DEVELOPMENT AND EMPOWERMENT OF PREVIOUSLY-MARGINALISED LANGUAGES: A CASE OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES IN SOUTH AFRICA

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FIGURES

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation work submitted by myself, titled *Development and Empowerment of Previously-Marginalised Languages: A Case of African Languages in South Africa*, for the Doctor of Philosophy in African Languages and Literature, is my own work and has not previously been submitted to any other university or any other institution or entity and that to the best of my ability I have acknowledged and referenced all literature works read or consulted**.**

Signed Signed by candidate **----------**

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to all language practitioners in South Africa and I hope that they will take this work further until all citizens of South Africa are fully served in their African languages; until they can access information in their mother tongue and can participate in the socio-economic and political discourses of South Africa in their various languages.

ABSTRACT

South Africa is a multilingual country with 11 official languages and 9 of these languages are Indigenous African languages. The South African government has developed policies and created an environment for these languages to be developed. National and provincial language policies have been adopted and the country has even passed a language Act called the Use of Official Languages Act, 2012. The national Department of Education has also passed policies and Acts that enable indigenous languages to be made compulsory to all learners in all public schools in the foundation phase. Despite all these efforts, very little has been done to implement these policies. The aim of this study is to interrogate the role played by these language bodies in the implementation of the National Language Policies, particularly the development and empowerment of these previously marginalized languages. Using textual analysis, questionnaires and interviews, the study identified the bottlenecks in the system that hinder the development of these languages. Amongst the many obstructions that were uncovered, is the increased economic benefit associated with English and how this continues to undermine efforts to elevate the status of African languages. Further, this linguistic hegemony has created a situation where speakers of the nine indigenous African languages are denied access to social, economic and political developments of the country, a clear violation of language rights enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa. The study concludes by making recommendations on steps that can be taken to develop African languages in South Africa.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

IIAL	Incremental Implementation of African Languages
LANGTAG	Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG)
LiEP	Language in Education Policy
LM	Language Management
LRDCs	Language Research and Development Centres
NLPF	National Language Policy Framework (NLPF)
NLS	National Language Service
PanSALB	Pan South African Language Board
Praesa	Project for Study of Alternative Education in South Africa
SADTU	South African Democratic Teachers Union
UOLA	Use of Official Languages Act (UOLA)
WAT	Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal

CHAPTER 1: ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background

South Africa is a multilingual country with 11 official languages and 9 of these languages are African languages. The South African government has developed policies and created an environment for these languages to be developed but very little development is taking place. Language rights are enshrined in the constitution; national and provincial language policies have been adopted and the country has even passed a language Act in 2012 called the Use of Official Languages Act. The national Department of Education has also passed the Incremental Introduction of African Languages (IAAL) policy which recommends that indigenous languages should be made compulsory for all learners in all public schools, starting in foundation phase.

Although an enabling environment has been created for the African languages to be developed, they are mainly languages of communication within communities of their speakers. As official as these languages are on paper, they are unfortunately not developed to the extent that they can fulfil the status of being official languages. Instead, English is increasingly becoming a higher official language than any other language and this benefits the middle class communities and the elite communities of this country, leaving out the rest of the speakers of the other languages. This also leads to the undermining of African languages not only by the non-speakers of these languages but also by the speakers of the African languages, especially the middle class communities. This further leads to speakers of the 9 African languages being less-participants in the activities of the country, in the economic sector, in the social debates and developments taking place in the country and in the education sector. These languages also lag behind in the ever developing and changing ICT sector which plays a big role in access to information. There is not much role played by African languages in the media sector except in the SABC radio and TV stations, on some community radio and TV stations, few programmes E-TV and we are now seeing a growth of African languages films and programmes on DSTV.

In the education sector, African languages-speaking learners who are not fluent in English or Afrikaans are denied opportunities to succeed in life in their country through the unbiased use of English for further development and therefore render many Africans unproductive in the national development of their own country. In a SADTU discussion paper, this matter is described strongly as follows:

> *At the heart of this matter lies the notion that the choice of English as the language of learning and teaching is unjustified and oppressive in nature, thereby destroying potential for many African people to be productive in their*

> *country by denying them decent job opportunities to the detriment of national skills development of the country as a whole (*SADTU, 2011: 1)*.*

This SADTU paper goes on to state, quoting Chisholm, Reddy and Alexander (2005), that pupils who use African languages at home, and who do not perform well at schools because of the inadequate competence in English as the language of learning and teaching are therefore excluded from full participation in the world of work. It leaves pupils at the position of marginalisation and alienation.

The above-mentioned SADTU paper then recommends what it calls "a process of decolonisation" so that pupils can partake fully in social transformation. It states that there is no truth in the fact that African languages cannot be used in scientific languages. "African languages can cope with the demands required by technology and science since traditional African concepts about the universe, measurements, medicine and the environment exist and can be used in education" *(*SADTU, 2011: 3)*.* It goes on to say,

> "…wrong judgements are made on the child's intelligence and ability when the fault lies squarely on a premature use as medium of what is best accepted and treated as a second language. Those who drop out and those who fail at the end of primary school now constitute another squad of the excluded. Children who speak African languages are at a disadvantage in that they have to cope with mastery of English before they can receive any meaningful education, while children who speak English or Afrikaans can go straight to learning new content without having first to learn another language *(*SADTU, 2011: 3)*.*

Mbude (2019) also wrote extensively on how African languages, specifically isiXhosa, can be developed to be languages of Mathematics and Science as well as how all learners can benefit through the use of bilingual and multilingual education in her PhD thesis published in 2019. The Constitution has a provision for development and use of previously-marginalised languages in Section 6. Language policies and Acts have been passed by various departments at national, provincial and local spheres. Tons of language conferences and workshops have been held. Papers pointing to the lack of development and use of African languages in South Africa have been presented and published in various journals. Despite all this, there is very little development of African languages taking place in South Africa.

1.2 Focal Research Question

The brief introduction above highlights a number of areas that require interventions. One of the reasons given for non-use of these African languages in economic, scientific and technology sectors and in higher education is that they are not adequately developed to be used in these sectors. If that is the case, we need to answer some basic but fundamental questions:

i. What has been done in South Africa to develop previously-marginalised languages?
ii. What has worked and what has not worked?
iii. Where are the gaps and failures?
iv. What more needs to be done?
v. Who is responsible to do what and how?
vi. What frameworks and monitoring mechanisms are in place to ensure that the previously-marginalised are developed and are in full use in all sectors of our country?
vii. What is the benefit of everyone accessing services in his or her mother tongue?
viii. How does non-development of African languages affect the speakers of these languages?

These questions will be the focus of this dissertation. The researcher will not delve into analysing theories of language development, and will also not be focusing on blaming and criticising the implementers but will rather look at how the wheel can be turned around. The purpose of this research is to find out what South Africa can do to develop the African languages and to address the pain of being excluded in socio-economic development of the country because one cannot speak English. The research is an exercise to seek strategies that can be implemented as a country to do the following:

- to develop the previously-marginalised languages;
- open up opportunities for people who have not been fortunate enough to receive education in English or Afrikaans so that they can all access information in languages of their choice,
- that everyone is served in the languages of their choice in all institutions such as education institutions, at work, justice, financial sector, science fields, media and others,
- and so that all citizens can participate fully in the national life of the country in the language of their choice; and
- that everyone can be part and parcel of socio-economic developments in the country by receiving all information in their mother-tongue.

1.3 Rationale

Language is the primary instrument of people's access or non-access to education, technology, justice, scientific and intellectual knowledge, which, in turn, determines the state of the economic well-being, identity and culture of individuals and of our communities. South Africa is a multilingual country with a rich diversity of languages reflective of its multicultural population. The South African Constitution provides for 11 official languages, namely, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu. In Section 6, the South African Constitution calls for the State to take practical and positive measures to promote and

develop previously-marginalized languages. This is happening at a very slow and minimal pace and in various corners of South Africa. African languages in South Africa are restricted to a few domains of use and the less formal ones such as intra-community communication, families, use in indigenous churches, community meetings, in interpretational roles in local courts and in legislatures, in public television and radio stations and in public primary schools. This lack of development of African languages affects citizens who are only fluent in African languages, and not in English in that they are excluded from socio-economic developments of the country. As Bamgbose (2000:108), puts it, language is a means by which participation by citizens is facilitated or prevented and, it holds the key to the establishment of true democracy and equality in a country. Meaningful development cannot take place where linguistic barriers exist.

African language speakers in most African countries, including South Africa are excluded from national participation because of the use of colonial languages, and in the case of South Africa, the use of English and in some cases Afrikaans as well. They are not part of social changes, socio-economic developments, legislation developments and justice issues, as these are communicated mainly in English. There are language policies and language Acts in place but the implementation is very minimal. Policy and reality do not match. There has been language planning but there has been very little implementation and realisation of the language legislation. This implies that citizens that are not competent or fluent in English cannot access information and knowledge, as well as government services and programmes.

There is a Pan South African Language Board in place, a statutory body that has been in existence from 1995, 26 years ago, which is tasked, among other things, with creating conditions for development of previously-marginalised languages but to-date, it has not had much impact and effect. The bigger implication of this is that the gap between the poor and the rich remains wide because the people that benefit from social and economic developments and from government programmes are those who understand and speak English and Afrikaans.

Batibo (2005) notes, the fast-developing countries of Asia, such as China, Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand base their development strategies on their indigenous languages as this is the only way to involve the whole population in the development effort and to meaningfully bring technological advancement within the country's cultural framework. Mutasa supports this assertion quoting Mazrui:

> " *….no country has ascended to a first rank technological and economic power by excessive dependence on foreign languages. Japan rose to dazzling industrial heights by scientificating the Japanese language and making it the medium of its own industrialization. Can Africa ever take off technologically if it remains so overwhelmingly dependent on European languages for discourse on advanced learning? Can Africa look to the future if it is not adequately sensitive to the cultural past? This lingo-cultural gap, then, is seen as a serious*

impediment to the full maturation of Africa's own scientific genius. Against this backdrop, then, the need to"scientificate" African languages cannot be over-emphasized" (Mutasa, 2002: 242)

In addition to access to services, development of African languages will:

- create, in people, a sense of pride of their own country, culture and traditions, as well as of themselves;
- address challenges of access to justice, politics and education in South Africa; and
- also mean that these languages will be properly studied and documented.

The Asmara Declaration of 2000 on African Languages and Literature of an International conference that was held in Eritrea puts this state of affairs affecting African languages as follows:

We noted with pride that despite all the odds against them, African languages as vehicles of communication and knowledge survive and have a written continuity of thousands of years. Colonialism created some of the most serious obstacles against African languages and literatures. We noted with concern the fact that these colonial obstacles still haunt independent Africa and continue to block the mind of the continent.

(1) All African children have the unalienable right to attend school and learn their mother tongues and that every effort should be made to develop African languages at all levels of education.

(2) The effective and rapid development of science and technology in Africa depends on the use of African languages.

(3) African languages are vital for the development of democracy based on equality and social justice.

(4) African languages are essential for the decolonisation of African minds and for the African Renaissance. (The Asmara Declaration on African Languages and Literatures, "Against All Odds: African Languages and Literatures into the 21st Century, Asmara, Eritrea, January 11-17, 2000)".

As glorious and wonderful as this declaration is, there are no implementation mechanisms stipulated on how to achieve these ideals.

Lack of development of African languages has also led to a situation where not only non-speakers of these languages look down upon them but also the speakers of the languages look down on them. They would prefer their children to learn and study in English. They take the children to English-medium schools as they see no value in them being taught in their mother-tongue. Parents and policy-makers encourage that teaching and learning in schools should take place in English. The outcomes of this

choice are not always positive. When children cannot cope in these schools they get withdrawn and they drop out of school or out of universities.

