekela) rests on the use of /z/ sound by Zunda and the /t/ sound in Tekela e.g.

ZUNDA		TEKELA
imbuzi (goats)	→	timbuti
umfazi (married woman)	→	ufati

(Ziervogel, 1976:1)

The Zunda group is formed of Xhosa and Zulu languages as the two largest written languages and the third written language is Rhodesian Ndebele (Ziervogel, et.al. 1976:1). It is mentioned that the Tekela group includes Swazi, Northern Transvaal Ndebele and Bhaca in Transkei, and none of these languages has been developed as a written language (Ziervogel, et al. 1976:1).

Maake (1991:55) states that the number of mother-tongue speakers of the Zulu and Xhosa languages is estimated at 6.4 and 6.2 million respectively. The Swazi and Ndebele mother-tongue speakers are estimated at 840 000 and 440 000 (Maake, 1991:55). The Swazi speakers of South Africa tend to adopt Zulu as an educational medium (Lanham & Prinsloo, 1978:34).

1.3.2 **ZULU, XHOSA AND TEKELA**

It has been mentioned in 1.3.1 above that Zulu and Xhosa belong to the Zunda subgroup of the Nguni group.

According to Ziervogel, Louw and Taljaard (1976:1) Zulu is the written language of Northern Nguni and is spoken by the tribes of Zululand and Natal, the eastern Orange Free State, the southern Transvaal as well as the Swazi tribes of the Transvaal and Swaziland.

1.3.2.1 XHOSA

Xhosa is the written language of the southern Nguni tribes i.e. the tribes of Transkei, Ciskei and the Eastern Province. According to Lanham and Prinsloo (1978:33) written Xhosa is based mainly on the dialects of the Gcaleka and Ngqika tribes and is well standardised. Louw (1963:ix) states that the dialects of the strongest tribes were chosen for standardisation. Louw's (1963:ix) idea is in line with Van Wyk's (1992:28) statement that the language varieties of politically dominant groups acquire standard status.

The Xhosa language is characterised by a number of dialects and the differences between them can be quite marked (Lanham and Prinsloo, 1978:33). These include the Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondomise, which, according to Louw (1963) and Pahl (1983) do not differ very much from the standardised version; and the Mpondo, Hlubi, Xesibe, Ntlangwini, Cele, and Bhaca dialects which reflect wide deviations.

According to Mbadi et. al. (1978:8) the close relationship between Xhosa, Bomvana, Thembu and Mpondomise dialects occurred as a consequence of intermarriages between these tribes. For example, it is mentioned that Myeki's daughter (the Mpondomise chief) married chief Mtirara, the Paramount chief of the Thembu tribe (Mbadi, 1978:9). It is alleged that the bride from the Royal family had to be accompanied by a group of people who had to be given permanent places of residence in the groom's area. It is my opinion that this could be one of the factors which promoted language contact between these groups.

According to Msimang (1989:291) the Tekela group consists of Swati, Baca, Phuti, Northern Transvaal Ndebele and Lala. He mentions that the Tekela groups are classified according to region. For example, Lala and Ntlangwini are classified as Zulus, the Phuti either as Xhosa or Sotho, depending on whether they are in Transkei and Lesotho (Msimang:1989:291).

1.3.2.2 GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

Xhosa is spoken in the Transkei and Ciskei homelands and in the districts of the Eastern province (Lanham & Prinsloo, 1978:33).

The Transkei Xhosa speech community has a number of dialects which are spoken in the different areas of this country. The geographical distribution of the various dialects in Transkei has some historical implications. For instance, Pereis (1981:51) states that the Gcaleka tribe was expelled across the Jujura river in Willowvale (Transkei) as a result of a conflict between Ndlambe and Ngqika. According to Mertens and Broster (1973:3) the Gcaleka people are regarded as the "true Xhosas" and are reputed to speak the `purest' language. They state that Gcalekaland stretches between the Great Kei and Bashee rivers and the Gcaleka people occupy the district of Centane and Willowvale (Mertens & Broster, 1973:3).

The Bomvana dialect is spoken by the people of Elliotdale and Mqanduli districts. Jordan (1942:1) claims that the Baca dialect is spoken chiefly in Mt Frere and Umzimkhulu districts and Mt Ayliff is predominantly Xesibe-speaking. The Mpondomise-speakers are settled in the districts of Qumbu and Tsolo and the Thembu occupy the districts of Engcobo, Umtata, Mqanduli (Mertens & Broster, 1973:7-17). According to Pahl (1983:268) the Cele speakers migrated from Harding and Natal and they were given land in Lusikisiki by Paramount chief Sigcawu.

1.3.2.3 DIALECTS AND LANGUAGE CONTACT

According to Richards, Platt and Weber (1985:156) language contact refers to contact between different languages and one of the languages is influenced by the contact. They maintain that language contact often takes place when there is a high degree of communication between the people speaking them. Appel and Muysken (1987:1) point out that language contact leads to bilingualism.

In the South African context bilingualism is due to contact with the two official languages, English and Afrikaans (Schuring, 1992:2). Migration and urbanisation are directly responsible for bringing languages into contact with one another (Calteaux:1992, Malepe, 1966).

With regard to the Xhosa language, people acquire a knowledge of one or more of the Bantu languages in the industrialised cities like Pretoria and Johannesburg. Lanham & Prinsloo (1978:36) say that Johannesburg, as a centre of mining industry, draws together all the linguistic communities and the languages of the people come into contact with a variety of foreign and Indian languages.

According to Msimang (1989:84) the Bhaca dialect has been influenced by Xhosa as part of Bhacaland has been incorporated into the Transkei where Xhosa is the official language. Msimang (198:4) also states that the Nhlangwini dialect has clicks and it is believed that the land they occupy at present was initially inhabited by the Khoisan. He mentions the followirg Nhlangwini words with clicks:

/c/ - isicamba (ruch mat)

/qh/ - umqhathulo (rough mealie-meal)

(Msimang, 1989:84).

Louw (1963:ix) also witnesses that Xhosa has exercised a lot of influence on some dialects, thus:

> "Ntlangwini is 'n tekela-dialek.
> Bhaca is ook 'n tekela-dialek
> wat sterk deur Xhosa beinvloed is".

Languages also borrow lexical items to replace native lexemes in their basic vocabulary or syntactic structures (Myers-Scotton, 1992:8). The following example illustrates lexical borrowing in Xhosa.

> "Loo mbutho ubambe IRHALI kwiholo yoluntu."
> "That organisation is holding a rally at the community hall"
>
> (Thipa, 1992:82)

According to Thipa (1992:85) a rally is a special type of meeting, usually a political one. It is a concept which is alien to Xhosa culture and there is no suitable substitute for it, and, as a consequence is borrowed as it is.

The above discussion reflects the two sub-groups of the Nguni group, viz: Zunda and Tekela. A brief outline of the dialect clusters of these groups has been given, and since the study focuses on variation within the Xhosa language, more emphasis has been put on Xhosa with regard to its dialects and their geographical distribution. A brief description of the Xhosa dialects will be dealt with in the next chapter.

1.4 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN XHOSA DIALECTS

Reagan (1992:39) states that the differences from one speaker of a language to another may be in the area of phonology, syntax or lexicon. Kashoki (1972) quoted in Thipa (1992:80) adds to Reagan's (1992) statement that the differences may also be in the way people carry melody over phrases i.e. intonation. Shopen (1979:319) also mentions morphological dialect variations.

Concerning the Xhosa dialects, differences may be observed in their phonetic system, phonology, intonation and lexicon. Some studies have been conducted in phonological and morphological differences between some of the Xhosa dialects (Mbadi: 1956; Jordan: 1942).

1.4.1 PHONETIC DIFFERENCES

The Xhosa dialects have the same vowel system as standard Xhosa except the Baca which has the nasalised mid-vowel [ɐ̃] and the nasalised high-forward vowel [ĩ] (Jordan, 1942:5). The Xhosa language together with other dialects have seven basic vowels, namely: the basic vowels: [a]; [i] and [u]; secondary vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] and other raised variants [e] and [o] (Msimang 1989:103).

The consonant system of the dialects is very similar to that of Xhosa except for a few sounds which are not found in Xhosa. It includes labials: [p'], [ph], [ɸ], [b], etc. alveolars, prepalatals, velars, glottals and clicks (see Msimang: 1989:103-107). The following sounds occur only in the Baca dialect:

[tɸf] in tshatfu [tshatɸfu] (three)

[dʱβ] in idvolo [idʱβɔlɔ] (knee)

[dʱβ] in indvodza [indʱβɔdza] (man)

(Msimang, 1989:103)

1.4.2 PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

Msimang (1989:15) quotes J.H. Soga (1930) who states that the AmaBhaca and the AmaWushe introduce the sibilant after the letter [t] e.g. ukutsi for ukuthi (to say).

This form of speech is called UKUTHSEFULA (Jordan: 1942; Msimang, 1989). Jordan (1942:3) states that this sound-shifting distinguishes the Baca from all the Nguni dialects spoken in Transkei, except Ntlangwini.

According to Jordan (1956:27) in the Mpondo, Mpondomise and Xesibe dialects the sound [tʃh] is used more extensively than in Xhosa. In these three dialects the sound [tʃh] corresponds to both [tʃh] and [ʃ] as they occur in Xhosa, e.g.

XHOSA		MPONDO/MPONDOMISE/XESIBE
[ʃ] - shiya (leave behind)	-	tshiya [tʃhija]
[ʃ] - shenxa (move away)	-	tshenxa [tʃhɛn//a]
[ʃ] - shumi (ten)	-	tshumi [tʃhumi]

(Jordan, 1956:27)

According to Pahl (1983:266-270) the Baca and Ntlangwini dialects use [t] instead of [z] and this process is known as `UKUTEKEZA'. The Cele dialect-speakers use [tz] in the place of [t] e.g.

XHOSA	BACA
umfazi (married woman	umfati [umfat'i]
inkunzi (a bull)	inkunti [ink'unt'i]

(Pahl: 1973:266)

XHOSA	CELE
umfazi (married woman)	umfatzi
intombazana (a girl)	inombatzana

(Pahl: 1973:270)

The following sounds distinguish the Mpondo and Xesibe dialects from the other dialects. These dialects introduce the sound [r] to [nd], [nt'], [k] and [nk'] sounds, and this is kown as `UKUNDRONDROZA'. Consider the following examples:

XHOSA	MPONDO
[nd] indoda (a man)	indroda
[nt'] intombi (a girl)	intrombi
[ŋk'] inkomo (a cow)	inkromo

(Pahl, 1973:262)

The Hlubi dialect distinguishes itself from the other dialects by /ng'/ in the place of /nd/ e.g.

XHOSA	HLUBI
ndiyahamba	ng' iyahamba (I am going)
ndiyathetha	ng' iyathetha (I am speaking)

(Pahl, 1983:264)

1.4.3 TONAL DIFFERENCES

Variation of tone in Xhosa plays an important part in distinguishing words which are otherwise similar (McLaren, 1987:xii). The high tone is marked by the tone mark (´) and (`) indicates a relatively low tone. The tone mark (^) illustrates a falling tone.

lúma (bite)
ímbêwu (seed)
wená (you) (Msimang, 1989:113)

The following examples indicate the tone in the Cele dialect

	XHOSA	CELE
úmfázì	(a married woman)	úfátzi
phézulù	(above)	étzulú

(Pahl, 1983:267)

1.4.4 LEXICAL DIFFERENCES

The lexical differences refer to the differences in the vocabulary of the dialects. Speakers of different dialects employ different vocabulary in their speech.

WORD	XHOSA	BACA	XESIBE
ukuthetha (to speak)	ukuthetha	ukubhobha	ukuxela
intombazana (a girl)	intombazana	inkatanyana	inkrazanyana

(Pahl, 1983:263-267)

A number of interviews were conducted with the students from various schools in Transkei. The students' sample consisted of students who were speakers of the various dialects from different dialect-speaking areas of this country. One of the aims of the interviews was to find out some differences in lexicon between Xhosa and the various dialects. The following are some of the lexical differences that were cited by the students:

WORD	XHOSA	DIFFERENCE	DIALECT
ukubetha (to (beat)	ukubetha	ukukhwitsha	MPONDO
		ukuksha (uk'uk$\int$a)	BACA
		ukushaya	HLUBI/NTLANGWINI
ngezantsi (below)	ngezantsi	ngedasi	NTLANGWINI
phezulu (above)	phezulu	etulu	BACA/NTLANGWINI
ukunyukela (to move up)	ukunyukela	ukudundubela	BACA/NTLANGWINI
ukuzulazula (to wander)	ukuzulazula	ukutulatula	BACA
ukuhlamba (to wash)	ukuhlamba	ukugeza	NTLANGWINI
ekupheleni (at the end)	ekupheleni	ekugcineni	NTLANGWINI
ukuguqa (to kneel)	ukuguqa	ukuqodzama	HLUBI
ihagu (a pig)	ihagu	tz'ingulube	CELE

1.5 THE XHOSA DIALECTS

1.5.1 AN OVERVIEW OF SOURCES

Since this is a study of language-variation focusing on dialects, I find it necessary to give a brief survey of sources on the Xhosa dialects in particular. It is strongly felt that such a survey is necessary in order to find out some linguistic aspects of the dialects which have been dealt with. This will enable us to see the aspects which still need to be researched.

1.5.2 SOURCES ON XHOSA DIALECTS

1.5.2.1 SOURCES ON BHACA

According to Msimang (1989:25) there are two major linguistic studies that have been undertaken on Bhaca. These studies include Hallowes (1942) and Jordan (1942).

Msimang (1989:25) states that Jordan's work is quite significant in the sense that he actually lived among the Bhaca and was in a position to identify and describe Bhaca with some accuracy.

1.5.2.2 SOURCES ON NTLANGWINI

According to Msimang (1989:26) the Ntlangwini dialect was taken for dead until Mzamane (1962) and Zotwana (1981) conducted studies on this variety. Msimang (1989:27) states that another work by P.J.Zungu for Masters degree will be of benefit as the scholar is a mother-tongue speaker of the Ntlangwini variety. Actually, Zungu's work was completed in 1989. Zungu (1989) deals with phonological differences between Standard Zulu and Nhlangwini. Her study also involves some grammatical aspects of Nhlangwini and differences in lexicon and semantics in relation to the Zulu language.

1.5.2.3 SOURCES ON MPONDOMISE

A comparative study on the Mpondomise dialect was conducted by Mbadi, L.M. for the Honours degree in 1956. In this study he outlines the differences (in phonology and morphology) between Xhosa and Mpondomise (Mbadi, 1956).

I feel that this study was conducted with accuracy as the researcher is a mother-tongue speaker of this dialect and his home is in the district of Qumbu, in Mpondomiseland.

Seemingly, there have been no studies conducted on the other Xhosa dialects, namely: Bomvana, Thembu, Cele, Xesibe, and Hlubi. However, Pahl (1983:257-272) gives a brief description of the Xhosa dialects and Msimang (1989:47-60) gives an historical overview and geographical distribution of the Bhaca, Cele and Nhlangwini tribes as part of his work. His study outlines in details the phonology of these dialects from synchronic and diachronic points of view.

1.6 CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion, it may be deduced that the differences between language and dialect rest on size and prestige. Language variation is related to such factors as geography, social class, education, gender, ethnicity and age. It can also be concluded that variation in South African languages is also due to contact with English and Afrikaans.

It is an indisputable fact that variations within a language tend to influence language change. The following chapter reflects some factors which influence language contact and change.

CHAPTER TWO

VARIABILITY, LANGUAGE CONTACT AND CHANGE

2. INTRODUCTION

Almost all the speech communities experience some variations within their languages. These variations tend to alter these languages to some extent. This chapter is intended to examine such variations and their causes, with special reference to the Xhosa language. The factors influencing language contact and change will be dealt with. The possible correlation between variability, language contact and change will be examined. The second part of this chapter will concentrate on the Xhosa variants, looking at their phonetic, grammatical and lexical differences.

2.1 VARIABILITY

In all human societies individuals differ from one another in the way they speak. The speech of an individual is characterized by variations. Spolsky (1989:41) refers to this as variability. Each language has a number of variables or variations which may be differentiated according to styles or the formality of the situation (Downes, 1984:41). Some of the variables of a language gain prestige and others are condemned or stigmatised (Allen & Linn, 1986:436; Downes, 1984:78). The tendency of speakers is to use the variable which is prestigious more frequently than the condemned one.

Variability, as a process which occurs within variation may be stylistic or social (Coates, 1984: 49). The former refers to the different ways in which individuals speak in different social contexts and the latter includes the speakers' differences according to age, social class, ethnic group, etc. Social variation will be dealt with in great length in Chapter III.

The various language domains of speakers of the same speech community is due to variability. The term `domain' as defined by Hoffman (1991:177) refers to particular kinds of occasions. Regarding language, there are various domains in which it can be used. For example, two languages or variants are not used both in the same circumstances. There are certain areas or situations where a particular language is more likely to be used than another (Appel & Muysken, 1987:28; Hoffman, 1991:178). The most important domains mentioned by Downes (1984:49) and Hoffman (1991:178) include the school, the family, employment, playground and street, government administration, the church, literature, the press, the military, the courts, etc.

The speakers of various languages alter their speech in order to match the formality of the situation (Crowley, 1987:220). In other words, their speech patterns differ according to domains. The formal speech is equated with the standard language and the manner of saying something is regarded as socially important. On the other hand, informal speech occurs in casual, relaxed social settings. For example, the language used in the church, school or in parliamentary gatherings is usually more formal than the one which is used when chatting with friends at home, at disco centres or on the playground.

In the Xhosa context, particularly the Transkeian Xhosa speech community, the question of variability may be correlated with the different variants spoken in this area. Each variant has markers or variables distinguishing it from the norm. For example, the well-known marker of the Mpondo speakers is /ba/ instead of /nga/ and the distinct variable of the Baca speakers is /ths/ instead of /th/. Consider the following examples:

MPONDO		XHOSA
babo (it is they)	——	ngabo
boomama (it is the mothers)	——	ngoomama
babam (they are mine)	——	ngabam

BACA	XHOSA
ndithsi (I say)	ndithi
ndiyathsandza (I like)	ndiyathanda

The above Mpondo and Baca variables are not used in the same domains or situations by their speakers. These variables are more likely to be used by the people who have never been to school than those who have attended or are still attending school. The latter are aware of the stigma conferred to them by these variables and they tend to shift to the norm. Actually, it depends on the nature of the situation or domain. In formal occasions (.e.g at school) the tendency is the frequent use of the norm and the stigmatized variables may be used by the same speakers in informal settings like home, the street, speaking to family members or friends.

As a result of variability, the language may tend to change. Thus Crowley (1987:222) and Downes (1984:78) regard variability as a central process or an indication of language change.