As much as we are aware of the negative cognitive implications of teaching non-English children in English, there are no efforts from policy-makers and public officials to make parents and teachers aware of the advantages of children learning in their mother tongue. Instead, when African children do not perform well academically, they are seen as children who are not bright or clever, not taking into consideration that the language may be the impediment to learning and to conceptualisation. This means that African languages need to be developed to be languages of education from primary school to tertiary level so that the learners would have a choice of studying in English or in an African language. This would also mean that, as is the case in some Afrikaans schools, our primary, secondary and high schools would be dual-medium schools where a learner can have a choice to be taught in English or in his or her African language. A number of former model C schools have this model where a learner can be taught in Afrikaans of in English. In Vaal Park Primary School in Sasolburg, Free State Province, learners are put in classes of English or of Afrikaans, as per the choice of parents; other examples of such schools are Platinum Secondary in Boland Western Cape, Waterkloof Primary in Pretoria, Port Rex Technical High School in East London, Eastern Cape and many other such schools. The excuse put forward against this model of dual-medium teaching in African schools, is that, African languages are not adequately developed to teach scientific, mathematical and technological learning areas and that English is a language of access and of economy.

African languages are perceived to be inadequately equipped to cope with the demands of modern, high technology, science, arts, literature, information technology that includes the internet, international communication of diplomacy and trade. However, Fromkin and Rodman negate this misconception and state that, "there are no 'primitive' languages—all languages are equally complex and equally capable of expressing any idea in the universe. The vocabulary of any language can be expanded to include new words for new concepts" (Fromkin and Rodman 1993: 25).

We therefore need to develop and maintain and preserve African languages for national use and English can be used for global communication and this is a dualistic model that we can adopt. However, without the development of these African languages, this will never happen and Africans will remain in the periphery of development, of knowledge and information and will not contribute and participate meaningfully to social cohesion and social change and will thus remain poor forever materially and intellectually. As Nyerere stated in 1978, government leaders need to realise that “development is for man, by man and of man.” This is not possible if Africans cannot be addressed in their African languages and when socio-economic development information is communicated in a language that is foreign to them. This requires that, South Africa as a country, finds mechanisms and embark on a vigorous

drive to develop African languages so that our citizens can reach their full potential and can access national resources for the benefit of all.

1.4 Research Methodology

The dissertation uses qualitative approach in the research process. There has been an in-depth study of existing literature in this topic as well as the use of a practical research approach in the form of interviews and various forms of an empirical study.

- **Literature Survey**

The research surveys existing literature to get an overview of the knowledge and information gained so far on this topic. The researcher read various published books, journals, papers, media reports, statements, conference papers and speeches made on this topic. I have focused on language development in South Africa after 1994, after South Africa officialised 11 languages but I have also looked at the development prior to 1994 to see if there were any strides made after there was a legislation directing that African languages must be developed.

- **Unpacking Language Legislation and Policies**

There are many pieces of language legislation and language policies that have been passed legislating development and use of African languages. I have gone through the legislation and these policies and I dug out information that can be used in implementing practical strategies to develop and use previously-marginalised languages.

- **Interviews and questionnaires**

I did interviews with and sent questionnaires to policymakers, academics and language practitioners to map out the current scenario and way forward. I also sent a questionnaire to an Afrikaans institution in Stellenbosch to get the history of the development of Afrikaans in South Africa and what can African languages emulate from its development journey.

- **Existing language projects and programmes**

A survey and analysis of existing projects and programmes in in South Africa was carried out. I checked on what National Language Service is doing, what PanSALB is doing, what universities are doing and I also searched for language development programmes that are currently being run by private sector and those that were done and abandoned and those are presented in the data analysis chapter.

- **Ethnographic Observation**

The researcher personally worked in a number of language institutions, played a role in language development programmes and was part of decision-making at a management level. She will add her personal observations and experiences into the research.

1.5 Data Analysis and Findings

Data on development of African languages has be collected, compiled, and analysed. I chose to present the data collected or examples of it in the data analysis chapter instead of putting it as annexures so that a reader does not have to move from that chapter to the annexures to refer to what I am presenting. I then summarised findings and recommendations in a separate chapter.

1.6 Purpose of the Research

This dissertation looks at implementation strategies that can be used to develop African languages so that the entire population of the country could access and partake in all sectors of our country's development. It looks at how African languages can be developed and positioned as languages of economic success, social change, justice for all, languages of higher education and of prestige.

When we approach government to develop the African languages, or when we state that what is being done to develop these languages is not enough, the question may arise that says, as language practitioners or linguists what do you suggest we do? It is the wish of the researcher that this dissertation is not only an academic tool and an academic exercise but that it could reach policy-makers and government decision-makers of South Africa and perhaps other countries faced by the same or related challenges. The target audience therefore is:

- Linguists or academics
- Government Officials
- Policymakers
- Heads of Departments, especially those that have an impact on the livelihood of citizens
- Field Language Practitioners and Language Consultants
- Private Companies
- Ordinary Citizens including parents and learners.

I hope that the information from this dissertation could be tested and used to develop the previously marginalised languages. So far what the language boards, National Language service and publishers has achieved and done well is the development of reference works such as dictionaries and term lists. There is also a great of translation and interpreting practice taking place but with no full commitment in some sectors. The

research therefore looks at gaps, recommends further strategies that can be used to develop the African languages and expand on the strategies currently used such as use of translation services so that they are used meaningfully and effectively to bring the desired outcome of developing the African languages.

1.7 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 of this research is an introductory chapter that specifies what this research will cover. It defines the purpose of the research, the scope that it will cover, research methods to be used and data analysis approach that the researcher will use in collecting, compiling, analysis data and in reaching research conclusions.

Chapter 2, is a literature review chapter that reviews development of African languages prior to 1994 and after 1994. The chapter specifies policies and Acts passed which were laying a ground for the previously-marginalised to be developed and to be used in all sectors and to ensure that all citizens are taught in their languages and that they receive all communication in their languages.

Chapter 3 outlines research methodology used by the researcher, categories of respondents that were interviewed as well as data that would be analysed. The researcher points out the areas of interest that she focused on in the research, using qualitative method of research. The chapter also looks into how Afrikaans was developed and what lessons can be learnt from that system that can be emulated in the development of African languages.

Chapter 4 is a data analysis chapter. It begins by defining data analysis, revisits the purpose of this research, and spells out a method used in data analysis as well as data analysed. Themes explored in data analysis are legislative frameworks, government implementing agencies, language development-work done and implementation by government institutions, institutions of higher learning and by private sector, gaps and failures, lessons that can be learnt from Afrikaans and it also tabled recommendations provided by texts analysed and from people interviewed.

Chapter 5 zooms into findings and recommendations. It starts with benefits of use of mother tongue, answering the question of whether there is a necessity to develop and use African languages as English seems to be the lingua franca of the country in professional sectors. It then goes into what government did after 1994 as a base and propeller for development and use of African languages in the form of legislative frameworks, and entities established that were tasked to develop and implement language policies that would ensure development and use of African languages. The chapter spells out what was implemented and what was not implemented as per the language policies, and successes and failures. The chapter provides recommendations to address the gaps and failures and ends with a conclusion that summarises the whole research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Current Language Scenario in South Africa

In 1993, South Africa passed an interim constitution that guaranteed a wide range of language rights to all South Africans. In the Constitution, eleven languages were made official and were accorded an equal status. The eleven official languages were English and Afrikaans, which had been the official languages of the previous government, and nine African languages. Prior to 1993, these nine languages were all fairly widely spoken as mother tongue languages in South Africa, but their economic and political roles were extremely limited. The majority of their speakers live in rural areas and blacks locations in urban areas. In the education sector, the African languages are used as languages learning and teaching at primary level, that is, up to Grade Three. There is a fair amount of literature available in African languages but most of it is published for school consumption. A number of authors have self-published their books in African languages but these books are not widely publicised and are not easily attainable from book stores.

The final Constitution of the new democratic government that came into power in 1994 was passed in 1996. It did not only recognise the eleven official languages, but also recognised South African Sign Language and heritage languages such as Nama, French, German, Gujurati, Urdu, Arabic and Chinese languages. This meant that the home languages spoken by the total population of 46.9 million people were now officially and nationally accredited, in contrast to the two-language policy that existed during apartheid years. The Bill of Rights in Section 30 of the Constitution also states that, “Everyone has the right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights.”

In these eleven languages, African languages are the most widely spoken languages in the country. According to Census 2011, isiZulu is the most common home language spoken by 22,7% of the population, followed by isiXhosa at 16%, Afrikaans at 13,5%, English at 9,6%, Sepedi at 9,1%, Setswana at 8%, Sesotho at 7,6%, and Xitsonga at 4,5%. Siswati is spoken by 2,5% of the population, Tshivenda by 2,4% and isiNdebele by 2,1%. Census 2011 data on languages is attached as Appendix 1.

The South African government committed to developing these nine previously-marginalised African languages by providing foundations and tools for implementation of the language clauses of the Constitution. After the new government came into power in 1994, it did the following:

- It established a Pan South African Language Board in 1995 tasked, among other things, to create a conducive environment for development of previously-marginalised languages and the National Language Service in the national Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, that was tasked with developing the previously-marginalised languages.
- In 1995 the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology also appointed a Language Plan Task Group to advise him on a framework for a coherent language policy and plan.
- A Language in Education Policy was passed in 1997 to ensure that the country offered a multilingual education.
- In 2003 the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology passed a National Language Policy Framework for effective language policy implementation contingent upon solid and viable infrastructure to ensure long term sustainability of all language development initiatives.

While the nine African languages were accorded equal status with English and Afrikaans, and with the interventions mentioned above and many more, the development of the nine African languages still went on a snail's pace.

More strides were made to recognise these languages such as the following:

- Provincial language policies which regulated that documents should be produced in all provincial languages in some provinces like the Western Cape.
- The national, provincial and local governments produced documents in various languages to recognise the official status of African languages.
- African languages became more visible in the media, especially on television. IsiZulu started newspapers in African languages and isiXhosa followed suite.
- Translation and interpreting services were offered in government meetings.
- Signage in buildings also included African languages.
- Some banks started introducing ATM instructions in African languages.
- A few Human Language Technology programmes such as telephone interpreting systems were initiated.
- Some companies and government institutions invited language teachers to teach African language in their institutions.

Despite these gains, African languages still have very little recognition in a number of sectors including the economic sector, the justice sector, the technology sector, to mention just a few. The reason among others that is cited is that they are not developed enough to be used in various sectors. There is instead an enforcement of the supremacy of English over other languages. English is recognised as the language of upward mobility, a language of power, prestige and status and as a means in which one can achieve unlimited social mobility. According to Prah (2007:16), after Apartheid, what has in fact happened is that the public dominance of English, one of the smallest languages in the country, spoken as a home language by only about 8% of the population, has been strengthened at the expense of all the other languages..

The African languages, including languages like isiZulu and isiXhosa, the two largest languages in the country, and which are almost fully mutually intelligible, continue to be almost completely neglected. In fact, the nine African languages, according to Prah, are probably in a weaker position today than they were before 1990.

Secondly, South Africa prides itself on its democratic status, and public participation of its citizens in development programmes taking place in the country. A weak stance on language, however, makes communication between the state and its citizens highly unreliable, and often makes real participation impossible. As a democratic state, South Africa owes it to its people to ensure that they can access, understand programmes and processes that are taking places, and also participate in government and social programmes in their own languages, but platforms to do so such as use of these languages in courts, in education in information technology, in finance sectors, science sectors, medical sectors and in other meaningful platforms have not been afforded to the South African citizens. In the education sector, learners are taught in African languages only in the foundation phase and after that the medium of learning and teaching becomes English or Afrikaans. The language of record in court is English which contrasts the very Constitution that has been passed by government.

To date, in 2021, 26 years after the passing of the Pan South African Languages Board Act of 1995 that was supposed to regulate and monitor the use of all official languages and to create an environment to develop previously-marginalised languages, and despite the passing of the Use of Official Languages Act, very little has been done to develop African languages. In the institutions of higher learning, in non-government organisations and in private sector, there is not much done either to develop African languages. Print media is dominated by English and Afrikaans with a few newspapers and magazines available in African languages, implying that it is mainly those that are literate in English and Afrikaans that need to know what is happening in the country, leaving out the majority citizens of this country.

In this chapter, I will look into languages in South Africa prior and post-1994 and the history of the development of languages in South Africa. I will also look into legislation and the developments that the post-apartheid government introduced for the recognition and development of African languages that could have been used to develop African languages. I will speculate on why there is a lack of political will to develop these languages. I will also discuss the rationale for developing African languages; the effects of not developing African languages and into who should develop the African languages.