2.2 LANGUAGE CONTACT AND CHANGE

2.2.1 LANGUAGE CONTACT

According to Hoffman (1991:181) language contact is due to the movement of speakers from one speech group to the other. The movement usually involves the convergence of the speakers of a non-prestigious language towards the language of prestige. Convergence may be stimulated by the mere proximity of the two languages (Appel & Muysken, 1987:156).

Downes (1984:29) states that distinct languages may come into contact through immigration, emigration, invasion, conquest or trade. In these movements the diverse languages of the people come into contact, and, as a consequence, creolization (i.e. a gradient mixture of two or more languages) and bilingualism take place.

In addition to the migratory movements mentioned by Downes (1984:29) above, Hoffman (1991:190) mentions industrialization, urbanization and prestige as contributory factors to language contact.

2.2.1.1 MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS (IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION)

People may leave the area where their language is spoken and move to a part where their language does not serve them any longer and they adopt the language of the new area (Hoffman, 1991:189). Conversely, migrants may be attracted to a certain area and bring their language with them. Their language may begin to spread among the local population of the new area. In other words, the language of the immigrants is acquired by the original inhabitants of the area. Crowley (1987:238) and Thompson and Kaufman (1988:38) refer to this situation as the substratum theory.

In the case of Xhosa, it is very common to get people whose accent reveals that they are not the first language speakers of this language although they might have acquired it through education. For example, the tone and accent of a Hlubi-dialect speaker is more like Zulu than Xhosa. History reveals that the Hlubi speakers migrated from Natal, a Zulu area (Saunders, 1976:8; Pahl, 1983:263). It is possible that the original inhabitants of the Hlubi-speaking areas of Transkei like Matatiele, Herschel were influenced by the language of the migrants from Natal and they adopted their language.

When the present researcher was doing field research at Lusikisiki in Transkei, one of the informants told her that she was a Mpondo by birth, but she could speak both Mpondo and Cele variants. This was due to the close proximity between the two variants. The Cele speakers came from Zingolweni near Harding and they settled among the Mpondo in Lusikisiki, and their language had a great influence on the Mpondo speakers. Some of the Mpondo speakers adopted the Cele variant.

The two examples mentioned above illustrate the aspects of bilingualism, language contact and substratum interference which are due to migratory movements.

2.2.1.2 CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Appel and Muysken (1987:154) cite cultural influence in language contact and change. In support of them, Herbert (1992:1) states that language is one of the universal features of culture in all societies. This means that it may represent one of the cultural attributes of a group. As an important part of the cultural pattern, it follows that changes in language may take place in response to cultural changes (Hymes, 1964:458). This implies that when people acquire cultural innovations of any sort, there are additions to their vocabulary. Such linguistic additions consist of borrowed terms often taken from the same sources as the borrowed cultural items.

Focusing on Xhosa, most of the speakers of this language have adopted the western culture as a result of improvernent in education, industrialization, technology, etc. This has been accompanied by a shift from the original cultural words to words associated with the western civilization.

On account of improved health conditions, words like `ISICAKATHI' (a herbal mixture given to a child immediately after birth), `IZIBHEMBE' (food remains of a woman who has just delivered a baby) are not common in our vocabulary. Likewise, due to the introduction of cigarettes to Xhosa people by the western people, the former shifted from their culture of using smoking pipes. As a result, words like `INGCAPHE' (wooden stopper of a smoking pipe), `ISIXHAXHA' (snuff from a smoking pipe) are unknown to our young generation.

In cases where the Xhosa cultural activities have been replaced by modernised forms, the vocabulary is also of modern origin. For example, terms like `IPATI' (a party), `UKUJAYIVA' (to jive), etc. came into existence as a result of the adoption of the western culture by the Xhosa people.

2.2.1.3 INDUSTRIALIZATION

According to Hoffman (1991:189) migratory movements have been triggered by industrialization. People have moved to industrial areas in search of work and language contact took place among the different speech patterns of the people in the industries. For example, Johannesburg, as a centre of industry, draws together all the linguistic communities and the languages of these people come into contact with a variety of foreign and Indian languages (Lanham & Prinsloo, 1978:36).

2.2.1.4 URBANIZATION

Due to improvement in transport and communication systems, large numbers of rural population moved into towns and cities. This has resulted in the dispersal of linguistic communities and increased contact with the high prestige language (Hoffman, 1991:190).

The above statement may be rejected in the case of African languages. The prestige languages are not always spoken in the urban areas, instead the original languages experience distortion due to contact with other languages spoken in the cities. For example, in the gold mines there is great contact between Zulu, Sotho, Xhosa, Tswana, Afrikaans, English, Venda, etc. and for better communication with these various groups, one acquires a mixture of all these languages spoken in the mines.

Thipa (1989:103) cites the following examples which are related to urbanization and western civilization:

1. PIKA ITIM YESOKA EZA KUDLALA KULE LIG.
(Pick a soccer team which is going to play in this league).

Thipa (1989:104) points out that the idea of a soccer league is an urban concept. He states that with the increase in the number of schools, especially secondary schools in rural areas, the use of "soccer league" is becoming common.

2. **ZININZI IINDLELA ZOKUSLIMA : UNGADAYETHA, *U*JIME** OKANYE **UTREYINE**
(There are several ways of slimming : you can go on diet, gym or do physical training) (Thipa, 1989:103).

It is stated that the example about slimming reflects an entirely Western culture which is found more in urban Xhosa communities than in rural ones. In African communities, especially rural ones, excess weight, particularly on the part of women, is usually regarded as a sign of status, prestige and good wealth (Thipa, 1989:104).

Considering the concept of urbanisation, one discovers that it is directly linked to the western civilization, especially in the case of Xhosa. The vocabulary used in towns and cities reflects western culture when compared to the language used in rural areas. In other words, language contact and change are at a higher level in urban areas than in rural areas with regard to the Xhosa language.

2.2.1.5 IMITATION OF THE PRESTIGE LANGUAGE

Language contact rests on prestige. Appel and Muysken (1987:156) mention that language contact and change may be stimulated by the introduction of the new words from a new language and also by the imitation of prestige language patterns. In support of this, Hoffman (1991:190) says that the speakers of a minority language may adopt the high prestige language in order to share power with the speakers of the prestige language or to qualify for upward social mobility. Thompson and Kaufman (1988:44) have this to say about the imitation of prestige patterns:

> Nothing can be borrowed from a language which is not regarded as prestigious by speakers of the borrowing language.

With regard to the comments by Thompson and Kaufman (1988:44), it is apparent that the prestige language which is the norm in most cases, is acquired for social and economic advancement. In the educational context, the children have to acquire the norm for their academic success. The acquisition of the prestige language may come into contact with one's original language or may result in a change in one's original language. Languages which lack prestige cannot serve as points of convergence, instead people move away from them because of their stigmatized forms.

2.2.2 LANGUAGE CHANGE

Constant change in word meaning, in pronunciation and in grammatical structure is the normal condition of every language spoken by a living people (Johnson, 1976:287). According to Hoffman (1991:186) language change deals with the phonetic, lexical, syntactic and stylistic changes continuously taking place within one language system.

Aitchison (1981:68) claims that changes within a language may be conscious or unconscious. Language change occurs consciously when people realize the changes happening and tend to encourage them. The conscious change is always towards a prestige language or away from a stigmatized one. For example, the variant speakers are aware that their languages are stigmatized and they change to the norm which is more prestigious.

The change may occur unconsciously when the people concerned are not aware of the change. Language change occurs randomly and is influenced by such factors as fashion, foreign influence and social needs (Aitchison, 1981:115).

2.2.2.1 **FASHION**

Language change may be due to stylistic changes as sounds shift from their original pronunciation (Aitchison, 1981:15). Stylistic changes usually affect the vocabulary and are very common among the youngsters. The following examples are stylistic words which are widely used by the youngsters in the Xhosa language:

STYLE		XHOSA
iwey	—	into (something)
ukuferstana (verstaan)	—	ukuqonda (to understand)
isicwezi	—	ihomba (neat person)
ukusiqwela	—	ukubaleka (to run)
Ukuchamta	—	ukuthetha (to speak)

2.2.2.2 FOREIGN INFLUENCE

According to the substratum theory mentioned in 2.2.1.1 above, when immigrants come to a new area the original inhabitants of the area learn the language of the newly arrived conquerors (Crowley, 1987:238; Hoffman, 1991:189: Thompson & Kaufman, 1988:38). Aitchison (1981:116) states that the learners of the newly adopted language may learn the language imperfectly and these slight imperfections may be handed on to children and to other people in the society. Eventually these imperfections may alter the language.

Changes also occur when different languages come into contact. This often happens along national borders and people of such regions are usually bilingual (Aitchison, 1981:118). For example, the Ntlangwini of Umzimkhulu (in Transkei) occupy the border between Natal and Transkei. As a result of the settlement of this group between the two states with different languages (Zulu and Xhosa), these two languages have come into contact and the language of the Ntlangwini is a mixture of Zulu and Xhosa. Some of these people are bilingual, i.e. they have a knowledge of the two languages. The change increases as the children of these people learn an imperfect language from their parents and they also transfer it to their own children.

2.2.2.3 NEED AND FUNCTION

According to Crowley (1987:241) some sound changes take place in language because a particular language must change to meet the new needs that its speakers face. The need is relevant at the level of vocabulary and the unneeded words drop out and new technical terms are fixed as they are required. The names of objects and people are switched in accordance with day-to-day requirements (Aitchison, 1981:124). Crowley (1987:241) goes on to say:

> Words referring to cultural concepts that are now irrelevant are lost and forgotten, while new words come in to a language to express important new concepts.

From what Crowley (1987:241) is saying it may be deduced that language changes with culture. When there is a change in culture, the names of objects and people (vocabulary) also change to meet the demands of the new culture (cf. Aitchison, 1981:124).

In the Xhosa context, borrowed words have been fully assimilated into the lexicon of this language and have been standardised (Thipa, 1989:102). It is believed that some of the causes of this lexical borrowing include urbanization, education, western civilization and the present political situation. For example, the present youth speak of "PARTIES" instead of "UMTSHOTSHO" (traditional dance for boys and girls). "UMTSHOTSHO" is an old-fashioned dance associated with illiteracy. The word "INCAKUBA" no longer exists in the Xhosa vocabulary; people use the common word, "BLADE" which is associated with western civilization. Again, the political parties use the term, "RALLY" for gatherings or meetings which could be termed "INDIBANO" or "IMBIZO" in the traditional way.

From the discussion above, it can be concluded that there is a significant relationship between variability, language contact and change. The variations in one language may be acquired by the speakers of another language through contact. Language contact is influenced by factors such as convergence, migratory movements, cultural differences, industrialization, urbanization and the imitation of the prestige forms. All these factors also promote language change which occurs when people change from their original speech and adopt new speech forms. Language change is also influenced by fashion, foreign elements and functional needs.

Seemingly, the Xhosa variants have been affected by the factors which influence language change. It is quite obvious that the variant-speakers do not use their variants in their undiluted forms. The following section will give a brief description of the Xhosa variants, highlighting some changes that are presently experienced by the speakers of some of the variants.

2.3 THE XHOSA VARIANTS

In this section I intend to give some features of the variants of the Xhosa language which distinguish them from the standardised form of Xhosa. The standardised Xhosa form will serve as a point of departure and emphasis will be on sound changes, grammar and lexicon. Some of the information reflected here has been gathered from elderly people who are the speakers of the respective variants. However, information from other sources or references has been acknowledged.

2.3.1 BOMVANA/TEMBU/MPONDOMISE VARIANTS

It is alleged that the languages of the Bomvana, Tembu and Mpondomise tribes are closely related to the standard variant of Xhosa (Gcaleka) (Pahl, 1983:257). Mbadi ((1956:1) states that the close relationship between these tribes is due to intermarriages and the same lineal descent. For example, the Xhosa and Mpondomise tribes trace their descent from Njaye, Sikhomo and Malangana, the earliest Xhosa chiefs (Mbadi, 1956:1). The Tembu tribes occupy the districts of Engcobo, Mqanduli and Umtata while Bomvanaland comprises the districts of Elliotdale and Mqanduli. Bomvanaland has been incorporated into Tembuland hence the Bomvana speakers identify themselves strongly with the Tembu people (Mertens and Broster, 1973:14). The Mpondomise people inhabit the districts of Qumbu and Tsolo.

(i) SOUND CHANGES

The following sound changes characterize the Bomvana, Tembu and Mpondomise variants. These changes include verb-stems which start with the vowel /a/ in Xhosa which are replaced for /o/ or /e/ in the three variants. Consider the following examples:

XHOSA BOMVANA/TEMBU/BOMVANA

ukwaphula (to break) — ukophula/ukwephula

ukwaneka (to hang in order to dry) — ukoneka/ukweneka

ukwambatha (to put on warm clothes) — ukombatha/ukwembatha

ukwayama (to lean) — ukoyama/ukweyama (Pahl, 1983:258)

According to Pahl (1983:258) the three variants make use of the aspirated velar plosive [kh] instead of the ejective velar plosive [k'].

XHOSA		BOMVANA, MPONDOMISE, TEMBU
ukakayi (skull)	—	ukhakhayi
ukukhokela (to lead)	—	ukukhokhela
ukhuko (mat)	—	ukhukho
inkuku (hen)	—	inkukhu (Pahl,1983:258)

Mbadi (1956:1) claims that the voiceless aspirated prepalatal affricate is used more extensively in Mpondomise for all voiceless prepalatal fricatives in Xhosa, [ʃ] e.g.

XHOSA		MPONDOMISE
ihashe (horse)	—	ihatshi.
ixesha (time)	—	ixetsha
-shiya (leave)	—	-tshiya

(ii) **GRAMMAR**

According to Mbadi (1956:99) the demonstrative copulatives of Mpondomise differ from Xhosa in classes 3, 6 and 10. He states that the Mpondomise speakers prefer the ejective velar plosive [k'] to the velar plosive with delayed breathy voicing [g] of Xhosa, e.g.

CLASS	XHOSA	MPONDOMISE
3	nanguya (there it is)	— nankuya
6	nangaya (there they are)	— nankaya
10	naziya (there they are)	— nanziya

(Mbadi, 1956:99)

There is some confusion in the Mpondomise variant over the similarity of sounds between /bu/ of class 14 and /ku-/ of class 15. Consider the following examples:

XHOSA		MPONDOMISE
ubuso (face)	—	ukuso
ubusuku (night)	—	ukusuku
ebusweni (on the face)	—	ekusweni
ebusuku (at night)	—	ekusuku (Mbadi, 1956:33)

It is also stated that the tense-forming verb in the Mpondomise variant is /za/ or /ze/ instead of /ba/ or /be/ of Xhosa (Mbadi, 1956:82).

XHOSA		MPONDOMISE
bendithetha (I was talking)	—	zendithetha
belihamba (It was going	—	zelihamba
besithetha (we were talking)	—	zesithetha

(iii) **LEXICON**

Pahl (1983:258) cites some words which are used by Bomvana, Mpondomise and Tembu speakers. This vocabulary is not used frequently in Xhosa, e.g.

XHOSA		OTHER VARIANTS
isuthu (initiation place)	–	ithonto (Mpondomise; Tembu)
ikhalipha (a hero)	—	igorha/ikroti (Mpondomise; Tembu)
ukuphawula (to notice)	—	ukuqaphela (Bomvana/Mpondomise/Tembu)
umguli (a patient)	—	isigulana (Bomvana/Mpondomise/Tembu)
umngxuma (a hole)	—	umlindi (Mpondomise)

(Pahl, 1983:259).

2.3.2 MPONDO VARIANT

The Mpondo speakers occupy various districts in the Transkei, namely: Bizana, Flagstaff, Libode, Lusikisiki, Ngqeleni and Port St Johns.

(i) **SOUND CHANGES**

According to Jackson (1975:23) and Msimang (1989:124) the peculiar linguistic usage in the Mpondo group is the addition of /r/ to nasal compounds. This is known as UKUNDRONDROZA (Msimang, 1989:124). Consider the following examples:

SOUND CHANGES	XHOSA	MPONDO
nd → ndr	ndiyahamba (I am going)	ndriyahamba
	indoda endala	indroda endrala
	(an old man)	

nt → ntr intombi (a girl) — intrombi

umntu (a person) — umntru

nk → nkr inkosi (a chief) — inkrosi

inkwenkwe (a boy) — inkrwenkrwe

(Pahl, 1983:259)

I noticed that the use of the sound [r] is not common among the educated Mpondo speakers. I feel that this is due to the influence of education which eradicates the non-standard forms. It is often observed among the uneducated people.

Like the Mpondomise variant, the Mpondo uses the sound [tʃh] more extensively than in Xhosa. The sound [tʃh] corresponds to both [tʃh] and [ʃ] as they occur in Xhosa. This confusion of sounds is widely used by the Mpondo speakers, both the educated and the uneducated. It is one of the problems of Mpondo students in the school setting. In their essays they include such words as:

ixetsha (time)

ukumotsha (to disrupt)

This is also illustrated in the following examples:

XHOSA		MPONDO
ishumi (ten)	—	itshumi
igusha (sheep)	—	igutsha
shushu (hot)	—	tshutshu
ukushumayela (to preach)	—	ukutshumayela

(Pahl, 1983:259)

According to Pahl (1983:259) the Xhosa sound /kr/ becomes /k/ in Mpondo, e.g. This was also confirmed in my field research, when my informant said:

Ndizokoba itsheki yam emalanga

(I"ll come to check my cheque in the afternoon)

XHOSA		MPONDO
ukukrazula (to tear)	—	ukrukazula
ukukroba (to peep)	—	ukrukoba

(Pahl, 1983:259)

It was also observed that some Mpondo speakers, especially the elderly, uneducated people made common use of the sound /n/ for /x/. Consider the following sentenes:

nawuyile ungambona FOR xa uyile ungambona
(When you have gone, you can see him)
nxa ekhona FOR xa ekhona (When he is present)

(ii) **GRAMMAR**

Jordan (1956:101) states that the sound /ku/ becomes /kwi/ before the pronomial stems of the first and second persons in Mpondo, e.g.:

XHOSA		MPONDO
kuthi (to us)	—	kwithi
kuni (to you)	—	kwini

It is also stated that the consonant of the copula is assimilated to the consonant of the prefix in classes 2 and 2(a) of the Mpondo variant (Jordan, 1956:596). In essay-writing the students are always penalized for the confusion of these prefixes. This confusion still prevails in the speech of both educated and uneducated Mpondo speakers.

CLASS	XHOSA	MPONDO
2	ngabantu (it is people)	— babantu
2(a)	ngoomama (it is the mothers)	— boomama

(Jordan, 1956:596)

Pahl (1983:260) states that the Mpondo variant is characterized by word-contraction, especially in the demonstrative and possessive pronouns, e.g.

XHOSA		MPONDO
lowa mntu (that person)	—	Owa mntu
leya mizi (those homesteads)	—	Eya mizi
lawa matye (those stones)	—	Awa matye
umntwana wam (my child)	—	umntr'am
umntwana wakhe (his/her child)	—	umntr'akhe
umntwana womntwana wam (my child's child/my grand-child)	—	umntr'amntr'am

(Pahl, 1983:260)

The above characteristic of word-contraction has also been confirmed in my fieldwork. For instance, in my conversation with one of my Mpondo informants I came across sentences like:

Andiyaz' eyo ntwe'yo [I don't know such a thing]

Ndixela owa mzi [I mean that homestead]

The voiced alveolar lateral continuant [l] becomes a voiced alveolar lateral fricative with breathy voicing [ɮ] in the dimunitive form, e.g.

ithole (calf) — ithodlana (small-calf) FOR itholana

umfula (river) — umfudlana (rivulet) FOR umfulana

ubuchule (skill) —ubuchudlana (small skill) FOR ubuchulana

(Pahl, 1983:260

According to Pahl (1983:260-1) the formatives /kwa-/ and /vanga/ are used to demonstrate the negative form, e.g.

XHOSA	MPONDO
Asiboni nkomo (we don't see any cows	— Asiboni kwankomo
Andimazi nokumazi (I don't even know him)	— Andimazi kwakumazi

The formative /vanga-/ is the negative past of /ave-/

XHOSA	MPONDO
Asikhange simbone (we didn't see him)	— Asivanga simbona
Andikhange ndiyithande loo nto	— Andivanga ndiyithand' oo nto
(I didn't like that thing)	

(Pahl, 1983:261).

In this case I didn't get any informants who were still using the formatives /vanga/. Almost all of them were using the formative /khange/ for the negative past form, for example:

KHANGE NDIHAMBE (I didn't go).

The changes may be attributed to the spread of formal education in Pondoland.

The following terms distinguish the Mpondo variant from Xhosa:

XHOSA		MPONDO
ubuthuntu (bluntness)	—	uluthuntu
ubukhali (sharpness)	—	ulukhali
umngxuma (a hole)	—	umlindi
ukukhwela (to ride)	—	ukuqabela
ukunqumla (to cut)	—	ukugamla
ukukhangela (to look)	—	ukubheka
ukusweleka (to die)	—	ukutshaba
intombazana (a girl)	—	inkrazanyana

From the above Mpondo words I was made aware of some word synonyms which were used by the Mpondo speakers. For example: "ISITSHETSHE SAM SIFILE" (my knife is blunt) instead of "ISITSHETSHE SAM SIBUTHUNTU". The following synonyms were also observed:

UMLINDI (a hole) - UMGONGXO

UKUGAMLA (to cut) - UKUTSHECA

2.3.3 **BACA VARIANT**

A large number of the Baca occupy the Mt Frere district and a few are found in Mt Ayliff.

(i) **SOUND-CHANGES**

According to Louw (1963) and Ziervogel (1959) the Baca variant belongs to the Tekela group. Msimang (1989) classifies the Baca variant under the Tekela-Nguni group. He maintains that Baca shares all the typically Tekela phenomena just like Swati; and it also resembles Xhosa in the long vowel in the plural of class 9, e.g.

iinkomo (cattle) (Msimang, 1989:288).

Msimang's (1989) view-point that Baca resembles Xhosa in certain respects seems to concur with Louw's (1963) statement that Baca is a Tekela dialect which has been greatly influenced by Xhosa.

The Tekela groups, according to Soga (1930:396) introduce the sibilant /s/ after the sound /t/ e.g.

ukutsi FOR ukuthi (to say)

This form of sound-shifting is known as "UKUTSEFULA" (Soga, 1930; Jordan, 1942).

Pahl (1983:266) states that the Baca variant is closely related to Ntlangwini and Swazi variants and all of them are "TEKEZA" groups which substitute the Zunda/Nguni sound /z/ with /t/ e.g.

XHOSA		BACA
umfazi (married woman)	—	umfati
inkunzi (a bull)	—	inkunti

(Pahl, 1983:267)

(ii) **GRAMMAR**

According to Msimang (1989:288) one of the peculiar features of the Baca include /hh/ which is a copulative prefix, e.g.

hhuye (it's him)

hhubawo (it's my father) (Msimang, 1989:288)

Secondly, the Baca variant is characterized by the negative auxilliary /ave-/, e.g. "AVE NDILAMBILE" (I'm not hungry) (Msimang. 1989:288). This form may also be employed when the verb is followed by an adjunct in the form of object or adverbial extension, e.g.

a(si)ve sibuta le ntfo (We are not asking that)

It is also used to express exclamation, e.g.

A(ka)ve emhle! (How beautiful she is!)

(Jordan, 1942:40).

The negative of the past tense is characterized by the defective verb /ta/ which is followed by the suffixal negative formative /nge/; and /tange/ is followed by the main verb in the subjunctive mood (Jordan, 1942:41).

FOR EXAMPLE:

Ndakhamba (I went) — tange ndikhambe (I did not go)

Wakhamba (He went) — tange akhambe (he did not go)

Lakhamba (it went) — tange likhambe (it did not go)

(Jordan, 1942:41).

The future tense is formed by /ta/ to which is prefixed the subjectival concord as for the present tense and this /ta/ is followed by the simple verb stem e.g.

Ndita khamba (I am about to go).

Andit'ukhamba (I am not about to go).

(Jordan, 1983:41).

Jordan (1942:55) states that the nouns of all classes preplace /h/ to the noun prefix in the formation of copulatives from nouns, e.g. umfati (woman) → humfati

abafati (women)→habafati

isilima (cripple)→hisilima

itilima (cripples)→hitilima (Jordan, 1942:55)

Copulatives formed from adverbs prefix /ku/ to the adverbial form; and adverbs commencing in /e/ insert /k/ after /ku/ e.g.

apha — kulapha (it is here)

etulu — kuketulu (it is at the top)

ekudzeni — kukekudzeni (it is far)

(Jordan, 1942:61)

Impersonal copulatives are formed by prefixing /ku/ to /na/ and the noun to signify "there is" (Jordan, 1942:62). Consider the following examples:

Kunemali lapha (there is money here)

kunabantfu abanyheti (there are many people).

(Jordan, 1942:62)

(iii) **LEXICON**

Pahl (1983:266) cites some words which mark Baca from the standardised Xhosa form:

XHOSA	BACA
utywala (beer)	ijiki
ukhuko (mat)	isicamba
umvundla (hare)	unogwaja
ukuthetha (to speak)	ukubhobha
ukusela (to drink)	ugunatsha
ukubetha (to beat)	ukukshiksha
umnqwazi (hat)	isigqoko
ukubhitya (to be thin)	uguzhaca
phi? (where)	layi?

2.3.4 HLUBI VARIANT

In Transkei the Hlubi occupy the districts of Herschel, Matatiele, Mt Fletcher and western part of Qumbu.

(i) **SOUND-CHANGES**

According to Soga (1930:396) the Hlubi people are of Makalanga origin and they substitute the letter /d/ for /g/ e.g.

Ndithi (I say) Ngithi

Soga (1930:396) refers to this sound-change as "UKUNG'ING'IZA", while Pahl (1983:263) speaks of "UKUNG'ANG'AZA" which is also confirmed by the Hlubi speakers of Matatiele. Consider the following examples:

XHOSA		HLUBI
ndiyahamba (I'm going)	—	ng'iyakhamba
ndiyabulela (I am thankful)	—	ng'iyabong'a
andibonanga nto (I didn't see anything)	—	ang' bonang'a lutho

(Pahl, 1983:264)

ound /tsh/ for /ty/ was observed in the speech of the Hlubi e.g.

FOR ityiwa (salt)

IAR

Jordan (1956:192) the prefix /lu/ of class 11 has disappeared in the

nd all the nouns of this class

class 5, e.g.

XHOSA	HLUBI
(this clay)	eli dongwe
(this mat)	eli khuko
Unyawo lwam (my feet)	lnyawo lam

One of the findings of my research is that the use of /lu/ is not common among the Hlubi-speakers instead they use /li/ as indicated above. This was noticed in the following sentences:

Isana lam liyatya (My baby is eating)

FOR Usana lwam luyatya

Idonga eli limdaka (This wall is dirty)

FOR Udonga olu lumdaka

It is also stated that the noun prefix of class 14 /b/ has disappeared in Hlubi and nouns of this class are shifted to class 17 (Jordan, 1956:192).

XHOSA		HLUBI
ebuhlanti (in the kraal)	–	Ekuhlanti
ebusweni (on the face)	–	Ekusweni
ebusuku (at night)	–	Ekusuku

I think that the influence of education has caused some changes in the above respect. I didn't experience the use of /ku/ for /bu/ in my research, instead the Hlubi speakers were using the /bu/ sound which corresponds with the standardised Xhosa form.

In the palatalization process the Xhosa sound /ty/ become /j/ or /tsh/ in the Hlubi variant, e.g.

XHOSA		HLUBI
ukugotywa (to be bent)	–	ukugojwa
intatyana (small mountain)	–	intajana
ityhefu (poison)	–	itshefu (Pahl, 1983:264)

Jordan (1956:101) mentions retrogressive assimilation of vowels which takes place in the Hlubi variant. He states that the vowel /u/ of /ku/ becomes /i/ before the pronomial stems /-mi/, /-thi/ and /-ni/. He points out that this assimilation is due to the influence of /i/ in the succeeding syllable, e.g.

XHOSA		HLUBI
kumi (to me)	—	kimi
kuthi (to us)	—	kithi
kuni (to you)	—	kini

In some compound tenses the Hlubi employ /ke/ instead of /ye/ e.g.:

XHOSA		HLUBI
Wayethetha (he was speaking)	—	wakethetha
wayefunda (he was studying)	—	wakefunda

I used to notice the frequent use of /ke/ in the speech of one of my colleagues who was a Hlubi-speaker. She used to say:

Wasekelila (He started crying)

sekenditshilo (I've already said)

Pahl (1983:264) says that the /k/ sound is always replaced for /g/ in Hlubi, e.g.

XHOSA		HLUBI
ukulima (to plough)	—	ugulima
ukuzala (to be full)	—	uguzala

Unfortunately in my recent research I didn't get examples to confirm the replacement of /k/ for /g/ in the Hlubi variant. Actually, I was informed that the Hlubi speakers were no longer speaking their variant in its purest form ("ASISATHETHI ISIHLUBI NCAM").

(iii) **LEXICON**

The following terms mark the Hlubi speakers from other Xhosa variant-speakers:

XHOSA	HLUBI
ingcongconi (mosquitos)	umniyane
ucango (door)	uhlango
ukusela (to drink)	ugunatha
izibonda (poles)	iziqonga
intethe (locust)	idiya
umngxuma (a hole)	isigodi
ukurhatyela (to get dark)	uguzhwaca
umakhulu (grandmother)	ugogo
iliso (an eye)	ilihlo

(Pahl, 1983:265)

In my conversation with the Hlubi-speakers I observed that they employed /ma/ or /na/ instead of /xa/ to indicate time. Consider the following examples:

mangaba ndincokola FOR xa ndincokola (when I'm conversing)

andikwazi nawundibuza FOR andikwazi xa undibuza (I don't know when you ask me)

I also noticed the use of /kune/ instead of /kukho/ to illustrate the presence or availability of something e.g.

kukho isonk' esikhoyo (There is bread) - kunesonka esikhona

kukho umculo eholweni (There is music in the hall) - kunomculo eholweni

My general observation was that the Hlubi speakers were more like Zulu speakers almost in all the aspects of their language like accent, tone, vocabulary, etc. In the following examples it can be noticed that the sounds and words resemble the Zulu language (NG, LOKO, MINA)

HLUBI	XHOSA
Ang' funi loko mina	ANDIFUNI LOO NTO MNA
(I don't want that)	
Ngimtshenile	NDIMXELELE
(I 've told him)	
Ngimtshelile (ZULU)	

2.3.5 **XESIBE VARIANT**

According to Pahl (1983:262) there is a close relationship between the Mpondo and Xesibe variants. History reveals that Xesibe was the youngest brother of the two twin brothers, Mpondo and Mpondomise and this relationship is also reflected in their language. Jackson (1975:26) states that the traditional home of the Xesibe includes the district of Tabankulu and Mt Ayliff. He goes on to say that there are other Xesibe groups in Libode, Mqanduli, Herschel, Engcobo and Xalanga. The Xesibe groups in Mqanduli, Engcobo, Herscel and Xalanga are subject to the Tembu tribe, while the group in Libode is subject to the Mpondo.

(i) **SOUND-CHANGES**

The most outstanding feature of the Mpondo and Xesibe variants is the introduction of /r/ to the nasal compounds i.e "UKUNDRONDROZA".

SOUND CHANGES	XHOSA	XESIBE
nd → ndr	indoda (a man)	indroda
nt → ntr	intaba (mountain)	intraba
	abantwana (children)	abantrwana
k → kr	ukufika (to arrive)	ukrufika
	ukuthi (to say)	ukruthi
nk → nkr	inkomo (cow)	inkromo
	inkwenkwe (boy)	inkrwenkrwe

(Pahl, 1983:262)

The following sound-changes also take place in the Xesibe dialect:

sh [ʃ] → tsh [ʃ]

igusha (a sheep) igutsha

ishumi (ten) itshumi

ty [c'] → tsh [tʃ']

batyebile (they are fat) batshebile

ityalwa (it is planted) itshalwa

k → w

akakho (there is none) awekho

uza kusala (you will be left) uza wusala

(Pahl, 1983:262)

(ii) **GRAMMAR**

Jordan (1956:95) states that gliding assimilation occurs in the Xesibe variant (like in Mpondo) when a sound glides through the semi-vowel /w/ towards the influencing sound e.g.

ku + thi — kwithi (to us)

ku + kwini kwini (to you)

Like in Mpondo, the sound /l/ of the locatives is elided in Xesibe e.g.

XHOSA	XESIBE
leyo ndoda (that man)	— eyo ndroda
kuloo mthi (in that tree)	— krowo mthi
ngaloo mini (that day)	— ngeyo mini

(Pahl, 1983:262)

In the Xesibe variant incomplete progressive assimilation takes place when a certain sound becomes assimilated to a certain sound in the preceding syllable (Jordan, 1956:102).

	XHOSA	XESIBE
FOR EXAMPLE:	hlinza (flay)	— hlindla

In the above example, the sound /z/ has been assimilated to the /hl/ sound in the preceding syllable and the voicing of the replaced /dl/ is retained (Jordan, 1956:102).

(iii) **LEXICON**

The following words characterize the Xesibe variant:

XHOSA	XESIBE
ukuthetha (to speak)	— ukuxela
intombazana (a girl)	— inkrazanyana
ukukhangela (to look)	— ukubhekra

ukuhla (to go down) – ukruhlikra

ukugqiba (to finish) – ukrutshuba

(Pahl, 1983:262)

2.3.6 CELE VARIANT

The Cele group belongs to the Lala group of the Makalanga tribe whose origin is traced from Natal (Pahl, 1983; Soga, 1930). Msimang (1989:49) states that many Lala tribes have been absorbed and integrated into the Zulu Nation. The most important marker of the Lala groups is the substitution of the letter /t/ for /z/, i.e. "UKUTZEKETZA" (Soga, 1930:395).

(i) SOUND CHANGES

According to Pahl (1983:270) the Cele speakers employ the sound /tz/ which is an ejective dental affricate in the place of the Xhosa alveolar affricate /z/. This is apparent in the following examples:

XHOSA		CELE
umfazi (woman)	–	ufatzi
intombazana (a girl)	–	inombatzana
zam (mine)	–	tzam

(Pahl, 1983:270)

The nasalized affricate /na/ becomes a voiced dental affricate /dz/ in Cele, e.g.

XHOSA		CELE
amanzi	–	amadzi
inkunzi (a bull)	–	iyudzi

The voiced alveolar nasal /n/ is not followed by an ejective plosive as it occurs in Xhosa.

XHOSA	CELE
inkosi (chief)	iyosi/ihosi
inkuku (hen)	iyuku/ihuku
inkomo (cow)	iyomo/ihomo

(Pahl, 1983:270)

Pahl (1983:271) states that the Cele speakers use the glottal fricative with breathy voicing /hh/ where Xhosa employs an aspirated velar plosive /kh/ e.g.

XHOSA	CELE
umkhonto (assegai)	uhhono
kwakukho (there was)	kwakuhhona
ekhaya (at home)	ehhaya

(Pahl, 1983:270)

Some information regarding the Cele variant was collected from teachers and students of Jikindaba Senior Secondary School in Lusikisiki. I was made aware of the following sound-changes.

z (Xhosa)	⟶	tz (Cele)
ziinkomo (it is the cows)		tzinkomo .
intombazana (a girl)		inombatzana
nt	⟶	n
intombazana (a girl)		inombatzana
izinto (things)		tzino
into (a thing)		hino

According to Msimang (198:84) the Lala group, to which the Cele variant belongs shares most of its vocabulary with the Zulu- speakers. He states that there are minor phonetic and phonological differences between these two languages. It is also stated that Lala behave like Swati in substituting the Zulu /q/ with /c/ and vice versa (Msimang, 1989:84). Van Wyk (1960) quoted in Msimang (1989:84) outlines the following examples:

LALA	ZULU
-cala (begin)	-qala
-qela (ask, beg)	-cela
-gqoba (smear)	-gcoba
ligcuma (hill)	ligquma

(ii) **GRAMMAR**

Pahl (1983:271) states that some noun-classes in the Cele variant do not have vowel-prefixes e.g.

CLASS	XHOSA	CELE
1(a)	UNombilazana	Nombilatzane
	Wavuma UHlanganyane	Wavuma hlakanyane
	(Hlanganyane agreed)	
2	Abantwana (children)	bafwana
5	Nikela Ithole (take the calf to its mother)	Nikela lithole
	Igama lakhe nguMveli (His name is Mveli)	(i) lithole) ligama lahhe wuMveli
10	Zisa Abantwana bam (Bring my children)	tzisa tzingan' tzam

linkomo zam zilapha — tzomo tzam tzila

(my cattle are here)

(Pahl, 1983:271)

All the adverbial and adjectival concords are preceded by /l/ in the Cele variant e.g.

XHOSA		CELE
intombi enkulu (a big girl)	—	inombi lehulu
umfazi onabantwana abahlanu	—	ufatzi lonetzingane
(a woman with five children)	—	letziyisihlanu
ngemini elandelayo	—	ngemini lelandelayo

(Pahl, 1983:271)

In my fieldwork among the Cele-speakers I was informed that the Cele resemble the Zulu in the formation of demonstratives. They retain the formative /l/ which is elided in Xhosa, e.g.

	I	II	III
XHOSA	(l)apha (here)	(l)apho (there)	phaya (there)
CELE	la	lapho	laphaya

I was also informed that one of the main sounds which distinguish Cele from Xhosa is /ng/ instead of /nd/, e.g.