2.2 History of the development of languages in South Africa

2.2.1 Development of Afrikaans

Afrikaans is a relatively young language, originating in South Africa's Cape region, with roots in most of the different languages that were spoken there from the 17th Century onwards, including Dutch, French, German, English, Arabic, Malay, Khoi, and various African languages (De Kadt, J, 2005:30). It was originally a low-status language, used largely to communicate with slaves and uneducated workers, but was gradually adopted by a broader spectrum of the population. The mythology around the Afrikaner volk first originated in the mid-19th Century, and was developed further during the period after the Boer War, in both cases as white Afrikaans speakers came to feel increasingly threatened by the English and their Imperial ambitions (De Kadt, ibid).

Language provided a central element around which the mythology of the Afrikaans as God's chosen people developed – language was the most obvious way to distinguish the English and the Afrikaans, while still ensuring that the newly constructed volk would contain members from all walks of life, which was essential to a successful political movement. In this context a redefinition of the language's origins was necessary, with racial and linguistic purity taking central roles. The unique Afrikaans language was described as God's means to communicate his will to, and through, Afrikaners, demonstrating their superiority over the English, and South Africa's indigenous inhabitants, and their consequent right to control the land and its people.
De Kadt (2005:12) says, it is worth stressing that while the mythology that was developed around Afrikaans was one based on origins, religion and culture, its formation was driven by extremely practical and material concerns The Afrikaners as a group, crystallized by the Boer war, were threatened politically by the resurgence of English power, and the growing dominance of the English language threatened Afrikaans speakers economically and socially. The construction of a mythology surrounding their existence, identity, and current situation made political mobilization in protection of their interests a possibility. The centrality of language to this mythology, meant that any ethnically based political group claiming to represent the Afrikaner volk would likely pursue the issue of language development and promotion with great energy.

Afrikaners as a group became internationally visible with the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899, driven by territorial conflicts between the Afrikaners (or Boers) and the English. English victory in the war was sealed with the 1902 Treaty of Vereeniging, bringing most of what is now South Africa under English control. In an attempt to promote national unity, the treaty stipulated that education in government schools could take place only in English – and not in Dutch and Afrikaans as had been the practice in many areas of the country. This threatened the Afrikaners materially, and gave the Afrikaans language movement a new burst of energy as fears of 'cultural

obliteration' at the hands of the English grew. Numerous cultural, political and social organizations to promote the development of 'pure' Afrikaans developed. By 1920 at least two Dutch language universities were doing some teaching in Afrikaans, though often unofficially. These bodies would later come to play an important role in the promotion and development of the Afrikaans language (De Kadt, ibid).
De Kadt (2005:30). states that, there were two key cleavages in South Africa at this time – that of race, and that of language. While the racial cleavage certainly shaped the Afrikaner identity, as discussed above, the systematic disenfranchisement of non-whites meant that it was relatively unimportant in political terms. Language, by contrast, shaped political identity directly. This political division was matched by a real economic difference – Afrikaans speakers tended to be poorer, less well educated, and were more likely to live in the rural areas, and in the Orange Free State and Transvaal. English speakers, by contrast, were more educated, wealthier, dominated the urban areas, and were more likely to live in the Cape or Natal. Why didn't the Afrikaners simply give up at this point, and try to become English? Many apparently did, as parents pushed their children to learn English and attend English schools. However, the strength of the mythology which had been constructed around the Afrikaner people and their language meant that language would continue to define political identity – meaning that leaders who determined to develop Afrikaans would be able to do so. Critically, popular pressure did not develop Afrikaans, but it did bring into power leaders and elites who were able – and motivated – to do so.

South Africa's Act of 1909 gave Dutch and English equal status in parliamentary and judicial affairs, constructing South Africa as a bilingual state. While Church and State continued to support only the official recognition of English and Dutch, there was a slow movement from 1914 on to allow the use of Afrikaans in schools in place of Dutch, if parents demanded it. Indeed, education was to become one of the central arenas in which the politics of language recognition and development played out. In the words of Davenport and Saunders, "The battle for the minds of Afrikaners centred largely on the classroom". In 1913, Hertzog, the "leading representative of latent Afrikaner republican sentiments", and "a self-acknowledged linguistic nationalist", walked (or was thrown) out of the ruling South African Party (SAP) government, and formed the new National Party (NP). Two of the key elements of this party's platform were English-Afrikaans dual medium education, and compulsory bilingualism in the public sector. In 1924, the SAP, led by Smuts, was no longer able to hold onto power alone, and the Pact Government, a coalition between the SAP and NP, was born. True to Hertzog's campaign platforms, the recognition of Afrikaans as an official national language, in place of Dutch, was one of the first actions taken by this government.

At this point in time, Afrikaans was still a relatively undeveloped language – much on par with indigenous African languages today. While some significant Afrikaans literature had been developed, and the language had many speakers and was well-developed for cultural purposes, it had not been developed for use in industry, certain areas of government, and more technical higher education. In addition, English was

by far the dominant language in business, leaving Afrikaans as a language with no economic profile. Many Afrikaans parents resisted initial attempts to educate their children in Afrikaans, seeing it as an attempt to ensure their continued subjugation and separation from English speakers.

While the official languages did change in 1924, Davenport (2000) argues that overall, it was not a particularly significant transition, as there were no real structural changes. This was not South Africa's first experiment with bilingualism – it had been bilingual since 1910. While it did for the first time give the Afrikaners a real voice in government, it was a relatively moderate voice, further moderated by the fact that it was in a coalition government. One might argue that it was the fact that the 1924 government had few other serious changes to cope with that enabled them to introduce their new language policy effectively. Yet this was not an easy era for government – 1929 brought the great depression, which impacted South Africa seriously, and which was accompanied by a severe drought. Other explosive issues – most notably those of white poverty, and race – were also competing for government attention, and draining government resources. The government was therefore not in a position to give its undivided attention to language, and was further constrained by a lack of resources. Indeed the beneficial impact of 1948's more substantive structural reforms on the development of the Afrikaans language suggests that even though structural change does require some adaptation on the part of a government, this need not in any way inhibit its efforts to carry through with policy goals.

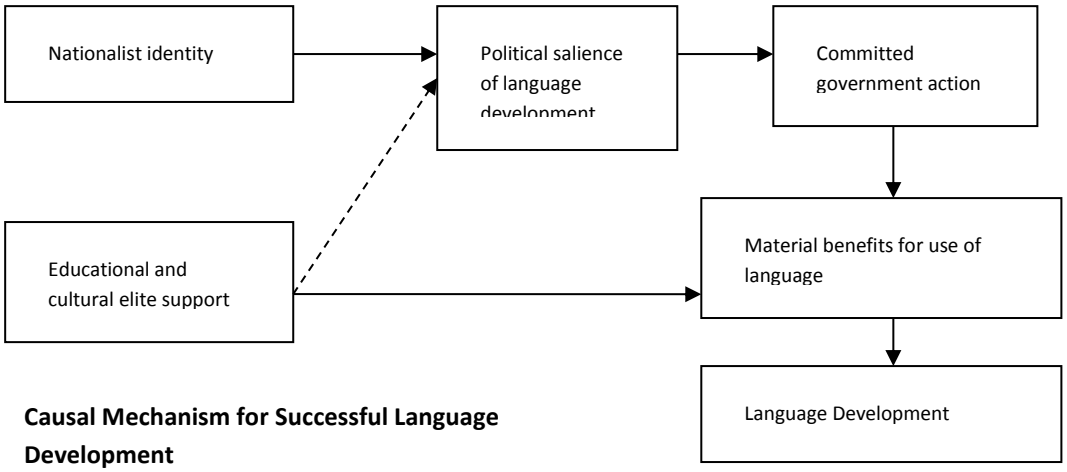
De Kadt (2005:30) further argues that, in many respects, early progress on the development of Afrikaans was slow. While the publication of laws and official documents was able to switch fairly seamlessly from Dutch to Afrikaans, most issues took far longer to address. The reluctance of Afrikaans parents to educate their children in Afrikaans in the 1920s and 30s, and the unwillingness of English-speakers to learn the language are well-documented. Large numbers of Afrikaans children continued to attend the far more numerous, and generally better English-medium schools. She quotes Mpati who traces the first use of Afrikaans in the writing of a judicial decision to 1933, and argues that its use only really became widespread during the 1960s, as those who had been educated in Afrikaans began to move into the judiciary. In the private sector, the use of Afrikaans also grew only slowly, and indeed was never able to entirely rival English. Nonetheless, only ten years after its recognition, Afrikaans was being used in courts and parliament, Afrikaans-speaking businesses were growing, even in the financial sector, and prospects for an expansion of secondary and tertiary education in the language looked good. In 1948, the election of a largely Afrikaans government demonstrated the political and social growth of the language to a position of dominance – a remarkable change over such a brief period of time.

Nevertheless, this change did not occur overnight, and the gradual progression of language development highlights both the difficulties of this type of project, even when

backed both popularly and by the government, and the hugely important role that education policy plays in it. Instituting Afrikaans as a language of education forced attention to be paid to terminology development, and meant that after a lag of several years, people educated in Afrikaans and able to use the language for professional purposes would begin to flood into the labour market, leading to increased use of the language in government and the private sector and causing a real change in the status of the language. While the government played an important role in terminology development, progress was almost certainly far faster because of the roles played by cultural organizations, and by the previously Dutch universities, which had begun to use Afrikaans even before its official recognition. These groups had already done much to standardize the language, and worked hard to ensure that further development occurred – both through their independent action, and through the political pressure they were able to bring to bear on the government. By 1960, political rule was conducted principally in Afrikaans, and most white South Africans could speak the language, even if begrudgingly at times.

In short, the fairly vulnerable position of the Afrikaners with respect to the English in early South Africa was central to the construction of a strong Afrikaner identity, the key element of which was language. They were able to take on a political role as a group defined by language – language shaped political behaviour and identity, leading to the election into the national government of people who believed fervently in the mythology and the importance of the Afrikaans language. Even as pressures on individuals to learn English grew, the development of Afrikaans, and the promotion of opportunities for its speakers became very real goals of government, aided by similarly committed elites. This commitment bolstered the value of the language for Afrikaners and others, resulting in its successful development.

To illustrate a mechanism for a successful language development used by Afrikaners, Kadt (2005) makes this scale drawing:



Causal Mechanism for Successful Language Development

(De Kadt, 2005:18)

Afrikaans had by the mid-seventies developed into a fully-fledged language of science and technology. Attempts to spread Afrikaans amongst black South Africans led to the Soweto uprising of 1976. As Prah (2007:10) puts it, Afrikaans was systematically developed with enormous state resources and blessing into a second official language. Its social role covered the entire range of functions, which any official language in a developed first world society would have. Afrikaans had in fifty years become a language of modernity.

2.2.2 English in South Africa

According to Silva P (1997), the history of English in South Africa dates from the arrival of the British at the Cape in 1806. As was the case in most colonies, English was brought to South Africa during the 19th century initially by soldiers, and then by administrators, missionaries, settlers, and fortune-seekers. It took root as a southern African language as a result of the settlements of 1820 (in the Eastern Cape) and 1848–1862 (in Natal), and of the influx to the diamond mines of Kimberley (1870) and the gold mines of the Witwatersrand (1886). On the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, which united the former Boer republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State with the Cape and Natal colonies, English was made the official language together with Dutch, which was replaced by Afrikaans in 1925.
From the beginning, English was imposed at the Cape upon an unwilling Dutch (later Afrikaans) community. There was an attempt to make English the sole language of the law and of education, even in the overwhelmingly Dutch/Afrikaans-speaking rural areas, causing a deep resentment which is still noticeable in some Afrikaner groups today. Afrikaner hostility towards English was of course considerably hardened by the South African (or 'Boer') War of 1899–1902, and English became *die vyand se taal*, 'the language of the enemy'.

South African History Online (2011) states that, in the early years of the 19th century, English was introduced into many black communities of the Eastern Cape (and subsequently, Natal) by missionaries – who at the same time codified Xhosa, and later the other African languages. English was used as the medium of instruction in mission schools. By the end of the century there was an influential corps of black educators, writers, ministers, and political leaders who were fluent in English. As in most countries where it serves as *lingua franca*, English came to be perceived as the language of the social elite. But while it was seen as the language of aspiration and empowerment for black South Africans and for many Afrikaners, among a significant section of the Afrikaans population it was consistently received with hostility as an oppressor, and, from the time the National Party came to power in 1948, Afrikaans became the openly-favoured language. Despite the fact that English was the other official language, the business of government and administration was conducted almost exclusively in Afrikaans. State resources were allocated to the development of Afrikaans while English was afforded a lesser status and the African languages were ignored (except for some being declared the official languages of the discredited ethnic 'homelands').

Despite the treatment of English as a 'Cinderella' language in official circles from 1948–94, English was too powerful to be adversely affected, and it retained its dominance as the language of higher education, commerce, science, and technology, and as the internal and international language of communication. In 1994 English also became one of eleven official languages (Silva P, 1997: 1-2).

2.2.3 The Development of African languages in South Africa

The last revolutionary development of African languages in South was by missionaries and the first language boards that were established in the homelands. The missionaries played a significant role in recording the languages of South Africa. Missionaries from various countries in America, Europe and Britain arrived in Southern Africa in the 18th and 19th centuries mainly to convert Africans to Christianity and to teach them the word of God. These missionaries could not speak any African language, and for them to convert Africans into Christianity they had to learn and understand the languages of the people they were sent to. They also needed to translate the Bible into African languages for them to preach the word of God and for Africans to hear the word of God in their own languages. They then transmuted African languages into writing. Orthographies were established and grammars were written down and trained and they educated people to read and write.

By the end of the nineteen century, there were already bibles published in five South African indigenous languages, the first one being the Setswana Bible in 1857, isiXhosa Bible in 1859, Sesotho Bible in 1881, isiZulu bible in 1883 and the Sepedi Bible in 1904 (Kritzinger, 1995: In Webb, V.N. (ed.). Missionaries started schools in which African languages were taught; books were written in African languages to teach Africans in their languages. Independent churches which preached in African languages sprawled, thereby ensuring the maintenance of the use of these languages in public arenas. Some international works were translated into African languages such as *The Pilgrim's Progress* and Shakespeare's works (Ntuli & Swanepoel, 1993:18-19).

The missionaries created lots of orthographical varieties of South African languages, In 1928, the South African government decided that there was a need to reduce these varieties and thus decide to create a more powerful and central authority. In that year, it convened an Advisory Committee on Bantu Studies and Research to look into the matter of standardising the orthographies. This committee created a Central Orthography Committee with subcommittees for Sotho, Nguni and Venda (LANGTAG, 2006: 74). The following developments took place:

- Sesotho languages had disagreements on the orthography of Southern Sotho and Northern Sotho. As a result two new subcommittees were convened, namely the Sotho Subcommittee and the Tswana Subcommittee. In 1930, *the Practical Orthography of Transvaal Sotho* became the standard orthography.

In 1936, Botswana came up with a different orthography. The various orthographies were circulated and in April 1937 one orthography was accepted and it became a standard orthography for Setswana. In 1951 a standardised orthography for Northern Sotho was published (LANGTAG report, ibid).

- In 1935 isiXhosa orthography was modified. The same occurred for isiZulu.
- In 1938, the department of education convened a meeting for a Xitsonga orthography as there were about 12 Tsonga orthographies then which led to the establishment of a Tsonga Language Board (LANGTAG report, ibid).

Some linguists tried to unify family languages such as isiZulu and isiXhosa and Sesotho and Setswana but that project failed.

After 1948, the national government of the day organised language committee meetings to standardise the languages. The schools were taken over from missionary societies and mother tongue was made to be the medium of instruction for the first eight years (LANGTAG, 1996:78). Languages were placed under the Department of Native Affairs. In 1959, the Department of Bantu Education was tasked with codification and standardisation of African languages. In 1961 the Bantu Language Board met in Pretoria. Three separate languages committees for Sesotho languages were formed, namely, a committee for Northern Sotho, one for Setswana and one for Southern Sotho. New language boards were appointed for each language. In the 1970s, language boards became autonomous and were placed in various homeland governments. Since the language boards were in the homeland governments. At some stage there was a Transkei Xhosa Language Board and a Ciskei Xhosa Language Board.

The functions of the Old Language Boards were as follows:

- To create, develop and maintain the orthography of each language
- To liaise with public broadcasters
- To liaise with the Bible Society
- To work on place names
- To work on the language curriculum; and
- To make recommendations on prescribed books.

Terminology and orthography lists appeared for each African language. Later, language boards were associated with implementation of apartheid and in some sectors the work of the language boards was rejected.

2.3 The Political Basis For Recognition of the 11 Official Languages

For the purposes of understanding the lack of political will in developing African languages, it is worth delving into the basis into which the eleven official languages were made official in the first place in South Africa. Language had played a substantial role in South Africa's history of discrimination, and because of that, recognition of the equality of South Africa's African languages and recognition of English and particularly

Afrikaans was politically essential (De Kadt, J, 2005:21). De Kadt, quoting Spitz R. and M. Chaskalson (2000) in their book titled, *The Politics of Transition: A Hidden History of South Africa's Negotiated Settlement* says, language equality was one of the few issues which was agreed upon with relatively little contention as the country's interim constitution was drawn up. During the apartheid era, as mentioned above, the Afrikaans language was used to distinguish Afrikaners as superior people to South Africa's indigenous inhabitants, and was used to enforce the right to control the land and South Africans. The right to use the language of one's choice was therefore undisputed. Likewise, there was no debate over the notion that education should be available to all students in the national language of their choice, where reasonably practicable (De Kadt, J, 2005: 21).

For stability and peace's sake in the country, during the constitutional negotiations of 1993, one of the most significant threats the country faced was that of destabilization from the extreme right wing who were Afrikaans speakers. An issue which would almost certainly have triggered action on their part would have been any decrease in the official recognition of the Afrikaans language. The need to recognize the nine African languages, and simultaneously to preserve the positions of English and Afrikaans were clearly evident to all players involved. At the same time, a central theme of the negotiations was that of equality, equality on the basis of race, gender, and language (De Kadt, J, 2005: 30).

During the 20th Century, the political, social, and economic threats faced by blacks were shaped largely by the dimension of race, rather than language or ethnicity. The salience of race as the basis of threat and discrimination only continued to grow through the century, and was formalized with the institutionalization of Apartheid in 1948. Instead of language or ethnic identity, the politically important cleavages were now those of race, and to a lesser extent socio-economic class. So while the new governments of 1924 and 1994 were both multi-ethnic coalitions, it is only in the historic case that language was the most important political distinction amongst coalition members, and therefore the issue on which government could not afford a misstep. In the modern case, that role was replaced largely by race as was evidenced by the caution with which the new government handled this issue.

While language may well be an important issue to many members of government, it is not one on which their political positions are likely to hang, and it is not an issue with the potential to pull a government apart (De Kadt, J, 2005: 30). This then explains why development of African languages is not a critical issue in the present government and the current ruling party. There is no longer political mobilization around language that can be useful for the purpose of language development.

2.4 National Government's Language Development Initiatives from 1993

2.4.1 Language Clauses in the Country's Constitution

In 1993, through an interim Constitution, South Africa recognised nine African languages as official languages together with English and Afrikaans, totalling 11 official languages and it proclaimed that all government official documentation would be available in all 11 languages. In 1996, a new Constitution was adopted. The Constitution, which propagated principles and values of multilingualism redefined the status of African languages in Section 6 of the Constitution.

Section 6 of the Constitution reads as follows:

1. *The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.*
2. *Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.*

3.a. *Municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents.*

b. *The national government and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages.*

4. *The national government and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor their use of official languages. Without detracting from the provisions of subsection (2), all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.*

5. *A Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of -*
   - *i. all official languages;*
   - *ii. the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and*
   - *iii. sign language. (*Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. 1996.)

2.4.2 The Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB)

In a paper published in *Lexikos* journal, Mariëtta Alberts (2010) gives an account of the establishment of PanSALB as follows:

> The Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) was established in 1996 to give effect to the letter and spirit of Section 6 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. PanSALB is a constitutional body instituted in terms of the PanSALB Act (Act No 59 of 1995 as amended in 1999). The Board was established to promote multilingualism and develop the official South African languages, including the South African Sign Language (SASL) and the Khoe and San languages. PanSALB created advisory structures to assist it in achieving its mandate, namely to promote multilingualism, to develop languages, and to protect language rights.
>
> PanSALB structures consist of:
>
> - nine Provincial Language Committees (PLCs) to assist the provinces with language policy formulation and implementation;
> - thirteen National Language Bodies (NLBs) to take care of standardisation (e.g. spelling and orthography rules), terminology development, dictionary needs (general and specific), literature and media, research, and education;
> - eleven National Lexicography Units (NLUs) to compile comprehensive monolingual and other types of dictionaries (i.e. bilingual translation dictionaries, etymological dictionaries, technical dictionaries, etc).
>
> Members of the PanSALB structures have a major communicative role to play in terms of information flow in all three directions. They should also monitor PanSALB's strategic objectives, implementation plan and the effectiveness thereof.
>
> The PLCs are provincial structures, each taking care of the languages of a specific Province and assist with the language policies of these provinces. The PLCs keep in contact with the NLBs and NLUs in order to make them aware of all the language needs that impact negatively or positively in terms of language policy, language practice, language implementation, and the promotion of multilingualism in a province.
>
> The NLUs and NLBs are national structures. The language-specific NLB and NLU take care of the particular language or language group, the official language (where applicable) of the majority of the speakers of the language residing in the geo-linguistic area, developmental issues regarding the language, and promotion and preservation of the language.

The NLUs were established as Section 21 Companies. Although they receive funding from PanSALB, they are autonomous. They are managed by Editors-in-Chief and function under the auspices of Boards of Directors. Their main aim is to compile comprehensive monolingual explanatory dictionaries to preserve and document the respective official languages. They may, according to needs, also compile bilingual and other types of dictionaries. PanSALB's NLBs function according to technical committees (TCs) to develop standards, spelling and orthography rules, conduct research, verify and authenticate terminologies, and assist with the standardisation of terms, determine dictionary needs (for general and special purposes), facilitate production and promotion of literature and media, develop dialects, facilitate research studies, develop all bands of education, and facilitate the development and promotion of the SASL and the Khoe and San languages.

The Technical Committees concerned with Terminology Development obtain terminology lists from the Terminology Coordination Section (TCS), the National Language Service (NLS), the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), and other institutions or individuals who compile technical dictionaries or term lists. Once a terminology project is finalised the project is submitted to the relevant Technical Committee of the relevant NLB to verify and authenticate terms, assist with the standardisation and stabilisation of terms, popularise terms, advise compilers of technical dictionaries or term lists (i.e. private or institutionalised efforts), advise terminologists and terminology offices, and co-operate, collaborate and communicate with stakeholders.

The technical committee of the NLB should present the term list to the NLB concerned to give its stamp of approval concerning the terminology project before the term list or dictionary could be disseminated to end users (e.g. subject specialists, language practitioners, NLUs, and language users in general) (Alberts M, 2010:610-611).

2.4.3 The National Language Service (NLS)

The National Language Service was also established as a comprehensive language office in government's executive arm in language matters, the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC). It is in charge of policy and planning matters and terminology development. The National Language Service (NLS) was borne out of an amalgamation of the pre-1994 National Terminology Service and the State Language Services of Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology in April 1998.

In the current website (2016) of the Department of Arts and Culture the NLS defines itself:

as a programme designed to develop, promote and protect the official languages of South Africa and enhance the linguistic diversity of the country through policy formulation and implementation. The programme renders translation and editing services to government services, coordinates and monitors government language structures, and develops multilingual terminologies to support communication in the official languages.

NLS has produced a number of term lists of various fields. In 2004 it established Language Research and Development Centres (LRDCs) which disappeared into thin air few years later. There is a considerable degree of duplication between PanSALB and NLS work.