XHOSA		CELE
ndiyahamba (I am going)	—	ngiyakhamba
ndihleli apha (I am sitting here)	—	ngihlezi la
ndiyathetha (I am speaking)	—	ngiyakhuluma

(iii) **LEXICON**

My informants told me that the Cele variant is closely related to Zulu and most of the words are derived from Zulu. They cited the following examples:

XHOSA	ZULU	CELE
iihagu (pigs)	izingulube	tzingulube
utata (father)	ubaba	ubaba
uthetha (speaking)	ukhuluma	ukhuluma
abantwana (children)	izingane	tzingane
-hamba (go)	-khamba	-khamba

2.3.7 NTLANGWINI VARIANT

According to Msimang (1989:60) the Nhlangwini are settled at Umzimkhulu in Transkei. The Ntlangwini share their territory with the Baca and as a result, they have adopted the speech styles of the Baca.

Zungu (1989:8) states that Ntlangwini is a variety of Tekela- Nguni spoken in the areas in which the standard language is Zulu and Xhosa. She maintains that there may be a strong influence of standard Zulu and standard Xhosa and a gradual differentiation of Ntlangwini from Swazi to which it is genetically closely related.

(i) **SOUND-CHANGES**

According to Msimang (1989:85) Ntlangwini resembles Zulu in many respects, except for a phonetic difference of substituting a Zulu sound /z/ with /t/, what Jordan (1956) regards as "UKUTEKEZA". The following examples highlight these sound changes:

XHOSA AND ZULU	NTLANGWINI
wena [wɛna] (you)	[wɛna]
wami [wami] (mine)	[wami]

Again, the sound /z/ in Xhosa and Zulu is also replaced for /d/ in Ntlangwini e.g.

XHOSA/ZULU	NTLANGWINI
ezantsi/ezansi	edasi (Zungu, 1989:81)

(ii) **GRAMMAR**

Zungu (1989:79) points out that the verb-stems commencing with /o/ in standard Zulu are replaced for /e/ in Ntlangwini. These verb stems also commence with /o/ in Xhosa e.g.

XHOSA/ZULU	NTLANGWINI
-onakala (get spoilt)	-enakala
-ongamela (take charge)	-engamela
-ozela (feel sleepy, drowsy)	-ezela

The exclusive implication of the indicative mood present tense, negative, is /ka/ in Zulu (and Xhosa) and /ko/ in Ntlangwini, e.g.

XHOSA/ZULU	NTLANGWINI
akakathandi (she does not like yet)	akakothandi
andikathandi/angikakathandi	angikakothandi

(I don"t like yet)

Alikafiki/alikakafiki alikakofiki

(it has not arrived yet)

(Zungu, 1989:79)

The aspectual morpheme /sa/ meaning 'still' changes to /se/ in copulative constructions in Zulu and remains unchanged in Ntlangwini (Zungu, 1989:79). This morphene is also /se/ in Xhosa. This occurs in the following situations.

1. **BEFORE NA-**

XHOSA/ZULU	NTLANGWINI
akasenanto/Akasenalutho	Akasanalutho (She has nothing anymore)

2. **BEFORE QUANTITATIVE PRONOUNS:**

XHOSA/ZULU	NTLANGWINI
asewonke	asawonke (They are still all)

3. **BEFORE QUANTITATIVE PRONOUNS:**

XHOSA/ZULU	NTLANGWINI
usemncinane/usemncane	Usamncane (she is still small)

4. **BEFORE ADJECTIVES:**

XHOSA/ZULU	NTLANGWINI
usemhlophe	usamhlophe

5. **BEFORE SIMPLE IDENTIFYING COPULATIVE:**

XHOSA ZULU	NTLANGWINI
usengumntwana/Useyingane	usayingane

(Zungu, 1989:79)

The enclitic formative -phi (where?/which?) of Zulu becomes /-y/ in Ntlangwini (Zungu, 1989:82). Xhosa employs the formative /phi/ like Zulu e.g.

XHOSA/ZULU	NTLANGWINI
Bavelaphi? (Where do they come from?)	- Bavelayi?
Kuphi/Kulaphi? (Where is it?)	Kulayi?
Iphi/ilaphi? (where is it?)	Ilayi? (Zungu, 1989:82)

According to Zungu (1989:82) the possessive concordial element/k/ of class 1 and 1(a) in standard Zulu becomes w-/y- in Ntlangwini. This possessive element /k/ also applies to Xhosa e.g.

XHOSA/ZULU	NTLANGWINI
umntu/umuntu kanesi	umuntu wanesi (nurse's person)
amasi katata/kababa	amasi wabawo (father;s maas)
inkomo kagogo	inkomo yagogo (Granny's cow)

(Zungu, 1989:82)

The relative suffix /-yo/ of Xhosa and Zulu becomes /-ko/ in Ntlangwini, e.g.

XHOSA/ZULU	NTLANGWINI
umntu/umuntu othandayo	othandako (the person who likes/loves)
umfana obalekayo/ogijimayo	ogijimako (who is running)

(Zungu, 1989:82)

Zungu (1989:89) states that the process of palatalization is very rare in Ntlangwini. It takes place in the following examples:

th → sh

vuthwa vushwa (be ripe)

bh → j

bhabhadiswa bhajadiswa (be baptised)

(Zungu, 1989:89)

(iii) **LEXICON**

Msimang (1989:85) claims that Ntlangwini has words in common with Xhosa. This is attributable to the fact that they occupy the border between Natal and Transkei. The following words exist in Ntlangwini and Xhosa vocabulary:

unxunguphalo (worry)

inkxaso (support)

isicaka (servant)

xaka (confuse)

Ntlangwini appears to have been influenced by Khoisan peoples since it has some words with clicks (Msimang, 1989:85).

Msimang (1989:85) cites some words which are peculiar to Ntlangwini and which contain clicks such as:

ummenqa (remains after straining)

iixhayi (door)

isicamba (rush mat)

umqhathulo (rough mealimeal)

He also mentions others without clicks e.g.

liphaluko (paddock)

uphetwane (indigenous corn)

uluphephe (wind)

isidiko (washing spoon) (Msimang, 1989:86)

The above discussion has shown that variability is a common phenomenon almost in all speech communities. It leads to language change which is influenced by factors such as cultural differences, local identification, fashion, functional needs, etc. It is evident that these factors have an effect on the Xhosa variants. This has been confirmed in some areas of grammar, lexicon and phonology of the variants mentioned above.

It is clear that language change causes some deviations from the norm, ie. variation. Language variation, with special reference to Xhosa will be dealt with in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

STANDARDIZATION AND LANGUAGE VARIATION

3. INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the ever present tension between standardisation and language variation. It begins by defining the process of standardization and language variation. The relationship between standardization and variation will be highlighted and the problems associated with these processes be discussed. As the study focusses on the children's education in Transkeian Xhosa speech community, the implication of the standardization process in the education of these children will be explored.

3.1 DEFINITION

3.1.1. STANDARDIZATION

According to Crystal (1985:286) standardization is a sociolinguistic term which refers to a prestige language used within a speech community which provides a unified means of communication and an instutionalised norm which can be used in the mass media.

Standardization is also defined as a process which involves the acceptance of one variety as the best form of the language throughout the speech community (Fasold, 1984:248).

Wardhaugh (1989:30) refers to standardization as a process by which a language has been codified in some way. Fishman (1972:18) also mentions codification in the process of standardization:

> the codification and acceptance within a community of users of a formal set of norms defining correct usage.

The codification process involves the establishment of norms which lay down the correct written and oral usage of a certain variety i.e. the standard variety (Dittmar, 1976:107). The establishment of these norms results in standardization.

There seems to exist a general agreement that the process of standardization involves the selection of a variety which has to be codified by means of norms which stipulate the correct written and oral usage. This involves the establishment of grammars, dictionaries, vocabulary and orthography (Dittmar, 1976; Hudson, 1980; Joseph, 1987; Edwards, 1976; Ferguson, 1972).

Hudson (1980:32) outlines the most important phases or steps in the process of standardization, namely:

(i) **SELECTION AND ACCEPTANCE**

This implies that one variety is selected as a standard language and the variety is accepted by the relevant population as a national variety.

(ii) **CODIFICATION**

This refers to the reduction into writing of the selected and accepted variety which is reflected in grammar, dictionaries and approved handbooks of terminology and orthography.

(iii) **INTELLECTUALIZATION**

The selected variety must contribute towards more definite and accurate expression. There is also general acceptance that the standardized variant will develop in order to carry a growing corpus of intellectual thought.

(iv) **ELABORATION OF FUNCTIONS**

The selected and accepted variety is used in formal and official centres e.g. government, education, parliament, law, etc.

In the Xhosa context the process of standardization resulted in the selection of the Ngqika variant by the earliest missionaries. When the missionaries arrived among the Xhosa tribes, they settled among the Ngqika tribes. The missionaries believed that illiteracy among the Xhosa tribes would hinder the spread of the gospel, and a written code was developed for the Xhosa language by the Scottish missionaries. An alphabet and an orthography that would facilitate the study of the Xhosa language was devised by John Bennie (Jafta, 1971; Jordan, 1973). Thus the Ngqika tribes were the first to be exposed to Christianity and to receive literate education (Mahlasela, 1973:2).

The first book to be printed in Xhosa was titled: INCWADI YOKUQALA EKUTETENI NGOKWAMAXHOSA ETYHUME, ILIZWE LAMAXHOSA, YABADEKWA LUBADEKO LWABATHUNYWA EGLASCO 1984 (THE FIRST BOOK IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE AMAXHOSA, AT TYHUME, THE LAND OF THE AMAXHOSA, AND PRINTED IN THE PRESS OF THE MESSENGERS FROM GLASGOW IN 1824). This book was printed through John Bennie's efforts (Mahlasela, 1973; Jafta, 1971).

The missionaries also intended to make the Bible available to the Xhosa-speaking people. In 1830 William Boyce and Barnabas Shaw (Wesleyan missionaries) put into print St Luke's Gospel at Grahamstown. The hymns were also translated into Xhosa by people like J. Bennie, H.H. Dugmore, J.W. Appleyard, A. Kropf, W.B. Boyce, Tiyo Soga and many others. Tiyo Soga is well-known for his popular song, LIZALIS'IDINGA LAKHO, THIXO NKOSI YENYANISO (Fulfill thy promise, O Lord, God of Truth). This song was composed and sung in the early 1850s (Mahlasela, 1973:4).

In order to enable other missionaries to understand the Xhosa language, it became necessary to compile vocabularies and dictionaries. In 1846 J. Ayliff compiled a vocabulary of the "KAFIR LANGUAGE". A DICTIONARY OF THE KAFIR LANGUAGE AND AN ENGLISH AND KAFIR DICTIONARY were compiled by W.J. Davis (Jafta, 1971:9).

The newspapers and magazines were published in order to entertain the new converts and to promote their self-expression. The first paper, UMSHUMAYELI WEENDABA (News-Preacher) was published by the Wesleyans in 1837. This was followed by ISIBUTO SAMAVO (a collection of stories) and in 1841 the

missionaries of Lovedale launched a Xhosa magazine called IKWEZI (Morning Star) (Mahlasela, 1973:6). Thereafter, a number of other papers appeared on the scene, e.g. IINDABA, THE KAFIR EXPRESS, ISIGIDIMI, IMVO, INYANGA, INTSIMBI, UCEL'UZAPHOLO, ISIVIVANE, INKQUBELA, IBONA, etc.

The language of the Rharhabe/Ngqika was standardised and reduced into writing on the arrival of the missionaries among these tribes. According to Opland (1983:ix) traditionally the members of a chiefdom were known by the names of the founding chiefs. For example, all followers of chief Xhosa were called amaXhosa (Xhosa people). The followers of Gcaleka, Khawuta, Hintsa and Sarhili, who had the same lineal descent were known as amaGcaleka (Gcaleka people), and the followers of Rharhabe, Mlawu, Ngqika and Sandile were known as amaRharhabe (Rharhabe people). All these followers of Gcaleka and Rharhabe were the descendants of Xhosa and their language was transcribed and printed by the Christian missionaries who settled in Ngqika's chiefdom. Their language was identified in name with the Xhosa people (Opland, 1983:ix).

History reveals that Gcaleka and Rharhabe were the children of two different mothers. Gcaleka was the son of the great wife, and he was supposed to be his father's (Phalo) successor. Rharhabe endeavoured to deprive his brother of the position of principal chief, and as a result, war broke out between the two brothers. This led to the formation of two parties, one in favour of Gcaleka and the other of Rharhabe (Alberti, 1968:98). Gcaleka's adherents occupied the east of the Kei river while Rharhabe's followers occupied the west. Owing to his being the lineal descendant in the great line of the ancient paramount rulers of the tribe, Gcaleka was regarded as the supreme chief by the Rharhabe clans (Brownlee, 1923:1),

hence Jackson (1975:6) states that the Gcaleka paramount chief in the Transkei is at the head of all the Xhosa whilst the paramount chief in Ciskei is at the head of the Rharhabe tribes only.

As a result of the split between Gcaleka and Rharhabe the variant of the Gcaleka people developed as the standard variant for all the Xhosa-speaking groups in the Transkei. In similar fashion the Rharhabe/Ngqika variant evolved into the standard of the Xhosa- speakers in the Ciskei. Thus West (1976:12) states that the main Xhosa-speaking people are the Ngqika of the Ciskei and the Gcaleka of the Transkei.

It followed that Gcaleka developed in official institutions such as schools, government, the mass media, the religious institutions and the cultural establishment.

3.1.2. VARIETAL DOMAINS

Although the non-standard variants may not be acceptable in education, they fulfil important psycho-social, religious, cultural and community needs. For example, the speakers of the non-standard variants (Baca, Hlubi, Mpondo, Xesibe, etc.) make use of their variants to perform their cultural activities in religion and at home.

There also exists some varietal domains as far as the use of the Gcaleka variant in religion and cultural activities is concerned. People tend to use the non-standardised forms in religion and in certain cultural situations. For example, the priests and preachers address the congregation in their respective varieties without sticking to the norm and in such activities as initiation ceremonies, wedding parties and in the

performance of other rituals, the people concerned usually employ informal language or any variety which is used by the particular group. The cultural norms and values of a group, as stated by Appel and Muysken (1987:11) are transmitted by its language. They state further thus:

> Group feelings are emphasized by using the group's own language, and members of the outgroup are excluded from its internal transactions
>
> (Appel and Muysken, (1987:11).

Many African countries, as stated by Awoniyi (1982:29) have annual cultural festivals, and they also build culture houses to encourage African culture and language, e.g. the Festival of Arts and Cultures (FESTAC).

The process of standardization rests on power and prestige. This is substantiated by the following definitions given by different sociolinguists

> .... the language varieties of politically dominant groups, of ruling hierarchies, of economically powerful interests and of socially prestigious classes have been known to become the standards of nations
>
> (Myers-Scotton, 1992:5).

Fromkin (1988:260) states that the dialect used by political leaders and the socio-economic classes is usually considered as the correct form of the language. It is also stated that the dominant group promotes its patterns of language use as a model for social advancement, and the use of a lower prestige language by minority group members reduces the opportunities for success in the society as a whole (Ryan and Giles, 1982:1).

As far as the Xhosa language is concerned, the variants of the two strongest Xhosa tribes (Ngqika and Gcaleka) were standardised (Louw, 1963; Soga, 1930). The standardization of this variant was reinforced by the earliest missionaries on their arrival among the Ngqika and Gcaleka tribes. These tribes are descendants of Xhosa, the earliest, most powerful chief of the Xhosa tribes. Thus Opland (1939:9) writes:

> It was the dialect of these descendants of Xhosa that the Lovedale missionaries transcribed and used in their early publications; it is this dialect that has given its name to the language and has become the standard dialect of all the Xhosa- speaking peoples.

According to Zotwana (1987:67) the main determining factor in the advancement of the process of standardization of a variety is the socio-political power of those who speak it. He goes on to say that the powerful elites codify a set of norms which are accepted by the powerless speakers. The norms are made available to other people in the form of dictionaries, grammars, books, etc.

From the above discussion the following deductions can be made:

* one prestige variety is selected for standardization.

* the selected variety is accepted as the correct norm throughout the speech community.

* the selected variety is codified by means of grammar, vocabulary, dictionaries, orthography, etc.

* the variety of the most powerful and dominant group is usually selected for standardization.

It is evident that the use of the standard brings a range of advantages in the sphere of politics, economics, culture and education.

According to Crawhall (1991:4) there is a close relationship between language and access to power. Those who own or manage the wealth of a nation are the ones who also control the national language. The highest status variants tend to be the speech domains of the politically powerful in a particular society, allowing them to elevate their own variants and stigmatise the variants of the politically powerless (O'Barr & O'Barr, 1976:401). The prestige variants are associated with social power and are required for higher status jobs and upward mobility.

The socio-economic status of the speakers of a variety significantly influences the perception of their relative prestige (Zotwana, 1987:177). It is common that the speakers of the low variety choose to use a high variety since it is associated with the highest status.

Educationally, the speakers of the nonstandard variety associate the high variety with intelligence, expertise and confidence. They are perceived less favourably than the standard - variety speakers. As a consequence, they choose to use the standard variety since it is associated with the highest status. For example, in America the standard English is perceived as a marker of power and is often associated more favourably, and the speakers of Black English are perceived as being inferior to white speakers (Trudgill, 1974:65).

3.1.3 LANGUAGE VARIATION

Language variation refers to the different ways of speaking and writing a particular language which may be differences in phonology, syntax and lexicon of the language (Reagan, 1992:39). According to Richards, Platt and Weber (1985:305) variation in a language may be related to region, social class, educational background, and the degree of formality of a situation in which the language is used.

There is always heterogeneity in a speech community (Myers-Scotton, 1992:2; Francis, 1983:15). In other words, any language encompasses a variety of ways of speaking it. Francis (1983:41) states that variation can be of three sorts, namely variation between groups of speakers (dialectal), between individual speakers (idiolectal) and within the performance of individual speakers (stylistic). These differences usually go hand in hand with differing degrees of access to material resources, knowledge and power (Montgomery, 1986:62).

Bell (1976:35) mentions interpersonal and intra-personal types of variation. Interpersonal variations are influenced by such factors as age, sex, geographical and social status of the user. He goes on to say that intrapersonal variations may occur within the same variant depending on the degree of formality or informality of the situation. In other words, the intrapersonal variations are stylistic.

Focussing on Xhosa in particular, differences may be observed according to geographical distribution of the speakers, social class, education, gender, age or the situation in which the language is used. Johnson (1976:134) mentions that certain words may reveal one's origin and custom. For example, people of the Eastern Transkei (Pondo) differ in speech from people of the Central Transkei (Bomvana, Tembu or Mpondomise). The differences may be in pronunciation or lexicon. Consider the following examples:

WORD	GCALEKA	BACA
umvundla (hare)	umvundla	unogwaja
ukuthetha (to speak)	ukuthetha	ukubhobha
ukhuko (mat)	ukhuko	isicamba

(Pahl, 1983:267)

It is also stated that there are differences between rural and urban Xhosa varieties (Thipa, 1989). Thipa (1989:26) mentions that urban Xhosa tends to borrow more from English and Afrikaans than rural Xhosa. He goes on to say that rural Xhosa tends to be very conservative and can be taken to be characteristic of speakers who have been least exposed to western influences and experiences. The relatively uneducated Xhosa speakers can be taken to be representative of rural Xhosa. In other words, the choice of words may reveal one's educational background.