In addition to these two agencies, a Section 185 Commission, another statutory body that, among its functions also deals with language rights, the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities, was established in 2002. It has a language component ("linguistic communities") and much of its work duplicates directly the linguistic human rights monitoring function of PANSALB.

2.4.4 The Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG)

In 1995, the then Minister of Arts and Culture, Science and Technology, Minister Ngubane appointed a Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG) to develop guidelines for a policy and implementation plan based on the constitutional language provisions. After a participatory and accountable process of consultation involving language experts and stakeholders, a comprehensive document – the *Final LANGTAG Report* (DACST 1996) was presented to government, providing a detailed outline of the country's language needs and a framework for language policy initiatives, with reference to a range of policy decisions (both short- and long-term measures), for language in education, literacy, and for language as an economic resource. (Beukes A, 2009, 41)

2.4.5 The National Language Policy Framework (NLPF)

Subsequent to a protracted consultation process involving government departments and cabinet, and including convening a mega-consultative forum of language experts and stakeholders, the Language Policy and Plan and the Draft Bill were revised. In 2003, nine years into the country's democracy, cabinet finally approved the National Language Policy Framework (NLPF) (DAC 2003a & 2003b). The NLP was designed as an ambitious package that would eventually consist of a Policy Statement, an Implementation Plan, the South African Languages Act and the South African Language Practitioners' Council Act (Beukes A, 2009, 41). The NLPF was aimed at promoting the equitable use of all official languages; facilitating equitable access to

government services, knowledge and information; and ensuring redress for the previously marginalised official indigenous languages, among others (DAC 2003, 13).

Following the announcement of the NLPF, the then Minister of Arts and Culture published an implementation plan. Recognising that the efficient management of linguistic diversity poses many challenges, the plan envisaged building up human capacity in translation and interpreting, phasing in implementation 'over a reasonable period' (DAC 2003b, 7). Since implementing the policy would require a major shift from apartheid language practices, strategies for policy implementation, and mechanisms and structures to ensure equitable access to government services, knowledge and information for all citizens, were outlined in the implementation plan. The coordination of implementation by these structures and the utilisation of mechanisms were the responsibility of government's executive arm in language policy and planning matters, the Department of Arts and Culture.

The NLPF's implementation plan also envisaged a broad range of mechanisms to support implementation, i.e. terminology development, translation and editing, language technology, a language code of conduct, a directory of language services, language audits and surveys, language awareness campaigns, the telephone interpreting service for South Africa, an information databank, the development of sign languages, language learning, and budgeting.

2.4.6 The Use of Official Languages Act (UOLA)

In 2012, nine years after the passing the National Language Policy Framework, Parliament eventually passed the Use of Official Languages Act (Act 12 of 2012) which has the following noble objectives:

(a) to regulate and monitor the use of official languages for government purposes by national government;
(b) to promote parity of esteem and equitable treatment of all official languages of the Republic;
(c) to facilitate equitable access to services and information of national government; and
(d) to promote good language management by national government for efficient public service administration and to meet the needs of the public.

2.4.7 Language in Education Policies and Acts

The following language Acts and policies were passed after 1994:

The National Education Policy Act (NEPA), Act No. 27 of 1996, recognises the right of every student to be instructed in the language of his or her choice, where this is reasonably practicable.

The South African Schools Act (SASA), Act No. 84 of 1996 guides the implementation of language rights at school level and gives the School Governing Bodies the powers to determine the language policy of a school.

The Language in Education Policy (LiEP) of 1997 is based on the principle of additive bilingualism. Additive bilingualism promotes the maintenance of the home language(s) while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s). The home language is therefore not dropped in favour of another language but maintained together with the additional language/s.

The Language Policy for Higher Education of 2002 promotes multilingualism and enhances equity and access in higher education through the development, in the medium to long-term, of South African languages as mediums of instruction in higher education, alongside English and Afrikaans; the development of strategies for promoting student proficiency in designated language(s) of tuition and helps to develop strategies for promoting student proficiency in designated language(s) of tuition.

The Incremental Implementation of African Languages (IIAL) Policy: In 2015, the Department of Basic Education introduced the Incremental Implementation of African Languages (IIAL) policy that must be implemented in all public and independent schools that follow the National Curriculum Statement. The IIAL policy requires all learners to be offered three languages**,** one of which should be an African language. One of the three languages should be offered at Home Language (HL) level. However, depending on the school context, learners can offer two languages at Home Language level or First Additional Language level. Effectively all learners will therefore offer three languages. It started with pilot projects in 2015 with the implementation process to start with Grade 1 in 2016. From 2016 all schools following the National Curriculum Statement must offer three official languages from Grade 1, one of which must be a “previously-marginalized indigenous African language”. The DBE anticipates implementing the IIAL policy incrementally, commencing in Grade 1 in 2015 and will continue until 2026 when it will be implemented in Grade 12.

2.5 What Constitutes Language Development?

According to the report of the Language Plan Task Group (the LANGTAG) of 1996, titled, *Towards a National Language Plan for South Africa*, language development involves:

a) Development of a standard orthography and spelling system of a particular language
b) The elaboration and modernisation of the vocabulary of that language
c) The creation of new registers such as those in education, legal system, journalism and others
d) Elevation of the status of a language so that it's speakers are willing to use it in high-status domains
e) Accessibility of science and technology and the economic benefits thereof
f) It involves language elaboration and language spread where the language functions beyond the family and the community environment (LANGTAG report. 1996: 68).

According to Cluver (1996:1), language development is not a onetime process, but rather a continuing process which involves the planned modification of a selected variety to fulfil any new function that it did not fulfil previously. Language development should be part of and contribute to the overall development of a community. One of the objectives of language development is to enhance the status of the language with its own speakers and with foreign speakers. The status of a language could be enhanced by proving to its users that it can be employed as a modern means of communication to function in domains in which languages of wider distribution function, i.e. education, the legal system, local administration, health care and modern agriculture (Cluver ,1996: 1-2).

Cluver (1996: 2-3; 6), cites similar processes as those mentioned in the LANGTAG report, namely that, language development entails:

- *language selection* — the selection of a specific variety (e.g. dialect) for development
- *language codification* — the development of a writing system, documentation of the existing vocabulary and grammar, development of spelling and orthography (for an unwritten language) or modernising existing spelling and orthographies and standardising the language
- *language elaboration* — the expansion of the functions of the language so that it can operate beyond its traditional domains (home, family, community) as working language in the public domains (government offices, court of law, etc.),
- *language spread* — the development of the language as a language for teaching and learning (domain of education for primary school level, secondary school level and tertiary level), and a language of communication (e.g. media), and

- *language modernisation* — general terminology development in all spheres of the working environment, e.g. economy, science and technology (i.e. the expression of abstract concepts).

2.6 Why Should We Bother To Develop African Languages?

According to Bamgbose (2011:7)**,** there are many aspects of national life in which language is of crucial importance. They include communication, participatory democracy, and access to justice and information on health. He says, in most African countries, communication between the governed and those who govern is done through an imported official language. The fact that such mode of communication excludes the majority of the governed is a strong reason for empowering African languages for official purposes. However, arguments about multiplicity of languages, cost, and language development status are always invoked in support of the imported official language.

Okwudishu (2006: 135 – 36) says:

> *It has been rightly observed that a national development that has not given a pride of place to indigenous languages as vehicles of national development is likely to be a wasted effort . . . development in Africa should focus on the cultivation of a literate citizenry that can participate effectively in the socio-economic, political and cultural life of the nation. Development in this sense is human-based and languages chosen for that purpose must be those that will facilitate access to information for the masses at the grassroots.*

Sonaiya (2007: 18) says:

> *. . . what continues to be of great concern to many in Africa is the fact that even after independence, not only are European languages still being maintained within the educational system, but very little is being done to develop African languages which had suffered over a century of neglect. This state of affairs is what Djite (2004: 1) refers to as "the most painful and absurd interface between Africa and the rest of the world". The fact is that Africa is the only continent in the world in which language-in-education "is largely exogenous to the society it seeks to serve".*

In the contemporary South Africa, while the political and historical context of policy-making has made the official equality of all eleven national languages essential, there is no real political incentive to develop any of the nine new languages (De Kadt, J, 2005: 25). This translates into slow, indecisive and often impractical policy making on issues around language. The lack of a strong governmental stance on language

development solidifies beliefs that the African languages are languages with no economic future, reducing incentives for education in these languages, which in turn significantly lowers the chances that these languages will ever come to be used outside of the home. (De Kadt, J, 2005:26). Also, the hegemony of English combined with the stigmatisation of the efforts of modernisation of language boards and a general scepticism of the ability of African languages to function in high status domains led to a fairly wide antipathy towards the development of African languages. The LANGTAG reports recommends that this needs to be addressed before a meaningful language development can take place.

Other factors that need to be taken into consideration when answering the question of why we should develop African languages are:

- The Impact of language in education
- Language and culture
- Language and technology
- Language and society
- Language and power
- Language Modernisation; and
- Language and globalisation

2.7 Impact of language on education

Section 29 (2) of the Bill of Rights of the Constitution stipulates that, 'Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable' (Republic of South Africa's Constitution 1996). This was also included in the languages policies of the Department of Education but in practice, it has been very difficult to implement this clause. As already mentioned, recently, the national Department of Education has passed an Incremental Introduction of African Languages in South African Schools Policy which aims to promote and strengthen the African languages and there is already resistance from some provinces to implement this policy.

Bantu education did not put much emphasis on the development and use of African languages. As a consequence of political history of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa, English and Afrikaans have been well established as languages of learning to the exclusion of indigenous African languages. Most African pupils write the exam in a language which they are not familiar with. The effect has been that, for all pupils who use African languages at home, their home language remains a language for everyday communication, but not further education. Alexander (2005) writes about what he calls a social pathology, "the Static Maintenance Syndrome", and points out that while African-language speakers are proud of their mother tongues, they use them only in primary language domains, i.e. home, within the community and elementary school. They do not believe that these languages could become a powerful means of

communication or part of their formal lives. Pupils who use African languages at home, and who do not perform well at schools because of the inadequate competence in English as the language of learning and teaching are therefore excluded from full participation in the world of work (Chisholm, 2004; Reddy, 2004; Alexander, 2005).

Another dimension is that, the use of African languages in education has not always been appreciated because there has always been a perception that knowledge of a Western language always resulted in access to better jobs. Since English and Afrikaans were used as the official languages of the apartheid government, the use of indigenous languages rather than English as a medium of education created resistance, and evoked emotions that indigenous language education was a deliberate attempt by the apartheid government to withhold the linguistic means of advancement for Africans. Black South Africans in the past viewed mother tongue education as inferior education in the public mind and was therefore not wanted. The concern was the limited educational and economic opportunities associated with a mother tongue education.

Bamgbose (2005) argues that that not many Africans believe their children could receive meaningful education today in African languages beyond the early years of initial education. This cannot be further from the truth in South Africa today as a result of the liberal tendencies that English is the language of business; therefore for one to stand a chance at the employment queue, he or she should be well-endowed in the language of the colonial master. The implication is that those who are literate only in an African language are viewed as inferior to those who are proficient in an imported or partner languages (such as English, French, German and Portuguese). Bamgbose goes on to say, the reasons why African languages are not used in postcolonial Africa is that English was often the colonially imposed medium of instruction in schools, and there is also a belief that African languages do not have academic terms for scientific concepts to be used for academic purposes. Based on the imposition of colonialism, it is not surprising that wrong judgements are made on the child's intelligence and ability when the fault lies squarely on a premature use as medium of what is best accepted and treated as a second language. Those who drop out and those who fail at the end of primary school now constitute another squad of the excluded. (SADTU Discussion Document, 2011:3)

The SADTU discussion document goes on to say, language exclusion occurs as a result of the notion of the two previous official languages, where those who are fluent in the official languages become participators and those who are not, are excluded. In the unique case of South Africa where two of the eleven official languages (English and Afrikaans) are imported languages which have dominant in education, it is clear that children who speak African languages are at a disadvantage in that they have to cope with mastery of English before they can receive any meaningful education, while children who speak English or Afrikaans can go straight to learning new content without having first to learn another language (SADTU discussion document, *ibid*). The

teachers who teach in the medium of English are also not always eloquent and fluent in English. As a result, they end up translating the texts as they teach so that the learners can understand. During exam time, this disadvantages learners as they have to write exams in English.

Mutasa (2015: 11) contends that, it is essential to point out that, parents see English as the answer to their problems. Undoubtedly, wherever they go, buildings glitter with English names and business is conducted, in most cases, in English. Products on shelves bear English names and descriptions and their manuals are in English and other non-indigenous African languages. In addition to this, parents see the quality of education that the products of former Model C schools in South Africa receive and, when they listen to these people speak, or present the news, or host shows on television and radio, or watch them act in television dramas, they are mesmerised. They also observe that the majority of former Model C school' graduates receive preferential treatment in the job market based on their proficiency in English and on their accents, derogatorily referred to as 'coconuts'.

Beukes (2000: 47) says, in 2001, a few years after the publication of government's Language-in-Education Policy, former Education Minister, Kader Asmal, argued that the reason why multilingualism was not implemented in South African schools was: '… because of the constitutional compromise in 1996, language policy (was) a voluntarist tradition'. He admitted that parents and communities were not opting for the use of African languages, and thus government's policy was 'not working on the ground, because people do not understand it'. At the time, he announced that government would put measures in place to popularise the concept of mother-tongue education and would develop a National Action Plan for introducing African languages into schools. That was never done. The education department also failed to enter into partnerships with its strategic language planning agency, PanSALB, with a view to designing suitable marketing strategies to raise awareness of government's language-in-education policy, and popularise the concept of mother-tongue education.

Mutasa (2015) says, as Davidson (2013: 2) avers, 'High quality education is essential for any nation wishing to build a knowledge economy, encourage international trade, improve public health, or increase equity'. These goals cannot be achieved without a well-resourced education system and without highly-developed and sophisticated languages that can carry philosophical and scientific discourse to unprecedented heights. Hence, indigenous African languages should be developed first to the level where Afrikaans, Swahili and English are today. This can be achieved, in most cases, when a society has ascended to the kind of dazzling economic heights that Japan and China have achieved and when jargon in use has ceased to be about service delivery and eradicating poverty. The option, for now, is as a first step to introduce indigenous languages as subjects for, without so doing, a nation cannot implement or administer mother-tongue education to students who cannot speak and who did not learn their own mother tongue or home language in school. For those students from

disadvantaged communities who are not proficient in English because their parents could not afford high quality education in former Model C schools, universities should establish departments that teach writing skills. Universities should establish linguistic benchmarks or targets towards the ability to use English proficiently. However, this should be done in a multicultural and multilingual context so that English is not used to the detriment of indigenous African languages. This brings the discussion to an essential aspect of language revalorisation, that is, preservation" (Mutasa, 2015: 11-12).

2.7.1 Language and Culture in Education

In the 1978 National Day Rally Speech by the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr Lee Kuan Yew (Multilingualism and Multiculturalism in Singapore, n.d.), stated that and I quote:

> A person who gets deculturised, who loses his language, loses his identity and self-confidence. He suffers from a sense of deprivation. For optimum performance a man must know himself and the world. He must know what he stands for. I may speak the English language better than the Chinese language because I learnt English early in life. But I will never be an Englishman in a thousand generations and I have not got the Western value system inside; mine is an Eastern value system. Nevertheless I use Western concepts, Western words because I understand them. But I also have a different system in my mind.

Barasa (2004:168) postulates that language is a component of culture. He says, acquiring a language therefore also implies acquiring the culture of that language, when pupils acquire many languages they learn aspects of many cultures, opening up cognition of sections of those cultures. In education, Barasa (ibid:172) also refers to the sadness Ngugi wa Thiong'o expresses, pointing out that the language used in the education of African children is foreign to them, and their school books are also written in a foreign language. This includes exercises, tests, and exams, all of which contribute to linguistic bewilderment and subsequent underachievement. While early multilingual experience enables children to appreciate and integrate different cultures and to adapt easily to new situations and environments, pupils in Africa, are offered insufficient exposure to different African languages with the result that cognitive development is inadequate. Enhanced cognitive functioning that follows upon early multilingual experience promotes cognitive and metalinguistic abilities, such as originality, creativity, divergent thinking, sensitivity to linguistic cues and verbal flexibility. This also assists in the process of cultural inclusivity.

Mutasa (2015) states that, African students who communicate in English, and the children of academics who do not learn an indigenous African language, are deprived

of their culture and value system. With regard to this, Bourdieu (1977) contends that a language is worth what those who speak it are worth. Hence, if a speaker is misguided and thinks his/her language is worth nothing, and then he/she too, is worth nothing.

2.7.2 Language in Higher Education

In South Africa, language in higher education is perceived to impact greatly on the academic performance of students (Yeld, 2009). In accordance with the prevailing legislative framework, each institution of higher education is required to establish its own language policy, guided by the Constitution and the Language Policy for Higher Education. The language of learning in Higher Education is mainly English and some few institutions also offer studies in Afrikaans. Textbooks are written in English. Lecturers of content subjects, according to Mutasa (2014:15), view it as a pipedream to teach content subjects in African languages. Mutasa says, disregard for indigenous languages is not uncommon among lecturers of content subjects who view content as different from language. Sixty per cent of lecturers of content subjects see it as anathema to use indigenous languages in the teaching of their subjects. One of the content lecturers responding to a questionnaire wrote that 'those who want to learn in African languages should register in departments of African Languages' (Mutasa, 2014: 15).

Accordingly, the assessment of competence in terms of language, or the use of language criteria for admission, is considered to be important for the purposes of determining access to higher education, in order to ensure that students cope with the use of the language of teaching and learning of the institutions. This has also been referred to as the "access for success" argument. In South Africa, the languages of instruction for higher education are, currently, mainly English and, sometimes, Afrikaans. The "access for success" argument is often formulated in terms of academic literacy in the language of teaching and learning". Many students appear to lack the ability to deal with language at an academic level, even when they appear to be quite proficient in communicating socially in a particular language (Yeld, 2006). As a result, measures of language ability, such as language subjects in matric and language tests, are often used to set criteria in terms of language, in addition to criteria regarding school-leaving results.

A report compiled by the Ministerial Committee appointed by the Ministry of Education in September 2003 titled, *The Development Of Indigenous African Languages As Mediums Of Instruction In Higher Education* states that indigenous languages have until recently been studied as scientific phenomena through the medium of English rather than as vital embodiments of living social and individual experience. It continues and says, research indicates that this situation has changed radically in recent years. At most, institutions of higher learning in South Africa today, the indigenous languages

are now taught through their own medium, except for language acquisition classes. The picture that emerges suggests that South Africans have moved far more in the multilingual direction than they are prepared to acknowledge.

2.7.3 What is it that needs to be done in education?

Just as choices about language use are instrumental, so too are choices surrounding language of education. A report compiled by the Ministerial Committee appointed by the Ministry of Education in September 2003 titled, *The Development Of Indigenous African Languages As Mediums Of Instruction In Higher Education* states that, when learners and educators use a particular language to acquire education, it contributes largely to the growth of such a language since this step promotes the provision of resources such as funding, books, electronic technology and physical infrastructure. First-language teaching and learning –

- ♦ gives learners a stronger sense of identity;
- ♦ facilitates higher-level learning for students;
- ♦ has been proven, especially in the early years of a child's education, to be more effective in the educational process than the use of some other language (Mzamane, Saadawi & Ngugi, 2000:2); and
- ♦ provides a positive and non-threatening environment for students.

Without the development of indigenous African language use in both the public and private sectors, uptake of education in these languages is likely to be limited. The effectiveness of the educational experience is seriously limited for a learner who receives education in a language that is not his mother tongue.

The case of Afrikaans makes clear the importance of the use of a language as a language of education in ensuring that its use in other areas grows, rather than dwindles. Without an increased focus by the current government on ensuring the development and implementation of African languages as languages of education, and providing space for the use of these languages in government, further language development is unlikely to become a reality.

In Education, where the body of knowledge is generated and conveyed in a different language, it is difficult for a learner to grasp concepts easily. There are numerous countries that can be cited such as China, Japan, Turkey, Russia, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America which have all advanced due to their policies that knowledge should be taught in the local languages. The statistics of the examination failures in many African states are real and to achieve success in education, we need to achieve success in the language of instruction. Mbude (2019: 325) also postulates that English as a language of learning and teaching blanket approach has not worked for South Africa, especially for poor and rural learners who do not speak nor understand English. She states that African languages speaking learners start school at a disadvantage as they lack the sophisticated language used in schools. She argues that the learner's

home language plays a significant role in the teaching, learning and assessment of a learner.

Universities should formulate clear language policies and implementation plans that are aligned to the country's Constitution. A recommendation from the ministerial report of 2003 is that, in seeking to re-centre in the active national consciousness our marginalised indigenous African languages, we should heed the lessons learned in other countries. For example, in Wales the efforts to revitalise the Welsh language have been successful, similarly in Belgium with Flemish, in Israel with Hebrew and in Ireland with Gaelic. These languages have been introduced into higher education institutions as mediums of teaching and learning with increasing success. It goes on to say, the scale of the challenge in South Africa is of a different order. The countries referred to above are not as culturally and linguistically diverse as South Africa. This diversity has a significant impact on South Africa's capacity to deploy state resources for comparable time frames, especially under the current levels of economic growth. Yet the methods of intervention given appropriately, adjusted short, medium and long-term time frames, and an appropriate plan of action, remain worthy of attention. (Ministry of Education Report, 2003:13).

This report also recommends that, each higher education institution should be required to identify an indigenous African language of its choice for initial development. Where the language of choice is a particular regionally dominant language, higher education institutions in that particular region should develop a regional approach. Where an institution specialises in a defined field of study, such specialisation should be determined collectively with neighbouring institutions in a holistic manner. For instance, higher education institutions A, B and C should collectively determine which area of speciality would be targeted. It goes on to say that, funding for research into various aspects of indigenous African language development, particularly in such areas as terminology development, should be part of the strategy of national research funding and be accorded the same magnitude and status as that coordinated through the National Research Foundation. Equally, publishing in indigenous African languages in the entire range of publishing areas and materials should be a nationally coordinated activity involving collaboration between higher education institutions and publishers, and may be coordinated by PanSALB. It also makes this notable recommendation that, legislation should be reviewed to close the possible loopholes created through phraseology such as "where reasonably practicable" (2003; 23-24).

2.8 African Languages and Technology

With information growing on a daily basis, there is a need of availability of technology in African languages as expression in European languages does not accommodate those who cannot speak them. The availability of content and software in the languages most familiar to people is of primary importance in the use of ICT.

Availability of ICT in the languages of the people empowers people to access information. This can be done through localisation of software and content into African languages.

There are currently challenges with localisation of African languages that involve operating systems such as Windows, software applications such as Microsoft Office, packaging which involves translation of commands and help files and production tools that include language settings and spelling dictionaries. These operating systems have been translated into major international languages but very little has been done for African languages (Osborn D, 2010: 5). Computers and internet connections are increasing as well as content in African languages. Internet material is increasing and there have been efforts made to localize software but there is limited knowledge and few specialists in localisation. The reason for this is that software localisation needs both language skills and technical skills (Osborn D, 2010:14).

According to Osborn (2010:22), localising software also depends on some levels of standardisation of orthographies, terminology and dictionaries, which might in turn perhaps benefit from government language policies as well as other institutional programmes on local languages (for example, at universities, literacy agencies or non-governmental organisations such as SIL International), but which might also be catalysed by localisation initiatives. Localisation is affected by linguistic, technical, psycholinguistic (individual reactions), economy (in the sense of economy of usage) and sociolinguistics. He suggests that the fundamental factors are language, technology, and society or sociocultural aspects. Other important factors, are policies and the process that produces them (politics); financing, markets and resource availability (economics); and the schooling and training of people in general skills such as literacy and the use of ICT (education). Key to these factors for localisation, according to Osborn, are groups of factors that can be considered as key to localisation:

- Political: policies, decision-making processes and the interplay of interests leading to those, the legal and licensing environment;
- Linguistic: the linguistic situation in the country or region and aspects of each language, the number of languages spoken, their distribution and body of speakers, whether there is a standardised orthography for each language, and whether the languages are characterised by diverse dialects;
- Economic: standards of living, resources available for various kinds of business, public, social and philanthropic investment, individual and family income levels;
- Technological: electricity and communications infrastructures, availability of computers (and types and kinds of operating systems), internet connectivity, the ways in which these factors differ across the territory of a country;
- Educational: systems of education (whether formal or informal), school infrastructure;

- Sociocultural: demographics, social structure, ethnic groups, culture(s), popular and individual attitudes (Osborn, 2010: 22-23).