Language variation may also reveal one's social class as stated by Trudgill (1974:34). Members of one class tend to associate with one another more closely than with members of other classes. Variation may be observed in the grammar, some words and/or pronunciation of the members of one social class. For instance, in the case of Xhosa, one may be identified either as a Mpondo or Hlubi speaker depending on the pronunciation, accent or vocabulary one uses.

The manner in wich men and women speak could lead to variations within the same variant. In South Africa, especially among the Xhosa, Zulu and Ndebele tribes, it is common practice that married women use the language of respect and avoidance to their in-laws i.e. UKUHLONIPHA (Reagan, 1992:42). According to Finlayson (1985:14) the procedures adopted in the use of the language of respect and

avoidance include using a word with the same meaning but perhaps not as common; having a word closely associated with the word to be avoided which could be a slight semantic shift and using words from a foreign word such as English or Afrikaans, e.g.

XHOSA	HLONIPHA (words of respect and avoidance)
umntu (a person)	umdyu
isitulo (a chair)	isihlalo
isitya (a basin)	isikotile (skottel)

Allen and Linn (1986:396) have this to say about sex varieties:

> .... sex varieties are the result of social difference ... Using a female linguistic variety is as much a case of identifying oneself as female and of behaving 'as a woman should'.... The women have words and phrases the men never use.

Ethnic identification also plays an important role in language variation. Giles and Saint Jacques (1979:151) say that language is the most powerful single symbol of ethnicity because it makes a group special and unique. They maintain that the members of the subordinate group may emphasize their unique speech styles in order to revive their ethnicity and psycho-social liberation.

Finally, language use varies from one group to another, and from one generation to another (Reagan, 1992:43). The language used by the adults differs from that of the youth. According to Francis (1983:44) children's language variations are passed down from child to child along with other aspects of culture like games, rhymes, and songs. In the South African context, perhaps, we may cite the example of 'TSOTSI-TAAL' or colloquial language. Ngwenya (1992:102) states that the youth like to

address their parents in "TSOTSI' language e.g. "MAGRIZA" to his mother or "ITHAYIMA" to his father. Teenage slang is very common among the youngsters.

It is also believed that language variation is an issue pertaining to registers. For example, Francis (1983:45) and Johnson (1976:134) point out that occupation can lead to a special kind of linguistic variation called jargon. They maintain that recreation also leads to variation e.g. every sport or hobby has its own vocabulary.

The above discussion reflects variations within language speech communities which may be due to geographical distribution, education, social class, gender, ethnicity and age. The main focus has been on the South African context, particularly the Xhosa speech community. The study, however, will concentrate on variation which is due to geographical location in the Transkei Xhosa speech community. This will be dealt with in relation to the variants spoken by different Xhosa tribes in this geographical area.

3.2 NON-STANDARDNESS : IMPLICATIONS FOR SPEAKERS

It is a sociolinguistic rule that standardization involves the selection of one variety as the best form of the language (Fasold, 1984). The selected variety is codified by means of grammar, dictionaries, vocabulary, etc. (Dittmar, 1976; Hudson, 1980).

The standard variety or the norm is associated with prestige and has positive socio-economic connotations for climbing the social ladder (Appel & Muysken, 1987:59; Dittmar, 1976:121). According to Dittmar (1976:120) the standard variety is a high variety which is used in writing and formal speech situations. It is learnt in educational institutions.

On the other hand, there are other varieties which do not conform to the norms of the standard variety. These are referred to as low-varieties. They are used in all informal and unstructured situations (Dittmar, 1976; Myers-Scotton, 1992).

Mashamaite (1992:50) and Van Wyk (1992:6) state that the non-standard varieties do not have written forms and include varieties such as tsotsi-taal, slang, town-language and dialects which cannot be used in the teaching of the language. According to Appel and Muysken (1987:59) the non-standard varieties are often associated with low economic status and lack of educational achievement.

It is stated that the non-standard varieties serve lower functions such as interaction with peer groups and family groups, on the street and on the playground (Van Wyk, 1992:27). The non-standardized varieties do not conform to the norms of the standard language and are often regarded as incorrect in terms of their phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactical patterns.

The discussion so far has merely given the description of the two concepts, standard and non-standard varieties. For a better understanding of variation in Xhosa, it is deemed necessary to apply the characteristics of the standard and non-standard varieties in the Xhosa context.

In the Transkeian Xhosa community the Gcaleka variant is the standardised one. It is used in formal situations such as schools and the media. For example, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and Transkei Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) broadcast in this variant on FM and television. The main Xhosa broadcasting corporations include Radio Xhosa, Radio Ciskei and Radio Transkei. The Transkei broadcasting station makes exclusive use of the Gcaleka variant, while the two stations, SABC and Radio Ciskei make use of the Ngqika variant due to their location

on the west of the Kei river. This is an historical issue which resulted from the split between the Gcaleka and Ngqika tribes of the Xhosa chiefdom as mentioned in 3.1.1. above.

Seemingly, the speakers of the standardised Xhosa variant (SX) are academically in a more favourable position than those who speak one of the non-standard variants (NSX) because the variant used in schools is the same as their home variants. It is associated with social, economic and political advancement.

The fact that non-standardized varieties are used in non-formal situations is acceptable because the non-standardised forms are not used in formal settings such as schools. These are important in cultural settings such as initiation parties, weddings, etc. and in ritual performance. However, these non-standard Xhosa varieties seem to be associated with poor academic achievement and low socio-economic and political horizons. In Chapter 4 this hypothesis will be tested.

3.3 PROBLEMS OF STANDARDIZATION

Xhosa standardization took place at the expense of the non-standard Xhosa speakers. It is hypothesized that the variant of the politically dominant group was selected as norm which subsequently further entrenched and perpetuated the dominance of that particular group.

Focusing on education, there seems to be evidence of favouritism as far as speakers from high status variants are concerned. The language of these speakers is regarded as more attractive, more intelligent and more desirable than the language from low status variants.

Another problem is the way speakers of low status variants perceive their language as sub-standard. Teachers seem to look less favourably on the use of low status variants in various ways: social censure of these variants consciously or unconsciously blocking scholastic advancement of these speakers. Children of low-status variants early on in their school careers begin to develop a low self-esteem, negative sentiments around schooling and a limited social horizon. According to Myers-Scotton (1992) and Bright (1971) the prestige language often leads to heterogeneity instead of uniformity. The use of the prestige variant promotes social advancement while the use of the lower prestige variants reduces opportunities for success in the society as a whole (Ryan & Giles, 1982:1).

Hudson (1980:201) mentions that linguistic inequality leads to social inequality. Consequently the speakers of the low-status variants may judge their speech as being inferior to the high-status variant, and begin to develop an unfavourable image of their own group. The negative attitude towards the non-prestige variants is reinforced by the speaker's awareness that their variants do not have a function in gaining upward social mobility (Appel & Muysken, 1987:20).

On the other hand, the speakers of the standard variant perceive the speakers of the non-standard forms as having a mentality which is different from and inferior to their own (Reinecke, 1937:90). Reinecke (1937) and Trudgill (1974) state that the standard variant is accorded excellence and beauty while the non-standardised forms are seen to be ugly and deficient, wrong, corrupt. As a result, the speakers of the low variety may choose to use the high variety (standardised variety) since it is associated with the highest status. This option is a means of removing their stigmatized speech forms which may be frustrating to them (Giles & St Jacques, 1979:8). At the same time the speakers of low-status variant feel a certain loyalty towards their variant as it embodies cultural values dear to them. In the case of

Xhosa, the above statements seem to be of much relevance. The Transkeian Xhosa speech community is a heterogenous one with different non-standardised speech forms. As a result of the spread of education, the non-standardized variants are marginalised as they are not accepted in formal education. Most of the non-standardised variant-speakers tend to shift to the standardised version which is associated with high academic achievement. Consequently, most of the non-standardised Xhosa variants are commonly used by the illiterates who have not entered the educational setting. They are the people who can speak the Xhosa dialects in their undiluted forms.

Appel and Muysken (1987:20) maintain that the non-standardised variants may be highly valued for social, subjective and affective reasons. They state clearly that the fact that the speakers of the non-standardised variants display negative attitudes to their language does not imply that they are of no importance.

According to Trudgill (1974:24) language can be a very important factor in group identification, group solidarity and the signalling of difference. The speakers of the minority languages may retain their languages in order to reinforce their group identity (Giles & St Jacques, 1979:6).

The non-standard speech forms are also retained as chief symbols of identity. Although the non-standard speakers may have limited access to opportunities for acquiring the prestige variety, they may feel very comfortable in their native speech styles (Giles & St Clair, 1979:147).

In the Xhosa context, some of the variants are associated with various cultural activities and ritual performance. For example, the Pondo variant is associated with INDLAMU (Pondo tribal dance) and the Baca variant is associated with UKUSHWAMA (eating raw meat). It is apparent that although the non-standard Xhosa forms are unacceptable in formal and educational environments, they are of cultural importance to their speakers.

3.4 EFFECTS OF STANDARDIZATION ON CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

Although standardization should be regarded as an important and vital process in creating norm and uniformity, it is also discriminatory. There is linguistic insecurity and linguistic alienation on the part of those who speak the non-prestige varieties (O'Barr & O'Barr, 1976:293).

The speakers of the high variety (standard variety) are rated higher in intelligence, confidence and in academic and social success (Fasold, 1984; Ryan & Giles, 1982). The low varieties are associated with low academic achievement. They are stigmatised and not considered as suitable vehicles for communication in schools or subjects to be taught (Appel & Muysken, 1987:59).

Trudgill (1984) and Hudson (1980) claim that the negative attitudes of the teachers towards the disadvantaged children (speakers of low varieties) may hinder the children's progress. This is echoed by Pride (1979:81) who states that the enforcement of the dominant languages in schools may cause a serious setback to the children. This may be followed by a high dropout rate as stated by Williams (1970:237).

> .... struggling with the language spoken has a damaging effect on their confidence on themselves.... for many of them, walking away is the only solution they know.

According to Ryan and Giles (1982:29) the teachers tend to concentrate less on what the child says than how he says it. Children are sometimes forbidden to speak their home language and even punished for using their native language in schools (Stubbs, 1976). As a result, children possessing the non-standard speech forms tend to use the standard form in their speech because it is associated with greater success in schools.

As far as Xhosa is concerned, there is an assumption that the standardization process favoured one variant (Gcaleka) which seems to be more prestigious than other variants. In the education context, it is assumed that the speakers of the standard variant (Gcaleka) have better life's chances than the students who are speakers of the non-standard variants. Seemingly, the attitudes of the Xhosa teachers towards the non-standard variant speakers promote the students negative self-concepts which may lead to poor performance by the students. Students seem to be penalized for using non-standard forms at school. All these assumptions will be investigated in the next chapter.

3.5 CONCLUSION

From what has been said, it seems that variation is a common phenomenon in all speech communities. This process tends to divide the community in winners and losers, depending on the varieties spoken.

In the next chapter 1 intend to look at the position in the Transkeian Xhosa speech community in order to ascertain to what extent a child's variant tends to determine her life's chances.

CHAPTER FOUR

A SURVEY OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN THE BROAD EDUCATIONAL FIELD

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the research procedures employed in the collection of data, as well as an outline of the results of the research. The subjects involved in this study include high school students, teachers, the Xhosa subject adviser in Transkei, a Xhosa lecturer from the University of Transkei as well as people from the market place, namely: the Programme's Manager of the Transkei Broadcasting Corporation and a Xhosa writer. The interviews (semi-structured and unstructured) were used as instruments in the collection of data.

The following codes representing the various Xhosa variants will be used in this chapter :

V1 - Gcaleka
V2 - Bomvana
V3 - Tembu
V4 - Mpondo
V5 - Cele
V6 - Xesibe
V7 - Ntlangwini
V8 - Baca
V9 - Hlubi

These variants are ranked according to their social status as suggested by the subjects involved in this study. The ranks given to the various variants indicate the students' perception of the different Xhosa variants. This means that the variant

given the lowest rank was perceived to be of the lowest status by the students involved in this study. For the sake of clarity and relevance the following abbreviations will also be used:

SX - Standard Xhosa;

NSX - Non-standard Xhosa.

4.2 THE STUDENTS' SAMPLE

The students' sample consisted of almost 184 students chosen at random from nine senior secondary schools of Transkei. The random sample comprised 10% of the total Std 10 population in each school. I made use of the random sample in order to avoid bias, since each individual within the population identified has an equal chance of being chosen (Hitchock and Hughes 1989:81; Vockell, 1983:105). From each school the pupils who could speak the respective variants were identified. The sample was then chosen from them, irrespective of sex and age.

In order to look at the correlation between variants spoken and academic performance of the students, the schools from which the samples of students were drawn were those that are located in the variant-speaking areas of Transkei. The following is a list of schools from which the samples were drawn:

* Xolilizwe senior secondary school in Willowvale. The people of this area speak the Gcaleka variant (V1) which is the standardised Xhosa (SX) form. The Gcaleka are regarded as the "true Xhosa" and are reputed to speak the 'purest' language (Mertens & Broster, 1973:3).

* Holomisa senior secondary school in Mqanduli district.
  Variant : BOMVANA (V2).

* Hollycross senior secondary school in Umtata.
  Variant : TEMBU (V3).

* Langa senior secondary school in Flagstaff.
  Variant : MPONDO (V4).

* Jikindaba senior secondary school in Lusikisiki.
  Variant : CELE (V5).

* Jojo senior secondary school in Mt Ayliff district.
  Variant : XESIBE (V6).

* Rietvlei senior secondary school in Umzimkulu district
  Variant : NTLANGWINI (V7).

* Mt Frere Senior Secondary School in Mt Frere district.
  Variant : BACA (V8).

* Tlokweng senior secondary school in Herschel.
  Variant : HLUBI (V9).

Criteria for the inclusion of the students in the study were that the students should be doing Std 10, are taking Xhosa as one of the subjects and should be the speakers of the variants mentioned above.

4.3 HYPOTHESIS

It is a historical event that the arrival of the earliest missionaries among the strongest Xhosa tribes, Rharhabe and Ngqika tribes, led to the standardization of the language of these tribes. As a result of the dispute between Gcaleka and Rharhabe, the variant of the Gcaleka people developed as the standard variant for all the Xhosa-speaking groups in the Transkei, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

My hypothesis then is that the speakers of Gcaleka who speak the standardised form of Xhosa are being advantaged by the education system and employers of professional and semi-professional people.

I further hypothesise that there is a significant correlation between the variant spoken and the child's academic performance, self-concept and life's chances.

4.4 PROCEDURE

All the students involved in the study were interviewed in their own schools through the medium of Xhosa. I decided to conduct the interviews in Xhosa in order to create a more relaxed atmosphere for the students, in which they would be free to express their views as they wished, rather than using a second language.

The interviews took place in venues which were chosen by the researcher and her subjects. The researcher selected places which were private and where the students would feel comfortable, like an open space outside the classrooms. Some of the interviews were conducted in the classrooms due to bad weather conditions.

I began by explaining that the purpose of the interview was to find out about various variants spoken in Transkei and their influence on the education of children in that particular geographical area. I made use of semi-structured and unstructured interviews. The unstructured mode was used in order to allow me greater flexibility and most questions were open-ended allowing for a free flow of opinions.

In order to recapture the fullness and faithfulness of words and idioms, I requested the interviewees to be tape-recorded to which they agreed.

The interviews were conducted in single sessions of approximately one hour and took place over three weeks. The interviews covered the following topics:

* Problems encountered by the variant-speakers in Xhosa.
* Their academic performance in Xhosa.
* Their life's chances in terms of the variant spoken.
* Rating the variants in order of prestige and social standing.
* Attitudes of the students towards the standard variant.
* Attitudes of the students towards their own variants.
* The students' self-concept in terms of the variant spoken.
* Some general comments and suggestions.

The interviews were transcribed and the rough data processed. Although the data is not reflected in the text, it is in my possession, and is available on request. The following is an analysis of the results of the students' interviews:

4.5 RESULTS OF THE STUDENTS' INTERVIEWS

4.5.1 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY THE STUDENTS

In order to find out about the impact of the Xhosa variants on the education of children, the students were asked whether they experienced any difficulties or problems in Xhosa, and if so, what were the problems they encountered.

About sixty-six percent of the respondents said that their problems were of a varietal nature. These respondents included the speakers of the following non-standard variants; V4, V5, V6, V7, V8 and V9. They pointed out that they tended to write the way they spoke, and that their speech-forms were unacceptable at school. This implies that the closer to the norm, the fewer the problems, and conversely, the further from the norm, the more the problems were experienced.

They were being penalized for using their variants at school.

Stubbs' comments (1979:23) seems to be apt:

> ...children have been forbidden to speak their own languages altogether, and even punished for using their native language in schools.

This was echoed by Mashamaite (1992:57) who stated that pupils tended to "forget" to "translate" the spoken words into written form when they write letters and essays. Consequently, they write the way they speak and this is then labelled "dialectal" or "non- standard" language errors.

Another problem cited by these students was that they resorted to non-standard forms because they lacked vocabulary in Xhosa. For example, one student from Tlokweng senior secondary school (V9) said that his speech was also influenced by the Sotho language as some of the students in his school were doing Sotho instead of Xhosa. As a result, he tended to use a Sotho-Xhosa blend. Students from Rietvlei senior secondary school (V7) also indicated that their speech was influenced. In this case by the Zulu language since they live in the border area between Transkei and KwaZulu.

When looking at the variants on the lower end of the social scale, some non-standard-variant-speakers (V6, V7 and V9) stated that they were even ashamed of using their variants publicly because of the heavily stigmatised nature of these variants . The influence of these negative attitudes on their self concept is self-evident. Stubbs (1976:21) reacts critically to this kind of attitude as he perceives it to be unfair to judge a speaker's intelligence, character and personal worth on the basis of his/her language. However, we have also learnt that in the field of language attitude, a strange kind of logic prevails.

Some respondents from Hollycross senior secondary school (V3) indicated that they were brought up in an urban environment and they were not used to rural life. They said that some examination questions required knowledge pertaining to rural life. For example, one student said that he could not manage to complete a Xhosa sentence without using an English or Afrikaans word because he grew up in Port Elizabeth, where most people used Afrikaans. He stated that it was very difficult for him to speak or write standard Xhosa. This issue of an urban variety is supported by Thipa (1992:80) that urban Xhosa seems to reflect a greater tendency to borrow from

English and Afrikaans than does rural Xhosa. To elaborate on this he cites the following example to emphasize the influence of urbanization on the Xhosa language:

BENDISADAYALA NDIBHUKISHA IKHOLI...