Localisation projects would have to be sustainable, therefore the aspects mentioned above would help to determine the sustainability of a localisation undertaking.

Most work on localisation in African languages has related to software applications (such as word processors or browsers, or Office suites by Microsoft or OpenOffice), but Microsoft has projects for localising Windows, and there are several initiatives for localising Linux systems (notably Ubuntu). Another initiative that took off is Free and open-source software. In South Africa there is also Translate.org.za. There is also a children's drawing programme called Tux paint which was localised into isiXhosa and Tshivenda. Some search engines are also available in South African languages such as Google.

Mobile technology in the form of cellular phones has already emerged as a significant ICT in Africa. Cellular phones are increasingly widespread, to a greater extent currently than fixed-line phones, even in the rural areas of some countries. Along with this trend and the evolution of the technology to handle text messaging, there has been increasing interest in localising the user interfaces in African languages. This may be the new growth area for localisation, and certainly its importance is increased to the extent that mobile devices and computers can be used interchangeably to share and process information. Shanglee (2004) describes some of the considerations in localising cellular phone technology for South African languages. Among cellular phone companies, Nokia appears to be particularly active in the area of localisation, and Sony-Eriksson and Samsung also market local language interfaces in South Africa (Osborn, 2010: 92).

There are also a number of Human Language Technology projects that have been initiated in South Africa. Human Language Technology (HLT) makes it easier for people to interact with machines and helps bridge the digital divide; provides people with access to information; enables disabled people and low-literate people to use technology. Some HLT projects fell along the way, such as TISSA, a telephone-based system which was initiated by the then Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. There is also a National Centre for Human Language Technology (NCHLT)'s programme which was funded in 2010 – 2012 by the Department of Arts, Culture and others are continuing such as the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) HLT research project and the Western cape government's health HLT programme which is a telephone interpreting system between doctors and patients in the Western cape government hospitals and the UCT's HLT programme which is a collaborative project between the Multilingualism Education Project at the Centre for Higher Education Development and the Centre of Excellence in Broadband Communication Networks and Applications.The Department of Arts and Culture also made a call for proposals in 2014 for human language technology attached as Appendix 2. Some translation memory programmes are also used in translation work

and work well with South African languages. There are companies and institutions and freelance translators that use Trados application, which is a translation memory programme. There is also an open source translation machine programme called Omega-T that has an Afrikaans version.

These are wonderful initiatives and projects that African languages can emulate and that need to be funded by government and private sector and philanthropists which would result in a language development boom. Osborn (2010) says, it is not at all clear that the authorities charged with developing language and technical policies are prepared for this role. There is in some cases genuine interest; ACALAN, for instance, has promoted discussion of linguistic diversity on the internet. Some basic work has been done, for example, applied linguistic research has been conducted by the Centre for Advanced Study of African Languages (CASAS) However, there does not appear to have been the capacity, and possibly not even the will, to articulate the potential of multilingual ICT in Africa or to propose practical steps to accomplish it. (Osborn, 2010: 110) Most major donors are similarly not attuned to these realities or needs. Development agencies, by and large, have not paid much attention to African Languages and localisation, to promote interest in strategies and prospects for localisation, and how to nurture the capacity to develop and pursue them. A third question that follows from the first two is where the vision and expertise to respond to these issues will come from.

A possible solution tabled by Osborn is a cooperation between external agencies with the technical vision, on the one hand, combined with the agencies or institutions that have a policy mandate, on the other, but the question is who will take the initiative to formulate a comprehensive vision, as opposed to general declarations and passing of policies and Acts. He goes on to say, one would hope to see African institutions of higher learning and research in the vanguard, envisioning the future, proposing policies, devising strategies and building skills, but such initiatives are not yet apparent. African academics in universities of the North, along with other Africanist scholars, may possibly take the lead. These academics and the institutions at which they are employed, in partnership with African institutions, might perhaps influence the evolution of information technology for all languages in Africa.

Another aspect that should not be overlooked is the proprietary and commercial sector. Microsoft, in particular, has invested in internationalisation and some localisation of its software in Africa in collaboration with government agencies in certain countries. There may be lessons to be learned from this approach as an alternative strategic model. Another category of business organisations in the field comprises cellular phone companies that support African-language text messaging. A smaller but nevertheless significant group is made up of African companies that are involved in some way in localisation; this is a potential growth area. Ideally, one would hope that government agencies, donors, non-governmental organisations and businesses involved in ICT in Africa would be in general agreement about the

importance of localisation and would wish to work together to facilitate this as harmoniously as possible. There is evidently a need for more deliberation on aspects of language-use in computing and on the internet (Osborn, 2010: 111). There is a need to find ways to facilitate and encourage government and standards bodies, as well as language and applied linguistics agencies, to take a more active interest on these issues.

2.9 Language and Culture

Bodomo, A. B. (1996 p2-3) says that language is culture-specific: each language is systematically different from others in the sense that it has a particular way of arranging the signs that encode meaning, and of communicating the world to its speaker. In that sense then every language is an efficient tool for encoding the peculiarities of the particular environment in which a people live. He goes on quote two linguists and philosophers, Sapir and Whorf, who have come up with a view that has come to be known as the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis who say that:
"Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group...We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation" (Sapir 1929).
A particular language contains and expresses the indigenous belief systems - socio-cultural, political, economic and technological - of any society. New belief systems are immediately related to these existing systems. It is in this sense that we notice that the most intelligible and intelligent reactions by speakers to new ideas and technologies are registered through their language.
Kwesi Prah (2007:3) defines the relation between language and culture as follows:

> In scientific and anthropological usage, the notion of culture encompasses all that is the result of human fabrication. It includes both tangible objects such as all material products of humanity and intangible creations of the human genius like religion, language, customary usages and everyday practices, especially those that enjoy institutional representation. It is the sum total of these time-tested habits, attitudes, tastes, manners, shared values, traditions, norms, customs, arts, history, institutions and beliefs of a group of people that define for them their general behaviour and way of life. The total set of these learned activities of a people define culture. …
>
> We are educated and socialized in cultures in as much as we slowly, steadily and increasingly make culture. We are creatures of cultures and to some extent

> are delimited in our behaviour, by the cultures in which we are formed. If culture is the main determinant of our attitudes, tastes and mores, language is the central feature of culture. It is in language that culture is transmitted, interpreted and configured. Language is also a register of culture. Culture is the key distinguishing feature between us and the rest of the animal world. Our ability to create culture marks us off from other animals. Culture raises us above the rest of nature, beyond instinct, and relies on nurture for our enlightenment. Language is the most important means of human intercourse. Language and cultural rights are therefore central to all considerations of human rights in the contemporary world. *The UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* affirms that, "culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, values systems, traditions and beliefs." Furthermore, it suggests that culture is at the heart of contemporary debates about identity, social cohesion, and the development of a knowledge-based economy (Prah 2007:3)

DF Malan was conscious of how important language and culture are to the people when in 1908, he said, "Raise the Afrikaans language to a written language, let it become the vehicle of our culture, our history, our national ideals, and you will also raise the people who speak it." Our government seems not to have grasped this concept that language and culture raise the level and status of the people who speak it, it makes them feel worthwhile.

2.10 Language, Society and Development

Madhubuti (1984:123) asserts that … without language, one cannot express the indigenous self, and therefore has nothing to express other than the selves of others in their languages. In his paper titled, Planning Language, Planning Inequality, James Tollefson (1991:2) noted that, language is built into the economic and social structure of society so deeply that its fundamental importance seems only natural. For this reason, language policies are often seen as expressions of natural, common-sense assumptions about language in society.

The ex-colonial languages, which have become entrenched in administration and known to the educated minority have been accepted and recognized as the official languages for use in government business, administration and education, and little has been undertaken to develop and promote the official languages which would shape the new identity of the country. Therefore, there is a lack of commitment in development of national languages which is rationalized in terms of expenses and availability of resources.

Many people prefer the languages of the former colonial masters because they believe that these languages would give them access to white collar jobs, certain privileges and access to the global world. English is often favoured because it already has standardized orthographies and terminology of all fields and could be used right away, instead of awaiting the development of the orthographies of the indigenous languages; it has adequate literacy materials for use in the schools and it paves the way for African countries to be part of the international community.

It appears that Africa's failure to harness the cultural and social efficaciousness of language in national construction is contrasted with the observable trend in all the world's developed countries which have well calibrated language policies. In these countries, technology is adapted and integrated within their cultural and social values, thereby providing a means of mobilization and the fomenting of national cohesiveness. A common language can be an effective tool of political socialization and mobilization for effective participation of all citizens in nation-building. This explains why countries like the Netherlands and Denmark in Europe have preserved their languages for use in their daily social and economic activities. Moreover, in many countries you will find medical personnel from Egypt who studied in Arabic and most of what these experts need is only interpreters to work. Currently, there are Chinese engineers and contractors who are contracted in the construction industry by various African countries to revamp their infrastructure, ailing railway lines, real estate and it is their languages they speak but the engineering is of standard. Many Africans buy Chinese, Korean and Japanese products, e.g., mobile telephone handsets, cars, household appliances etc. whose manuals are in languages of the source countries. They neither speak nor understand the scripts, yet they are the end users of these products. Interestingly, the African end users can still figure out the Chinese, Japanese or Korean orthographic representation of, for example, missed calls and received calls, or start and stop, etc. The secret is that these countries base their development strategies on the indigenous languages, which is what is missing in most African countries (Tollefson, 1991: 45). Okolocha and Yuka (2011:8) argue that one of the reasons that explain why the African continent continues to lag behind in human creativity and has thus remained a continent of consumers is because, African governments have not recognized that when their citizens compete intellectually in a second language they end up being a step behind their competitors employing their mother tongue as a language of business.

Kwesi Prah says, beyond the issue of rights, it is important to note that language and literacy are very crucial for societal development. A society develops into modernity when its citizens are literate in the languages of the masses. In other words, it is not possible to reach modernity if the language/languages of literacy and education are only within the intellectual ambit of small minorities. Historically, the jump towards expanded knowledge production and reproduction in societies has only been possible when the languages of social majorities have been centrally placed (Prah, 2007:4).

According to Prah, part of the strategy of apartheid had been to foist on Africans the use of their languages, but without resources and encouragement to develop these languages into languages of science and technology. African languages were taught not to provide the African masses with a literary base for cultural development, but rather keep them apart from each other, and the rest of South African society while maintaining strict control over the type of literature provided. Africans had therefore internalized the attitude that working in African languages was part of the apartheid strategy of keeping Africans as "hewers of wood and drawers of water." African school children and their parents had developed the impression that English was the language of advancement and therefore whereas they had rejected Afrikaans this disavowal was done in favour of English, and not the indigenous languages. This impression has more or less persisted to the present period.

When tackling the issue of language development, it is also important to note the dramatic development of Afrikaans in fifty years, and the prosperity and enlightenment it brought Afrikaners, and that should bring to our understanding the relevance of language to social transformation in South Africa. Prah points out that, this also implicitly points to the fact that continuing and future transformation in South Africa will have to pay full attention to the language question.

2.11 Language and Power

In a paper titled, *After Apartheid, the Language Question,* Neville Alexander postulates the issue of language and power as follows: "Language is the main instrument of communication at the disposal of human beings; consequently, the specific language(s) in which the production processes take place become(s) the language(s) of power. To put it differently, if one does not have the requisite command of the language(s) of production, one is automatically restricted in one's options as regards access to employment and all that that implies in a state where employment opportunities are hierarchically structured and differentially rewarded." According to him, the language of power in post-apartheid South Africa is undoubtedly English. Afrikaans continues to play an ancillary role in the processes of economic production in the so-called formal economy. The self-esteem, self-confidence, potential creativity and spontaneity that come with being able to use the language(s) that have shaped one from early childhood (one's "mother tongue") is the foundation of all democratic polities and institutions. Being forced, therefore to express yourself in English when one cannot do so fluently takes away some of one's power and confidence. Webb (2002:14) declares that language can be a gatekeeper, discriminator, which facilitates participation and sharing or can act as a barrier to accessing opportunities.