(I was still dialling, booking a call...) (Thipa, 1992:85)

Since the telephones are not very common in rural communities, the idea of "dialling" in order to make a "call" is associated with urban life. Urban students, on the other hand, lack some Xhosa vocabulary which the rural children possess. For instance, a student growing up in a rural area would speak of "UKUTSALA UMNXEBA" (to phone) instead of "DIALING".

Predictably out of the nine schools involved in the study, students from Xolilizwe senior secondary school (V1) and Holomisa senior secondary school (V2) claimed that they had no problem in Xhosa. The students of Xolilizwe senior secondary school are the speakers of the Gcaleka variant (V1) which is the standardised variety in the Transkeian Xhosa speech community. The V1 speakers said that the variant they were using at school was in fact their home language. It follows that these children are at an advantage because they are able to understand and use the language to meet the demands of the classroom situation. They also stand a better chance to succeed at school as they are inclined to live up to teacher's expectations (Feagans & Farran, 1982:14). The positive attitude towards their language use is transferred to other areas of learning and social interaction.

Students from Holomisa senior secondary school (V2) claimed that they experienced no problems in Xhosa because their variant was closely related to the standard variant (Gcaleka). They also indicated that they were doing well in Xhosa.

From the foregoing discussion it may be concluded that the closer to SX, the fewer the problems, the better the performance and the better the self-concept. Conversely the further from SX, the more stigmatised the language becomes, with concommitent negative spin-offs in the psycho-social field.

4.5.2 THE STUDENT'S ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

4.5.2.1 HIGH ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

When the students were asked about their performance in Xhosa, about 55% of them claimed that their performance in Xhosa was satisfactory to good. The students who were positive about their performance were from Xolilizwe (V1), Holomisa (V2), Hollycross (V3), Mt Frere (V8) and Jikindaba (V5) senior secondary schools.

The students from V1 said that they were doing exceptionally well and there was no one failing Xhosa at their school. The high level of confidence in Xhosa in all likelyhood positively influenced their sentiments about the examination as a whole. These students were confident that the class average for the end of the year examination would be a `B' average.

Although the other students who are the speakers of the non- standard variants (V3, V5, V8) stated that they were doing well in Xhosa, it was apparent in their responses that they had to work harder at it than speakers of the high status variants which approximated the norm. For example, students from Hollycross (V3) pointed out that they had to resort to memorization in order to pass. As they were unable to write expressive, idiomatically correct essays and letters, they relied heavily on marks obtained by memorization in the grammar section of the examination.

When the students from Mt Frere (V8) were asked how they managed to get B symbols in Xhosa, they said that it can be attributed to hard work because they were aware of the fact that Xhosa was not their home variant. The amount of time spent on preparation for the Xhosa examinations was far more than the time spent on the same subject by the SX speakers. It may be implied that these students were also disadvantaged in the other subjects taught through the medium of English as they would have less time to devote to the other subjects.

The students from Jikindaba (V5) said that the highest symbol usually was a D. Compared to the performance of V1, V2 and V3 speakers, it can be regarded as very low.

4.5.2.2 LOW ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

About 45% of the interviewed students indicated that they were gaining very low marks in the Xhosa examinations. These respondents were the V4, V6, V7 and V9 speakers. All of them said that the highest symbol they could expect at the end of the year was a D.

The speakers of V9 revealed some distressing statistics : They pointed out that in the 1992 June examinations, out of 183 students, only twelve students passed Xhosa in their school. They said that it was very common to get a class full of repeaters because of not having passed Xhosa. When asked about their performance in other subjects, they said that they had a fair performance in other subjects but they were failing the whole examination because one has to pass Xhosa in order to get the Senior Certificate.

From these statistics it is clear that Hlubi speakers are profoundly disadvantaged by the bias towards the norm. It is logical to assume that students who are so heavily penalised for not being able to speak SX will not only suffer academically but also psycho-socially. This may also have an adverse impact on their performance in other subjects. Conversely, those who were performing well in Xhosa may be more motivated to perform well in the other subjects.

From what has been said above, it is apparent that V1 speakers who speak the SX reflect confidence and achieve good grades. It is also evident that the closer to SX, the better the academic performance. Conversely, the further from SX, the less confidence and the lower the academic performance.

4.5.3 STUDENTS' LIFE'S CHANCES IN TERMS OF THE VARIANT SPOKEN

In order to find out whether or not the life's chances of the students could be limited by the variant they speak, the students were asked to rate the variant speakers' chances in the work place.

More than 70% of the respondents felt that only the SX would qualify one for a professional career such as in broadcasting corporations and teaching Xhosa as a subject.

One student from V5 showed awareness of the fact that SX is associated with prestige as suggested by Wardhaugh (1989) and Dittmar (1976). He said that SX was the only variant recognised in Transkei, and, as a speaker of V5, if he could go further with his studies and hold a position as a cabinet minister, he would not feel comfortable in that position as he would be labelled as a V5 speaker and he would gain no popularity. This remarkable statement demonstrated yet again how a student's perception of himself and his chances were directly linked to the variant

spoken. The standard variety is used to maximise chances of academic success and access to desirable and well-paid employment (Sutcliffe & Wong, 1986:124).

The V6 speakers responded that there was "no life" in their variant. When they were asked to elaborate, they said that they were disadvantaged in the sense that it barred them from higher education. It is implied that the NSX forms are not associated with access to post-secondary levels as it is the case with SX.

To substantiate the above perception, Samarin quoted by Bright (1971:188) states that the form of language which contributes to one's social advancement will dominate in any situation. He regards the prestige language as the only means for upward social mobility (Bright, 1979:191).

Judging from the above responses, SX is conferred prestige and the NSX forms are perceived to be of low status. Non-standard forms are non-prestigious and are being regarded as 'wrong' and 'ugly' (Trudgill, 1974:20).

Concerning the life's chances in terms of the variant spoken, only students form V1, V2 and V8 stated that their variants enhance their life's chances. These were the students who claimed to do well in Xhosa examinations. Their optimism is shared by Farquhar (1968) quoted in Purkey (1970:19) who found that students who did well at school were inclined to have high self concepts.

The students from V1 responded confidently that as they were speaking the norm, they should enjoy preference in the job market which require a good knowledge of and fluency in Xhosa. They generally displayed more confidence as far as job-prospects were concerned. Joseph (1987:44) remarks on the standard variety in education that it can help an individual in improving his/her personal status. This

view is supported by Purkey (1970:19) that the successful student has confidence in his general ability and is optimistic about his future performance. The V2-speaking students said that they were optimistic about their life's chances because their variant is closely related to V1. Their positive attitude synchronise with Dittmar's (1976) findings that the closer to the norm, the better the self-concept and the more optimistic one becomes about one's life's chances.

Students from Mt Frere (V8) argued that although they were speaking a non-standardised variant, they were not in any way disadvantaged because Xhosa is not a pre-requisite for employment in certain fields. They said that one had to know other languages like English in order to be employed. Some do make it because they are scholastically well positioned and have self-confidence. It was significant that these respondents regarded English as more important in terms of job prospects. On the other hand, it is also clear that many students are seriously handicapped by their inability to speak SX.

The above responses reflect that SX is associated with prestige, better life's chances and upward social mobility. The closer to SX, the greater the confidence of the speakers and the more optimistic they become about themselves and their own abilities.

4.5.4 STUDENTS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS SX

To test the students' attitudes towards SX, the students were asked what their attitude towards Xhosa was.

About 80% of the respondents displayed a positive attitude towards Xhosa. The respondents came from V1, V2, V3, V5, V6, V7 and V8 speakers. Speakers of V1 predictably displayed the greatest interest in Xhosa because they were doing well in it. They said that they were proud of their mother tongue.

As the standards of performance drop, so does the attitude towards the subject. Attitude and performance seem to be closely correlated (Burns, 1982:232). Due to their high failure rate in Xhosa, the V4 and V9 speaking students said that their interest in Xhosa was gradually decreasing. They said that they were devoting much of their time to Xhosa but with very disappointing results. Burns' (1982:235) view that pupils who perceive themselves as failures are likely to drop out of school and engage in antisocial activity seem to be applicable to this group. Some of the V9 students dropped out of school due to their poor Xhosa results.

4.5.5 STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEIR OWN VARIANTS

In order to find out whether students had positive or negative attitudes towards their own variants, the students were asked whether or not they wanted to retain their own variants or to shift from their variants to V1.

Research elsewhere indicated that excellence and beauty are conferred in an irrational way on the standard variety whilst non-standard variants are associated with deficiencies and ugliness (Reinecke, 1937:91). As a result, the speakers of non- standardised variants were inclined to shift towards the standardised variant. The responses I received from the students seemed to be in line with Reinecke's (1937) observation. Out of the eight schools with non-standard variants, five of them stated that they wanted to do away with their own variants and speak the SX form. These were the speakers of V3, V4, V6, V7 and V9. They stated that they

were disadvantaged academically and socially by their variants. In other words, their speech forms were stigmatized, and shifting to V1 was a way of overcoming the stigma. Pride (1979:188) refers to this phenomenon as 'eradicationism', i.e. eliminating non-standard forms and replacing them with standard forms. Although this seems to be a solution to the problem of variation, he pointed out that suppression of a variant often leads to other psycho-social deviations, as these speakers tend to lose their cultural identity in the process.

From this observation it can be deduced that the closer to the norm, the more secure one feels about one's own variant. The V2 speakers for example, stated that their variant was closely related to V1, and that they felt good about speaking it.

The V5 and V8 speakers showed loyalty towards their own variants. Language loyalty refers to the retention of a language by its speakers where another language is dominant and to defend it against encroachment (Fishman, 1972:371; Richards, et al., 1985:158). These students said that they were very proud of their variants and they did not want to loose their way of speaking. The V8 speakers in particular, indicated that their variant had cultural connotations for them, and they wanted to keep it active for future generations. As cultural norms and values of a group are transmitted by its language or variant, it can be assumed that a varietal shift towards V1 may be easier said than done.

Some students seemed to be confused as to whether to shift to V1 or to retain their own variants. The V4 and V7 students stated that it would be very difficult to do away with their manner of speech because they were used to it. They suggested that these schools should allow them to use their NSX forms and at the same time they should be taught the SX. This also reflected loyalty to their variants because they did not want them to be eradicated. Pride (1979:188) refers to the teaching of

the standard variant, without eradicating the non-standard forms as bidialectalism. In bidialectalism the student is able to use either standard or non-standard forms as the situation requires. This is also referred to as additive bilingualism.

From the above discussion it may be deduced that the non-standard variant speakers are generally inclined to converge towards standardised form. At the same time, most of the NSX speakers were loyal to their variants and they wanted to retain their variants. Their variants obviously have cultural and political significance for the speakers.

4.5.6 STUDENTS' SELF-CONCEPT IN TERMS OF THE VARIANT SPOKEN

Educational psychologists believe that there is a significant and positive correlation between a student's self concept and her performance at school. Students who feel good about themselves and their abilities are the ones who are most likely to succeed. Conversely, those who see themselves and their abilities in a negative way usually fail to achieve good results (Purkey, 1970:14). The `self' is defined as a complex and dynamic system of beliefs which an individual holds true about himself (Purkey, 1970:7).

A series of questions were put to the students in order to establish how they perceived themselves in terms of the variants they spoke.

The NSX speakers were asked to rate themselves in order of winning or losing if they were given the same essay to write or involved in a competition which was conducted through the medium of Xhosa. About half of the eight interviewed groups said that the V1 speakers should perform significantly better. These respondents were from V4, V6, V7 and V9. Judging from their responses, it is apparent that

they have a marked inferiority complex towards V1 speakers. This in turn should have an adverse effect on their self-concept; Hudson (1980:201) has this to say about the relationship between an inferiority complex and a negative self image:

> ...those who do not belong to the upper echelons of society may judge their own speech as inferior, thus making it correspondinglydifficult for them to build a favourable image of their own group.

One student from V7 informed me that she always refrained from participating in a Xhosa lesson, even if she knew the correct answer, due to her feeling of insecurity in the subject. As this student didn't have the confidence, she resorted to the position of the passive onlooker. Burns (1982:229) states that failure may cause the students to expect the worst in every situation and to be afraid of doing the wrong thing or saying the wrong word. The same problem was evident among the North American Indians whose academic success was dependent on English. Their lack of proficiency in English resulted in low academic achievement which was accompanied by a correspondingly low frequency and length of pupil response in classroom discussions (Williams, 1970:235).

My personal observations in second language classroom tend to confirm Williams' (1970) findings that students tend to be passive in the classroom due to their inability to express themselves properly in the second language.

The other fifty percent (V2, V3, V5, and V8) displayed greater confidence and maintained that they could compete on equal footing with the V1 speakers in essay-writing and could do well in competitions.

Giles' observation (1982:28) seems to be true of the situation in the Xhosa speech community, i.e. the standard variety speakers (V1 in this case) are associated with confidence, greater academic and social success. The closer the speaker is to the standard variety, the greater the confidence and the better the chances for academic and social success.

4.5.7 RATING THE VARIANTS IN ORDER OF PRESTIGE AND SOCIAL STANDING

In order to find out how the students perceived their variants in relation to the prestige variant (SX), they were aked to rate themselves with other variants against the SX. In other words, they were asked whether or not they perceived their variants to be close to SX and to rate the variants according to social standing.

Students from V2 and V3 claimed to be close to SX, and the rest (V4, V5, V6, V7 and V8) stated that their speech forms were not at all close to SX. At the same time some of them cited other variants which they perceived to be of lower status than theirs. For example, the V4 speakers felt that the V5 and V8 speakers were of the lowest status.

The V6 students claimed that their language was not close to SX, but they perceived it to be of higher status than V7 because its speakers were mixing Baca (V8) and Zulu.

It is interesting to note that the V5 speakers perceived their variant to be of a higher status than V8 although both of them (V5 and V8) were labelled as the lowest status variants by the V4 speakers.This attitude towards other variants is a matter of social attitude and clearly is deeply embedded in historical and political

circumstances. The V7 speakers placed themselves on the second level from the bottom of the variant-hierarchy. They also stated that the lowest status variant of all the variants was the V8.

It is only the Hlubi-speaking students (V9) who perceived their variant as having the lowest status of all the 9 variants. They said that their speech was also influenced by the Sotho and Zulu languages. As a result, their language sounds more like Zulu than Xhosa.

Judging from the above observations, the V8 was perceived as being of the lowest social rank by most of the variant speakers. The general perception was that the V4 and V8 speakers were generally of low rank. Seemingly these groups lack values and customs that are regarded as socially important.

4.5.8 GENERAL COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS

To wind up the interviews, the researcher invited some comments and suggestions from the interviewees. These were some of the comments and suggestions that were presented:

Students from Rietvlei Senior Secondary school (V7) suggested that they should be allowed to use their own variants at school as they suffer academically because of their inability to speak Xhosa. They said that it was very difficult for them to master Xhosa easily because they have been brought up speaking their own variant, and even at home they used the variant in its 'purest' form. They indicated that if they could be allowed to speak and write their own variants at school, their academic performance could improve tremendously.

The students from Hollycross Senior secondary School (V3) said that they had sympathy for variant-speaking students who failed to obtain high marks because of the variants they were speaking. They suggested that there should be some written material in their variants which should be part of the materials used in the classroom. This suggestion is in keeping with the accepted sociolinguistic notion that the limited, contextualised use of variants in the classroom could be beneficial to the general psycho-social development of variant speakers.

One student from Jojo Senior Secondary School (V6) who is a speaker of the Xesibe variant remarked that the teachers should exercise fairness towards them when marking because they did not know Xhosa. This idea was opposed by his colleagues who stated that if such a practice was allowed there could be no standard.

Almost all the interviewed students, except Xolilizwe students (V1), stated that they would be very happy if they could be supplied with Xhosa-dictionaries at schools. The variant-speakers indicated that their academic performance would improve if they had dictionaries to refer to.

In contrast to these speakers the students from Xolilizwe Senior Secondary school who are speakers of the standard-variant (V1) pointed out that they did not see the need for dictionaries at schools as they speak Xhosa properly.

The Hlubi-speaking students (V9) of Tlokweng Senior Secondary School suggested that research should be conducted on their variant so that complete knowledge of their Hlubi-variant would be collected. They indicated that the information gathered on their variant should be useful in writing books in their variant. They also mentioned that their poor academic performance should improve if their variant could be developed. We didn't pursue this perception any further.

4.6 THE TEACHERS' INTERVIEWS

4.6.1 METHODS

4.6.1.1 SAMPLE

The sample comprised of six teachers drawn from six senior secondary schools of Transkei, namely: Hollycross, Jikindaba, Jojo, Mt Frere, Langa and Xolilizwe Senior Secondary Schools.

Five of these teachers were drawn from schools with speakers of the following variants: Tembu (V3), Cele (5), Xesibe (V6), Baca (V8), and Pondo (V4). One teacher was from Xolilizwe Senior Secondary School with speakers of standardized Xhosa (V1).

The participants involved in the survey were selected on the basis that they were teaching Xhosa in Std 10. The teaching experience and sex of the teachers were not used as criteria for inclusion in the list of respondents. Five of the six teachers had more than five years experience in teaching and one of them was new in the teaching profession. All the participants were female teachers.

4.6.1.2 THE INTERVIEWS

The interviews were carried out in the teachers' schools in sessions of approximately twenty minutes. They were conducted through the medium of Xhosa in order to permit easy communication and to elicit frank and unambiguous answers from the respondents (Good, 1972:238). They were carried out in informal and relaxed situations.

In order to create a relaxed atmosphere, I made use of semi- structured and unstructured interviews. The interviews were recorded so as to produce a complete record. The issues dealt with were the following:

* the problems experienced in teaching Xhosa to speakers of Xhosa variants.
* a possible correlation between varietal use and academic performance.
* teachers' attitudes towards variants.
* general comments and suggestions.

The interviews were transcribed and the rough data processed. An analysis of the results of the interviews is given below:

4.6.2 ANALYSIS OF THE TEACHERS' INTERVIEWS

4.6.2.1 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY THE RESPONDENTS

The respondents were asked whether or not they encountered problems in teaching Xhosa to variant speakers. These respondents were from Jojo (V6), Langa (V4), Hollycross (V3), Mt Frere (V8) and Jikindaba (V5) Senior Secondary Schools.

All the respondents from the schools mentioned above said that they were experiencing some problems in the teaching of Xhosa although the problems differed depending to the variants spoken.

The most serious problems were encountered by the respondents from Jojo (V6), Langa (V4), Jikindaba (V5) and Mt Frere (V8). These were located in the area of phonology. Here are some examples of the problems cited: the Pondo-speaking students were said to confuse the sound /sh/ [ʃ] with /tsh/ [tʃh]. The students from Jojo Senior Secondary School (V6) who were speaking the Xesibe variant, had a problem with the sound [g] which was confused with [ɓ]. For example, [ŋgabɔ] would therefore be pronounced as [ɓaɓɔ] (it is they).

The respondent from Mt Frere (V8) Senior Secondary School with Baca-speaking students indicated that she had a problem with the sound [s] which was pronounced as [k'] by her students, e.g. they said "NdingowakeMbodleni" instead of "NdingowaseMbodleni" (I am from Mbodleni).

Another problem was raised by the teacher from Hollycross Senior Secondary School (V3) that her students had a tendency of mixing English and Afrikaans words in their speech when they were writing essays and letters. She suspected that the contributing factor might be the influence of the township varieties as the school is situated in town. Ngwenya (1992:100) was also of the same view that the common use of the tsotsi language is due to the development of Black townships into fully fledged residential areas. He stated that this form of language seeped into the classroom in the form of written or oral work.

All the respondents indicated that the students tended to translate their speech forms into writing and as a consequence, their essays and letters reflected varietal character. This was witnessed by Mashaite (1992:51) who stated that the difference between the spoken language and the written language created problems in the classroom because the students' variants tended to interfere with the written code.

Out of the six interviewed teachers, only one teacher from V1 indicated that she had no problems in the teaching of Xhosa. She claimed that her students were speaking correct Xhosa at home, so they experienced no difficulties at school because their home variant was the accepted standardised norm. She isolated morphology as an area that presented some problems.

All the participants included in the study mentioned that their students had no problem in reading fluently, which points to inability to speak and write fluently and correctly. Students tended to translate their non-standard speech forms into writing and this conflicted with the standard forms.

From the above responses it may be deduced that the further the students are from SX, the more difficulties were encountered at a formal level.

4.7 THE POSSIBLE CORRELATION BETWEEN VARIETAL USE AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

4.7.1 ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

To evaluate the students' academic performance in Xhosa, a series of questions on the general performance of the students in class and in the final examinations were posed.

Out of the six interviewed teachers, four of them stated that their students were doing well in Xhosa. These teachers were from Xolilizwe (V1), Jikindaba (V5), Hollycross (V3), and Mt Frere (V8) Senior Secondary Schools.

The respondent from Xolilizwe (V1) Senior Secondary Schoool claimed that the performance of her students in Xhosa was very good. She told me that her students were well disposed towards the language as most of them were brought up in Gcaleka region where SX is spoken. On average students achieved B and C symbols. She indicated that she was also a speaker of V1, and therefore served as a good model for the students.

The respondent from Holly Cross Senior Secondary School (V3) claimed that her students were also doing well in Xhosa. She mentioned that she was aware of the fact that her students couldn't express themselves correctly in essays, therefore she tended to drill them in grammar and literature in order to obtain good symbols (B's and C's).

When the respondent from Mt Frere Senior Secondary School (V8) was asked how she managed to produce good results, she stated that her students were always aware that they were not speaking Xhosa, so they devoted much of their time to Xhosa. She also stated that she had to work very hard to help her students in their work. The teacher displayed a favourable attitude towards her ability to teach well. Her attitude should obviously contribute to the positive self concepts that her students displayed (Purkey (1970:46).

The teacher at Jikindaba Senior Secondary School regarded a D symbol as good. She claimed that her students' performance was also excellent although they were speakers of (V5). She mentioned that her students were more serious than the V1 speakers in their work. It is noteworthy that her perception of what is being regarded as `good', differs from those of previous respondents.

Judging from the teachers' responses, it is apparent that the SX is associated with high academic performance; and the closer to SX, the better the academic performance.

There also seems to exist a positive correlation between the teachers' expectations and the students' performance. Purkey (1970:47) states:

> When the teacher believes that his students can achieve, the students appear to be more successful; when the teacher believes that the students cannot achieve, then it influences their performance negatively.

Pupils expected to do well by their teachers actually do so, and those expected to do badly live up to the deficit model and become victims of the `self-fulfilling prophecy' (Rogers, 1982:19).

Only two teachers, out of the six teachers involved in the study said that their students' academic performance was low in Xhosa. These teachers were from Langa Senior Secondary School, with Pondo-speaking students (V4) and Jojo Senior Secondary School with Xesibe-speakers (V6).

The teacher from Langa Senior Secondary School (V4) said that her students tended to use Pondo words when writing Xhosa and she assumed that it was one of the factors which had a negative effect on the students' performance. She indicated that it was very rare to get a symbol higher than a D and the majority of the students usually obtained E and F symbols.

According to Hudson (1980:209) negative expectations by the teacher may lead to negative performance by the pupils. This statement relates to the response given by the teacher from Jojo Senior Secondary School with Xesibe-speaking students (V6) who stated that she didn't expect more than D symbol from her students because their performance was generally poor. This relates to the Pygmalion effect. According to the Pygmalion effect teachers are responsible for the lack of success experienced by some pupils and the success enjoyed by others (Rogers, 1982:19). If teachers anticipate poor work, they usually get it (Burns, 1982:248). The negative expectations of this teacher may be attributed to the low social status conferred on V6. The students themselves lack positive self-concepts and they also lack motivation from their teacher. Obviously, this may lead to poor academic performance by the students.

It can be concluded that the performance of V1-speaking students was associated with intelligence, confidence and high academic achievement; and the further from SX the more effort was needed to succeed. Trudgill (1974:52) stated that children who didn't use the elaborated code suffered educationally because they failed to live up to teachers' expectations.

4.8 TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE VARIANTS

To test the teachers' attitudes towards the variants, they were asked whether or not the variant speakers should be encouraged to use their variants at school. Giles et. al. (1982:30) argues that teachers seem to hold negative views of low status variants and their speakers. By testing the teachers' attitudes towards these variants I wanted to establish whether this was indeed the case in the Transkei.

Five of the six interviewed teachers displayed negative attitudes towards the variants. They maintained that speakers of the other variants should not be allowed to speak and use their variants at school because they believed that their performance was lowered by the variant they spoke. These were the teachers of the speakers of the following variants: V1, V4, V5, V6 and V8. This attitude of eradication of non-standard variants is not a unique phenomenon that only occurs in African languages. Mashamaite (1992:52) cites Berry (1976) who says that the same attitude was seen in English teachers in America who regarded all the dialects, including Black English as deficient in form and, therefore, had to be eradicated.

When asked whether or not it was fair that the students were penalized for using their home variants at school, five of the six interviewed teachers responded that they deemed it necessary to correct the students when using the NSX because it was seen as one of the factors that contributed considerably to the high failure rate.

They emphasized that the students should stick to the standardized norm. These were the teachers of the V1, V4, V5, V6 and V8-speaking students.

From the teachers' responses, I noticed that there was a tendency to protect the norm. For example one teacher from Mt Frere senior secondary school (V8) stated that if the students could be allowed to use their own variants, the Xhosa language would have no standard. It would also affect their chances in the job market. She assured me that the SX speakers would get preference in jobs which demanded fluency and competence in Xhosa. Her view implied that the NSX forms were not only regarded as inferior or corrupt, but also that from an educational point of view they do not seem to have any currency.

Thus Dittmar (1976:19) remarks that the general behaviour of teachers seems to reward speakers of an elaborated code and to penalize in an intuitive way speakers who are restricted in their linguistic ability.

Only one teacher from Hollycross Senior Secondary School (V3) was of the view that it was unfair that the variant-speaking students were not allowed to use their own variants in schools. She felt that these students had been brought up speaking their home variants, so it was not easy for them to do away with these completely, as a consequence, they were being disadvantaged by the demands made upon them in the education setting. She was of the opinion that the variants should be accommodated in the classroom, although she indicated that she was nursing fears that if they would be accommodated they might dominate the standard variant. This teachers' response should be seen in the light of the fact that she was also a variant speaker (V4). She clearly didn't want her variant to be eradicated, hence her concern for all variant speakers.

According to O'barr and O'barr (1976:294) the speakers of the non prestigious varieties recognize that they have stigmatized features in their speech and they regard the whole code as being inferior. This attitude was displayed by the teacher from Jikindaba Senior Secondary School with Cele-speaking students (V5), who said that she perceived someone speaking the Pondo variant to be of low status, although she was also a Pondo by birth. Actually, she was of the view that all variants should be done away with and the students should be encouraged to speak the norm. This response gives us an impression that she didn't want to identify with her language group anymore as a result of the influence of SX. It supports Giles' and St Clair's (1979:188) view:

> "Negative views of one's ethnic group may lead to a shift away from the use of one's own languages or speech styles".

Judging from the above responses, it is clear that most of the teachers have negative attitudes towards the variants. These attitudes may be transferred to the children, thus making the pupils self-image even more negative. This may have detrimental effects on the children's academic performance and self-concept. Most of the teachers seem to be intolerant towards the non- standard variants. The idea of eradication of the non-standard variants clearly indicates a high degree of intolerance to people of other tribes as the variants are associated with the various Transkeian tribes.

4.9 GENERAL COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS

Each of the teachers involved in the study was given an opportunity to express her views as far as the Xhosa variants were concerned. They came up with the following suggestions:

4.9.1 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, teachers experienced more problems with the students who were speakers of the non-standard variants than the speakers of the standardized norm. Thus the standard variant is associated with confidence, intelligence and better academic achievement. The closer the speakers were to the standardized norm, the better their academic achievement.

In the discussion above it is apparent that most teachers have negative attitudes towards the non-standard variants. These variants were treated as variants of low status which lack prestige. Seemingly, there was no awareness of the richness of Xhosa language as the variants were regarded as unacceptable derivations that should be eradicated.

4.9.2 CONVERSATION WITH THE XHOSA-SUBJECT ADVISOR IN TRANSKEI

One of the participants in this study is the Xhosa subject adviser who agreed to an hour long interview at her home. It was explained to her that the purpose of the study was to establish the impact that Xhosa variants have on children's education.

The subject-adviser of the Xhosa language was requested to respond to the problem encountered by both the teachers and the students in the teaching-learning situation. Some of the problems that were presented to her included the following:

* translation of the spoken word into the written form.
* low academic achievement of the students.
* students' negative attitudes towards Xhosa.
* students' negative self-concepts.

The interview was carried out in a conversational style and it was not recorded as the respondent requested not to be identified. Some important points were noted while she was talking. Her comments revealed that she didn't understand the main problem as her responses emphasized the teaching of SX. The following were some comments and recommendations made by her:

When the adviser was asked to express her feelings about the translation of the spoken word into writing she responded by saying that it was the teachers' responsibility. She said that the teachers, according to her findings, neglected oral work which formed the basis for correct speech. She stated that if the students could be drilled in oral work, they would express themselves correctly and be able to write correct Xhosa. She also felt that the teachers didn't set good examples for the students as some of them tended to mix foreign words into their speech.

Concerning the low-academic performance of the non-standard Xhosa speakers, she remarked that written work was neglected by teachers, so the students didn't get much exercise in this area. She mentioned that even those who did expose students to written work tended to leave it unmarked for the rest of the year. From what she had said, it was apparent that the NSX was associated with lower academic performance, hence parents wish their children to learn and to use what they regard as the variant of upward mobility (Trudgill, 1984:132).

It was the adviser's point of view that the teachers' attitudes towards the non-standard variant-speaker contributed very much to the students' negative attitudes towards Xhosa. The teachers had a tendency of labelling the students as being stupid and lazy if they couldn't express themselves in the standard norm. The teachers failed to motivate the non-standard Xhosa-speakers, instead they entrenched their negative self-concepts. According to Mashamaite (1992:52) some

teachers and language teachers in particular, do not only regard social dialects as inferior, deficient, incorrect or corrupt, but also as socially, educationally and vocationally useless.

4.9.2 RECOMMENDATIONS BY THE SUBJECT-ADVISER

The following recommendations were made in order to overcome the problems experienced by both the teachers and students in the teaching and learning of Xhosa:

In order to acquire more Xhosa vocabulary, it was recommended that the students should read extensively and with insight, and should not concentrate on prescribed books only.

Mashamaite (1992:53) quotes Malibe (1990) who suggested a number of points which could be implemented to minimize the influence of non-standard varieties on the standard language. These points included the teaching of composition writing, different types of essays, language usage, word order, manner of marking pupil's compositions, placing emphasis on error analysis, etc.

Some of the above-mentioned suggestions were put forward by the Xhosa subject-adviser of Transkei. For example, oral-work was recommended in order to train the students in the correct use of the language. This could be done in the form of discussion and debates, she suggested.

Written work, in the form of essays and letters was recommended. It was suggested that the pupil's work should be marked thoroughly and feedback should be given to the students. This would help the students in certain aspects like language usage, spelling, word-order, etc., which would enable the students to identify their mistakes.

It was suggested that teachers should avoid compartmentalisation of work and should make use of the funtional approach. In this approach all the aspects of the language are dealt with concurrently. For example, the students could be taught grammatical aspects like nouns, pronouns, locatives, word- division, etc. in a literature lesson.

Trudgill (1974:83) states that if children suffer because of their non-standard language, it may be due to the attitudes of the society and the teachers in particular have to their language. He further states that it is the attitudes that should be changed, and not the language.

4.9.3 CONCLUSION

It can be concluded from the above discussion that the solution to the problems encountered by the non-standard variant speakers rests upon the functional approach in language-teaching and the attitudes of the teachers towards the non-standardized variant- speakers. Teachers should change their negative attitudes in order to build self-esteem in the students.

4.9.4 CONVERSATION WITH A WRITER OF XHOSA SETBOOKS

One of the popular Xhosa writers was approached to participate in this study.

The conversation took about thirty minutes and it covered the following topics:

* Criteria employed in the writing of Xhosa books.
* the writers' attitudes towards the variants.
* the influence of the variants in writing.
* code-shifting in books.
* general comments.

The following is an analysis of the results of the conversation:

The writers's response to the question of the different variants spoken in the Transkei was that the main objective of writing a book was to "feed the public". He said that he didn't write for certain variant-speakers in particular, but he had to comply with the demands of the standardized variant as most of his books were read in schools.

He also stated that he considered the financial and political situations when writing a book. He mentioned that each writer was looking at the profitability of its product and anything that might prove to be a drawback in the selling of the article was avoided. He further said that the schools had large populations, and therefore, more clientele than any other institutions, hence he had to stick to the standardized norm. His considerations were financial rather than educational.

Concerning the political situation, he mentioned that in the past publishers used to be white conservatives and anything that would seem to criticize the government was avoided.

In order to find out the writer's attitude to the non-standard variants, I asked him whether it was fair that the NSX forms were not used in writing. He agreed that the way the variants are being ignored was problematic. He indicated that as writers, they had to meet the demands of the Xhosa Language Board which recognised only the standardised norm in schools and universities. He said that the other non-standardized variants could be used in quotes in the Xhosa text in order to mark a particular character or to indicate a dialogue between speakers of different variants.

According to Hudson (1980:33) the standard language is a variety that is used in political and commercial centres and once a language is codified, it becomes necessary not to use in writing any incorrect forms. The above responses relate to Hudson's (1980) statement.

In response to the question whether or not the writers were influenced by the variants, he said that any language was influenced by the environment. This implied that the writers themselves were influenced by their environments. He mentioned that if, for example, the writer was a Baca by birth, there would be some terms in the text which would reveal his ethnic group. This remark reinforces Trudgill's (1974:80) view that language is very important as a symbol of identity and group membership.

I was curious to know why some of the Xhosa writers tended to use foreign terms in their books although an equivalent existed
in Xhosa. He agreed with me that it was very common to get English words like "i-AYSI" (ice) which existed in the Xhosa vocabulary. He stated that it might be due to the status of prestige of English.

Asked whether there were no other means to accommodate the Xhosa variants in the classroom, the interviewee responded that there were no other means except that the writers could try to be lucid in their language use and should provide a glossary for reference so that the NSX speakers could not be disadvantaged.

4.9.5 **CONCLUSION**

According to the interviewee's responses, the SX dominates in books as it is the only variant that has currency in schools. The Xhosa-norm (V1) is educationally and economically recognised. In other words, it has more economic value than the NSX forms and is the only norm accepted in the classroom setting. The writers produce books in SX in order to meet the requirements of the Xhosa Language Board which approves the use of SX only in schools. There is also the issue of market forces, i.e. what the system demands, which play a role in the way the language is being utilized.

4.9.6 CONVERSATION WITH THE XHOSA LECTURER

In order to find out whether or not the problems encountered by the speakers of the non-standardized Xhosa variants in the senior
secondary schools were also experienced by the senior students at the university level, I held a brief talk with one of the Xhosa lecturers of the University of Transkei.

The conversation lasted for about ten minutes and the responses were not tape-recorded, but all the important points were noted.

When he was asked whether or not the university students were affected by their home variants in their work, the response was that the non-standard Xhosa variants undoubtedly had a negative effect on their academic performance. He stated that some students couldn't express themselves in standard Xhosa, and they were obviously penalized for that. To expand on the impact of the Xhosa language variants on students' education, he mentioned that early in 1992, one of the students was shouting in one of the passages in the campus that he couldn't graduate because he had failed Xhosa III for the second time. The frustrated student was a Pondo speaker.

I wanted to know whether it was fair to penalize the students for the use of their home variants. He responded by saying that it was unfair as far as he was concerned. He was of the opinion that the lecturers should concentrate on the content of the students's work and shouldn't concern themselves with the variant used because the university students were adults and it would be impossible to alter their speech patterns at that stage.

He remarked that there was no "pure" Xhosa anyway because most of the speakers of this language were gradually shifting to English as a result of the influences of the Western civilization. He mentioned that even the media had been greatly influenced by English and he believed that it might also influence the students in the educational institutions. Borrowing according to Thipa (1992:88) may be used to fulfil a practical need where it is used to express ideas which are foreign to indigenous Xhosa culture or it may serve to enhance status and social prestige.

4.9.7 CONCLUSION

Judging from the above responses it is apparent that the Xhosa language variants have a negative effect, not only on the academic performance of the high school students but also on the performance of university students.

It has been suggested that the NSX forms should be accommodated in the educational setting in order to be fair to their speakers.

It may also be deduced that the non-standard variants should not be eradicated in favour of the SX, instead both the standardised and non-standardised forms could be acquired in an additive bilingualism mode.

4.9.8 INTERVIEWS WITH THE PROGRAM'S MANAGER OF THE TRANSKEI BROADCASTING CORPORATION

The Program's Manager of the Transkei Broadcasting Corporation was interviewed in order to find out about the criteria used in selecting people as news-readers or general announcers.

It was believed that his responses could reveal his attitudes towards Xhosa as a standardized variant and towards the non- standardized variants. The interviews took place in the new Broadcast House in Fortgale, and lasted for about an hour. The responses were recorded.

Some of the issues dealt with included the following:

* criteria used to employ people in the broacasting corporation.
* attitudes towards the standardised Xhosa variant.
* attitudes towards the non-standardised variants.
* possible correlation between the variants spoken and the students' academic achievement and life's chances.

Transcriptions were made and the data was processed. An analysis of the responses is given below:

4.9.8.1 CRITERIA USED TO EMPLOY PEOPLE

It was clear that language ability was a primary concern in the selection of people as announcers in the Transkei Broadcasting Corporation.

The speakers of the norm (SX) are clearly advantaged by the broadcasting policy. I was told that they were looking for people who could read and speak the language fluently and preference was given to those who could speak the standardized norm. He went on to say that the listeners were very critical of the language used over the air, so it was their duty to employ people who could speak the Xhosa language correctly. He said that people always regarded anything announced over the air as something which was correct and that the children tended to imitate the announcers. It was therefore essential that the announcers should serve as good models for the children.

4.9.8.2 ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE NON-STANDARD VARIANTS

The interviewee was asked how he perceived the non-standard variants in relation to the standardized variant. His response was that he perceived them as of equal status because the non- standardized variants were of importance to their speakers; they were valuable as a marker of ethnic identity (Giles & St Jacques, 1979:68). This statement reveals that the respondent is unaware of the linguistic and social inequality between the standardised and non-standardised variants. This implies that these two types of variants cannot be of the same status. He said that the NSX forms were of great value to their users, and he wouldn't like to undermine them.

4.9.8.3 ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STANDARD VARIANT

When he was asked how he felt about the standard variant, he answered that he did not perceive the NSX forms as being inferior to the SX form. The only difference between these forms was that the SX form occured in writing and was used in formal situations. He mentioned that the NSX forms were of significance to their users, although they tended to handicap the speakers in other contexts like education.

His remarks are in line with Van Wyk (1992:27) who argues that the non-standard varieties, in spite of their lower prestige value can be as complex, as useful and as dignified as the standard forms. He maintains that the non-standardised forms may serve as a means of communication like the standard forms.

4.9.8.4 POSSIBLE CORRELATION BETWEEN THE VARIANTS SPOKEN AND THE STUDENT'S ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

In order to find out about the feelings of other people outside the teaching career towards the students who were the speakers of the non-standardized variants, I asked the interviewee whether or not the non-standardized variants could have an impact on the education of children. The response was that the non-standardized variants could disadvantage the school-child. He said that the language of these students was regarded as incorrect and the students were penalized for their use. This response contradicts his statements that the NSX forms were of equal status with SX.

He remarked that the speakers of the non-standard variants were struggling academically as they had to be taken out of their home variants. He also stated that the teachers were also affected by the non-standard variants as they had to mould the children in the use of the standard variant.

4.9.8.5 THE STUDENTS' LIFE'S CHANCES IN TERMS OF THE VARIANT SPOKEN

The interviewee was asked whether or not the speakers of the
standard and the non-standardized variants could have the same life's chances. The response was that the speakers of the non- standardized variants could compete on equal footing with standard-variant speakers if they could control their speech forms and use the standard variant which is recognised in official and governmental intitutions. This implies that they have limited life's chances when compared to the SX speakers. They have to acquire SX in order to be successful in the different spheres of life.

4.9.8.6 **CONCLUSION**

From the above discussion it may be deduced that speakers of NSX are being disadvantaged by their speech forms in the work place.

The non-standard variant-speaking students are also being disadvantaged educationally as they have to shift from their home variants and use the standardized variant in order to be considered for most jobs.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to reflect on the research process and my findings, I deem it necessary to give a review of my research. In doing so I hope to develop a coherent viewpoint on the wide ranging spectrum of insights gained. The summary should offer me a logical base to come to a final conclusion and some recommendations.

5.2 SUMMARY

THE STUDENTS

The present study set out to investigate language variation in the Transkeian Xhosa speech community and its effects on the education of the children of this geographical area. As the main focus is on children's education, variation has been considered against the background of standard and non-standard Xhosa speech forms.

Literature on language and sociolinguistics has been consulted. Related literature has informed me that language variation is a common phenomenon in all speech communities which is influenced by such factors as age, education, geographical background, sex, ethnicity, etc.

In order to test the hypothesis that there is a possible correlation between the students' academic performance, life's chances, self-concept, social standing and the variant spoken, fieldwork has been conducted with the students, teachers, broadcasters, Xhosa set-book writer, a Xhosa subject specialist and one Xhosa lecturer. The responses of these participants are summarised below.

5.2.1 THE VARIANTS IN ORDER OF PRESTIGE AND SOCIAL STANDING

As far as the social statuses of V1, V2, V3, V4, V6, V7, V8 and V9 are concerned, SX (V1) was perceived as having the highest status.
The V2 and V3 speakers perceived themselves to be very close to V1 as they claimed a close relationship with the V1 speakers.

The other NSX speakers (V4, V5, V6 and V7) agreed that they were not close to V1, and at the same time they were not at the lowest level of social prestige/standing. The V8 was regarded the lowest level in terms of prestige and social standing. The V9 speakers placed themselves at the lowest level in the social variant hierarchy. They stated that their variant was more like Zulu than Xhosa and they were also influenced by the Sotho language hence they perceived their variant as the "ugliest" of them all.

5.2.2 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY STUDENTS IN XHOSA

My research has revealed that the NSX speakers experienced more problems in Xhosa than the SX speakers. The main problem was that their speech forms were unacceptable in the school context and that they were disadvantaged academically and socially for using them, and at the same time they were not proficient in the use of SX. As they were used to their way of speech, they tended to transfer it to the classroom situation, where it was labelled as dialectal by teachers.

On the other hand, the SX speakers had no problems in Xhosa because they were using the norm. This means that the SX speakers (V1) were educationally advantaged because they were using the same variant at home. However, the V2 and V3 speakers claimed to be enjoying virtually the same advantages as the V1 speakers as their variants were closely related to V1.

5.2.3 STUDENTS' ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

With regard to academic performance, the V1 students were very positive about their performance in Xhosa. They displayed more confidence, a positive attitude towards Xhosa and the examination as a whole.

Although some of the NSX speakers, including V2, V3, V5 and V8 speakers claimed to do quite well in Xhosa, it was apparent that they had to put more effort into Xhosa as a subject than the V1 speakers. This involved spending more time on their Xhosa studies which involved a good deal of memorization and rote learning.

The other NSX speakers (V4, V6, V7 and V9) had less confidence and relatively negative self-concepts, which affected their academic performance adversely. This negative attitude seemed to have detrimental effects on their performance in other subjects as well since they had a deeply ingrained negative view of their own scholastic ability.

5.2.4 STUDENTS' LIFE'S CHANCES IN TERMS OF THE VARIANT SPOKEN

I found that students' view of their chances in life corresponded closely with the status of their variants in the speech community.

The other NSX speakers especially (V4, V5, V6, V7, and V9) were more or less negative about their chances of getting to the top. They lacked confidence and a positive self-concept and that affected them adversely.

5.2.5 STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS NSX VARIANTS

More than 60% of the NSX speakers (i.e. V3, V4, V6, V7 and V9) showed negative attitudes towards the NSX variants as they were associated with low status, poor academic performance and discrimination in the work place. They showed eagerness to shift from their NSX forms to SX because it was associated with better academic performance, better social and economic horizons. Actually, they wished to lose their variants in favour of SX.

Only V5 and V8 speaking students showed loyalty to their non-standard speech forms. They associated their speech forms with certain cultural activities and they showed resistance to shift completely to SX. In other words, they were willing to master SX for official or educational purposes and use their variants for private domains. One could describe the position as one of additive bilingualism.

5.2.6 THE STUDENTS' SELF-CONCEPTS IN TERMS OF THE VARIANT SPOKEN

The V1-speaking students had positive self-concepts and showed more confidence than the NSX speakers. This could possibly be attributed to their academic performance which was better than the performance of the NSX speakers.

The V2, V3, V5 and V8 speakers were also confident of their ability in Xhosa although they had to apply more effort than the V1 speakers in order to achieve good results. They were also positive about their ability to cope with Xhosa in the final examination.

The other NSX speakers including V4, V6, V7 and V9 speakers displayed less confidence, negative self-concepts and an inferiority complex in terms of their non-standard variants. This could possibly be attributed to their poor performance and negative expectations of themselves.

5.3 THE TEACHERS

5.3.1 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY THE TEACHERS

The teachers of the NSX speakers encountered a common problem with their students i.e. the translation of the NSX forms into writing. In other words, the students wrote the way they spoke.

The teacher of the V1 speakers, who was also a V1 speaker, experienced fewer problems with her students. The language use and expression of the students were good since their variant was the standardised one. The only problem was in the area of morphology where construction of some words posed problems.

5.3.2 POSSIBLE CORRELATION BETWEEN VARIETAL USE AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

The V1 speakers' teacher confirmed the students' positive view of themselves and she also showed positive expectations of her students.

Although some of the teachers with NSX speakers (V3, V5, V8) indicated that their students perfomed well they also revealed that they had to spend more time on their studies in order to drill their students in certain sections of the prescribed work.

The teachers of V4 and V6 speaking students stated that their students' performance in Xhosa was generally poor. They also displayed low expectations of their students.

5.3.3 TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE VARIANTS

The general feeling of the teachers of NSX speakers (V4, V5, V6 and V8) was that the NSX forms were inferior to SX and were academically and vocationally useless. It goes without saying that these negative attitudes should have a detrimental effect on the academic and psycho-social life of students.

Only the teacher of the V3 speaking students showed real concern for the NSX forms as they were hindering the students educationally, but she didn't come up with any alternative.

5.4 THE NON-TEACHING PARTICIPANTS

5.4.1 THE XHOSA SUBJECT-ADVISER

According to the comments of this educational specialist, the standard of Xhosa teaching was generally unsatisfactory. Teachers tended to neglect oral work which formed the backbone of good language expression.

Actually, the subject-adviser concentrated more on language teaching than on language variation. She came up with a series of suggestions on language-teaching, but seemed either unconcerned or unaware of the problems encountered by students who speak NSX.

5.4.2 THE WRITER OF XHOSA SET-BOOKS

Judging from the responses of this writer it could be deduced that the use of NSX forms was unacceptable in official documents like school-books. Since most of the writers were producing school books i.e. grammar books, readers, set books, etc., they had to concentrate on SX since it was the only variant approved of by the Xhosa Language Board.

Although the use of SX is the primary concern in the writing of manuscripts/books, I was made aware of the fact that the writers might be influenced by their environments. This could be noticed in the use of some terms or words by a certain writer. In other words, the words used by a certain writer in a text can reveal the writer's variant.

5.4.3 THE XHOSA LECTURER

Seemingly, the concept of language variation is a common phenomenon in all institutions including universities.

This was witnessed by one of the lecturers of the University of Transkei who was aware of the problem of language variation in the educational context. However, he suggested that the teachers or lecturers should concentrate more on content than language use when assessing the students' work and that there should be tolerance of the NSX forms in the educational setting.

5.4.4 THE PROGRAM'S MANAGER OF THE TRANSKEI BROADCASTING CORPORATION

This survey revealed that language ability was one of the main criteria used to select people for specific jobs in the Transkei Broadcasting Corporation (TBC). People who could speak SX were preferred by this corporation, and those who could not were not considered for these positions.

However, this doesn't mean that all the public announcers of Radio Transkei are native speakers of the standard variant. The main criterion is whether an applicant has mastered SX sufficiently to act as public broadcaster.

5.5 CONCLUSIONS

5.5.1 THE STUDENTS' RESPONSES

With regard to the students' responses stated in the previous chapter and in 5.2 above, the following conclusions can be drawn:

* The SX speakers experience fewer problems in Xhosa than the NSX speakers. The closer to SX, the fewer the problems in the school context. The V1 and V2 speakers claimed to be experiencing fewer problems in Xhosa than the other NSX speakers.

* There is a positive correlation between the variant spoken and the students' academic performance. The V1 speakers proved to perform better than the speakers of the NSX variants. Again, the research findings reveal that the closer to SX, the better the academic achievement. Students speaking V2 and V3, for example, also showed better Academic achievement than the other NSX speakers.

* There is also a positive correlation between the variant spoken and the child's life's chances. The closer to the norm, the more optimistic students become about their future. For instance, the V1 and V2 students were very optimistic about their future whereas the NSX speakers, (V4, V5, V6, V7 and V9) were less sure about their future.

* There also exists a significant relationship between the variant spoken and the students' self concept and confidence. The V1 and V2 speakers displayed positive self-concepts academically and generally. This implies that the closer to SX, the better the self-concept, and the greater the confidence. According to Burns (1982:225) there is a reciprocal relationship between self-concept and academic achievement:

> Academic success raises or maintains self-esteem, while self-esteem influences performance through expectations, standards, recognition of personal strengths, higher motivation and level of persistence.

Conversely, underachievers have negative self-concepts (e.g. V6, V7, V9). Purkey (1970:20) says this about underachievers:

> The under achiever perceives himself as less able to fulfil required tasks, less eager to learn, less confident and less ambitious.

* Academic performance can be related to language attitudes. Achievers tended to display positive attitudes towards SX (e.g. V1, V2, V3) while underachievers often had a negative attitude towards SX which they failed to master (e.g. V7, V8 and V9). The other NSX speakers (V4, V5, V6) displayed less loyalty towards their own variants, and embraced SX and succeeded to some extent. Thus they also displayed positive attitudes towards SX.

* Language has some cultural connotations for its speakers. Groups can identify or distinguish themselves by means of their language (Appel & Muysken, 1987:11). Some of the NSX speakers especially V8 speakers showed loyalty towards their variants although they also attempted to master SX. They wanted to retain their variant as a carrier of cultural traditions. In other words their variant is for private use (home domain) while SX is for public/official use.

* It is quite obvious that SX has more social and economic advantages than the NSX forms. All those who can speak it experience less problems educationally and are inclined to get social recognition and economic advancement.

5.5.2 THE TEACHERS' RESPONSES

The following are deductions made from the teachers' responses:

* The teacher with SX-speaking students experiences fewer problems in Xhosa teaching than teachers dealing with the variant-speaking children.

* Teachers do not accept the non-standard forms in the classrooms. The non-standard forms are regarded as dialectal and incorrect. This means that the teachers show negative attitudes towards the NSX variants. Negative attitudes of the teachers in turn promote negative self-concepts in students. In this respect Hudson (1980:209) says:

> Teachers may reinforce negative prejudices which the pupils may already have against their own speech, thus making the pupils' self image more negative.

* It is evident that teachers hold eradicationist attitudes about the NSX variants. As the NSX forms are unacceptable in schools, the general attitude is that they should be eradicated in favour of the standard forms.

* Generally it was found that teachers contribute to the stigmatization of non-standard variants.

Teachers seem to have some expectations about their students. These expectations may influence the students' academic performance either positively or negatively. According to Rogers (1982:19) teachers of a higher socio-economic status expect pupils of a lower socio-economic status to fail. Hudson (1980:209) says that negative expectations by the teacher will similarly lead to negative performance by the students.

In the case of the Xhosa variants, some teachers showed positive expectations of their students (V1, V3 and V8) and others showed negative expectations (V4 and V6). It was interesting to establish that those who were perceived positively by their teachers performed academically better than those who were perceived negatively. This implies that the closer to the norm, the more positive the teachers' expectations and the further from the norm, the more negative the teachers' expectations.

5.5.3 THE NON-TEACHING PARTICIPANTS

These participants included the Xhosa subject-adviser in Transkei, the Xhosa lecturer of the University of Transkei, the writer of Xhosa literature and the Program's Manager of the Transkei Broadcasting Corporation.

All these respondents, except the Xhosa lecturer, seemed not to understand where the problem lies, and they perceived the NSX variants to be of lower status than SX. For job opportunities, academic progress and social mobility SX was regarded as a prerequisite. The NSX variants were associated with limited socio-economic horizons. On the whole the uninformed, intolerant attitude of people in public sectors confirmed the general finding that there was little awareness of the predicament of non-standard speakers of Xhosa.

The Xhosa lecturer seemed to be aware of the fact that the NSX speakers were disadvantaged by their speech forms. He was of the opinion that there was no need for eradication of the NSX forms, instead they should be accommodated in the classroom.

Generally, there was little awareness of the richness of the Xhosa language as the variants were regarded as unacceptable derivations that should be eradicated or at least avoided.

5.6 RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of the findings of this research, I hope that the following recommendations will alleviate the problem arising from language variation in the Transkeian schools.

5.6.1 RESTRUCTURING OF THE XHOSA EXAMINATIONS

The Transkei Examination section puts forward, as one of its prerequisites, Xhosa first language as a passing subject at all educational levels. This means that the pupils have to pass Xhosa (first language) in order to pass the whole examination. Failure in this subject results in failure in the whole examination, no matter how well one has done in other subjects.

I feel that this practice is unfair, especially to the variant-speakers who are penalized for using their home-variants at school. I agree with Thipa (1989:164) that in the actual marking of essays or letters there could be a scale whereby the use of varieties is accommodated and is not as heavily penalized as it seems to be at present. It is unfair to punish the students for a situation that is neither of their own making or over something over which they have no control (Thipa, 1989:164).

5.6.2 POSITIVE EXPECTATIONS OF THE TEACHERS

Judging from the responses of the students and teachers reflected in the previous chapter, it could be easily deduced that the academic performance of the students was influenced either positively or negatively by the teacher's expectations. The students who were perceived positively by their teachers performed well and those who were perceived negatively performed as expected. It is therefore recommended that the teachers should understand the psychological effect of their attitude on children and help them to develop positive self-concepts. They must view the students in positive ways in order to influence the students' performance positively (Burns, 1982:203)

5.6.3 BIDIALECTALISM

Almost all the teachers and the variant-speakers involved in this study showed eradicationist attitudes towards the NSX forms. In other words, they showed great willingness to shift students from the NSX forms to the SX forms. I feel that this eradication attitude i.e. the elimination of the non-standard forms in favour of the standard forms has to be discouraged. The teachers should understand that language variation is normal and should not place the NSX speakers at a disadvantage by eradicating their speech forms. In this regard the bidialectal approach in the education setting is recommended. Bidialectalism, according to Crystal (1991:37) in Mashamaite (1992:52):

> recommends that both non-standard and standard forms should be encouraged in the educational process, along with the fostering of children's greater degree of understanding and control over the varieties of their language than otherwise be the case.

In bidialectalism the standard and non-standard languages are equals and the students can be taught their culture (Desai, 1990:30).

5.6.4 INTRODUCTION OF SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN COLLEGES OF EDUCATION

Thipa's (1989:164) suggestion that the study of language varieties in general should be introduced in colleges of education should be considered. The study of sociolinguistics should also be dealt with in great length at universities.

According to Mvambo (1984:82) language teachers should be introduced to socio-linguistics which will create a greater awareness of the variety of languages for different social situations. I think that the knowledge of sociolinguistics would help teachers to tolerate and accept language variation in the classroom. The teachers should develop an awareness that all variants are valuable and eminently suited to the needs of the community they serve.

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