In a paper titled, *Language, Class and Power in a Post-Apartheid South Africa*, Neville Alexander argues the language and power issue further. He says, there are two

fundamental sources from which language derives its power, the ability of the individuals or groups to realise their intentions (will) by means of language empowerment) or, conversely, the ability of individuals or groups to impose their agendas on others (disempowerment of the latter). Language is the main instrument of communication at the disposal of human beings; consequently, the specific language(s) in which the production processes take place become(s) the language(s) of power. To put it differently, if one does not command the language(s) of production, one is automatically excluded and disempowered.

Due to the colonial history of southern Africa, the language of power in post-apartheid South Africa is undoubtedly English. In a multilingual society, it is in everyone's interest to learn the dominant language (of power), since this will help to provide equal opportunities in the labour market as well as in other markets. The education system enhances this notion. Individuals are forced, and also want to learn and be taught in English because of its pivotal role in the production processes and the social status that proficiency in it confers on its speakers. This has led to the almost complete marginalisation of the local languages of the people and the valorisation of English. An assumption therefore grows that if one knows English, one knows everything and in the process those who cannot speak English become disempowered. Tollefson (1991) says, the great linguistic paradox of our time is that societies which dedicate enormous resources to language teaching and learning have been unable – or unwilling to remove the powerful linguistic barriers to full participation in the major institutions of modern society. He goes on to say, language competence remains a barrier to employment, education, and economic well-being due to political forces of our own making. For while modern social and economic systems require certain kinds of language competence, they simultaneously create conditions which ensure that vast numbers of people will be unable to acquire that competence. (Tollefson 1991:7).

Edwards (2005:164) provides a panacea and he says,

> English may be the language of global trading, but the ability to speak other languages nonetheless ensures a competitive edge. The multilingual populations of inner-circle countries are a valuable resource, which we overlook at our peril. Their contribution to international business is becoming increasingly evident in areas such as China and the Middle East. … Initiatives that target minorities rely heavily on the knowledge and experience of minority-language speakers. … Bilinguals are a marketable commodity; the ability to speak other languages opens up a far wider range of better-paid employment opportunities than might otherwise be the case.

Alexander concludes his paper on language and power by saying that, unless African languages are developed and are given market value, that is, unless their instrumentality for the processes of production, exchange and distribution is enhanced, no amount of policy change can guarantee their use in high-status functions. This would mean that fundamental changes in the language-medium policy

would be directly related to the increased use of the African mother tongues, where relevant, in the public service and in the "formal" economy. An articulated programme of job creation and employment on the basis of language **proficiencies** would, in the South African context also serve as an organic affirmative action programme. We therefore need to demonstrate the economic value of African languages by developing them. This challenge, is not only for the political, business and cultural leadership of the country. It is a challenge also to applied language scholars and language practitioners.

2.12 Language Modernisation through Terminology Development

In PRAESA Occasional Papers No. 38, Batibo (2010: 10) states that, the promotion of the major African languages to assume more public functions and the emergency of a global communication society in the world have given rise to the expanded domains of language use; the enhanced state of multilingualism; the interlingua phenomena (translation, code-switching, massive borrowing, etc.); and the creation and new usage of terms. According to Alberts M (2010:600), terminology plays a pivotal role in language development and the promotion of multilingualism. The availability of (multilingual) polythematic terminology is an indicator of development since specialised communication has a central axle or hub in terminology. Should the terminology of the minority/marginalised/developing or standardised languages of the country be developed into functional terminologies, South Africans would be equipped with effective communication tools. Terminology development is also a vehicle appreciating the innovative skills of the language and subject-related communities within the country. In this sense, subject areas such as science, technology and economy can play a role in the development of languages as they have done with English, French, German, Chinese, Japanese, and Afrikaans to mention just a few. Languages can develop into functional languages through efforts of terminology development by language offices, private initiatives and publishers.

Sam, Dalvit and Maseko (2010:39) state that some of the reasons for people to oppose the use of African languages as languages of teaching and learning include lack of terminology. Challenges like lack of terminology have become pervasive in such domains such as art and technology, political studies, etc (Webb& Kembo-Sure, 2000: NCHE, 1996). Osborn (2006) rejects the indifference meted out to the development and use of African languages, arguing that these languages can be used effectively in such specialised domains as science and art. He goes on to say that any language should be given the opportunity to extend and refine its capacity to handle today's technological complexities, especially when there are people who use that language. Sam, Dalvit and Maseko also make mention of the fact that, the South African Constitution attaches a lot of importance to the development and use of African languages.

Alberts M (2010:600), states that terminology plays a pivotal role in language development and the promotion of multilingualism. The availability of (multilingual) polythematic terminology is an indicator of development since specialised communication has a central axle or hub in terminology. Standardised terminology contributes to the quality of translations, editing, interpreting services, dictionary compilation and specialised or subject related communication. She goes on to say, it is important to develop official languages into functional languages in all spheres of life. Information transfer, assimilation and retrieval should be through the first language or mother tongue. It is proven that information is best acquired (decoding process) and conveyed (encoding process) through the first language. Standardised terminology leads to exact communication and misinterpretation or misunderstanding are avoided. Terminology, therefore, is a strategic resource and has an important role in a country regarding the functional development of languages and their users. Effective economic, scientific and technological transfer and assimilation of knowledge and skills amongst subject specialists and laypeople, and the communication skills of the citizens of a country are developed through the use of correct terminology. Alberts says that although terminological and terminographical activities are not always cost-effective, they are of invaluable cultural, social, historical, functional, academic and scientific importance.

2.13 African Languages and Globalisation

Over the past few decades, economic and political changes have taken place around the world. With the shrinking of physical and geographical boundaries and the emergence of the two major global economic power centres of 21st century, China and India, language policies and practices have become a great matter of interests for linguists and policy makers around the world. Due to globalisation, a small number of languages such as English, French, Arabic, Bengali, Hindi, Malay, Mandarin, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish are also used as lingua-franca or languages of wider communication across the globe.

In a paper presented in a conference held in Berkeley in 2005, Ghirmai Negash argues that, Africans can do well by investing their linguistic, human and intellectual energies into the development of their languages, which are used by the majority of the masses, instead of channelling their resources and energies into learning the imperial languages that are used by a tiny minority of the populations. He quotes Chomsky (1996:42) who states that if any country or continent "wants to develop it's going to have to do it the way every other country [or continent] did, by not closing itself from international markets, but by focusing on domestic development, meaning building up its own resources, protecting them, maintaining them". Negash goes on to say, African languages are in fact in bad shape, and it is doubtful whether they can survive the imminent threat of "global uniformity", and serve the interests of their communities in meaningful ways. In the international arena, they are sidelined, and in danger of

extinction in their own land(s) of origin. We see linguistic destruction, because of their stagnation, speakers' decline, and negligence.

Negash says, a well-documented factor against African languages is the hegemony of former colonial, European languages, especially English and French. "The Asmara Declaration on African Languages and Literatures" (a closing statement issued at the international conference, "Against All Odds: African Languages and Literatures into the 21st Century," held in Asmara, Eritrea, January 11-17, 2000) describes this thus:

> We noted with pride that despite all the odds against them, African languages as vehicles of communication and knowledge survive and have a written continuity of thousands of years. Colonialism created some of the most serious obstacles against African languages and literatures. We noted with concern the fact that these colonial obstacles still haunt independent Africa and continue to block the mind of the continent.

In *Whose Education for All? Recolonization of the African Mind,* Brock-Utne (2000) warns that while Western donors champion equal partnership on paper, at the same time they appear to be foes to Africa's genuine empowerment. In a chapter, titled, "*Globalization of Learning—Whose Globe and What Learning? The Role of African Universities*," she demonstrates that "the restoration of African languages and culture" is fundamental "to stop the South's curriculum dependency on the North," and to make possible "an African counter-expertise" to evolve and mature (*WEA* 2000: 213). However, in her view, such initiatives cannot materialize in Africa so long as educational and scientific projects remain hooked in neo-colonial intellectualism. Tied to this is the fact that African languages are not represented--not even symbolically--in the UN and its other institutions. Ngugi (2000) says, "if you look at the United Nations and all its agencies, there is no requirement for an African language, although all the other continents are linguistically represented in the United Nations and Europe has the lions' share of that situation" (Ngugi, 2000: 159)

Refuting the argument that African languages cannot cope with the demands of modern, high technology, science, the arts, literature, cinema, the internet, international communication of diplomacy and trade, Negash states that from a theoretical viewpoint, it must be reiterated (after Chomsky and others) that languages are "creative" and it is in their nature to develop, changing in time, and adopting to new conditions. Thus, "there are no 'primitive' languages—all languages are equally complex and equally capable of expressing any idea in the universe. The vocabulary of any language can be expanded to include new words for new concepts" (Fromkin and Rodman 1993: 25).

There can be no development for Africa, without the indigenization of its linguistic, cultural and scientific institutions. African languages must first be revived, and their role recognized as vital and indispensable for Africa's over-all development.

2.14 Consequences of Neglecting African languages

The use of ex-colonial languages has far reaching implications to the extent that these languages, not only limit a large number of the population of a nation who are not very competent in these languages, and who would otherwise contribute positively in national development, but hinder the development of such a nation in general. If communication in African nations relies on the languages of the former colonial masters (e.g., English etc.) development of such nations slows down since the parties involved in the development process cannot interact effectively. Therefore, people's contribution to development can only be realized when the communication barriers are removed. A common language can thus be seen as an integrating force, a means by which participation is facilitated or hampered.

According to Batibo (2005:47), speakers of minority languages in most African countries are excluded from or marginalised with respect to national participation because of the use, by the ruling elite, of an ex-colonial language or of a dominant indigenous language, which may be used as a lingua franca while not understood by certain groups within the nation. Speakers of minority languages are thereby denied direct participation in public interaction, meaningful audiences with government authorities, and contact with other groups, or active contribution at public rallies. The exclusion of African language speakers for these reasons is very common in Africa, as most countries either assume that all are able to follow discourse in those languages or insist that all official communication be made in them whatever the social cost. The immediate consequence is that nationalism, which is an economic necessity that can only be achieved by a communication that is capable of reaching all members of society in the economic process, is not achieved.

There have been sporadic campaigns and declarations on linguistic human rights which are aimed at the promotion of linguistic justice and the removal or prevention of linguistic injustices that may occur because of language. For example in Africa, *The Asmara Declaration on African Languages and Literatures of January 2000* states, among other things, that:

(1) All African children have the unalienable right to attend school and learn their mother tongues and that every effort should be made to develop African languages at all levels of education.

(2) The effective and rapid development of science and technology in Africa depends on the use of African languages.

(3) African languages are vital for the development of democracy based on equality and social justice.

(4) African languages are essential for the decolonisation of African minds and for the African Renaissance (Asmara Declaration: 2000).

Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas say, an earlier declaration, in 1976, on linguistic human rights, *The Cultural Charter for Africa*, articulated by the organisation for African Unity (OAU) in article 6(2), stated that member states should 'promote teaching in national languages in order to accelerate their economic, political and cultural development' (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1994:135). However, there are no mechanisms put in place in Africa to guarantee that the policies stipulated in these charters and declarations are indeed implemented. In fact, they do not state what ought to be done to guarantee linguistic justice for all the language communities. Some of the benefits accruing from the implementation of these rights include the right to be different, the right to identify with one's mother tongue, to learn it and to have education through it and to use it (Phillipson et al. 1994:7).

The question of linguistic rights needs to be discussed further. Linguistic rights are in essence language rights or put a bit differently, they are linguistic human rights pertaining to the individual and collective right to choose the language or languages for communication in a private or public sphere. This assemblage of rights includes the right to one's own language in legal, administrative and judicial acts, language education, and media in a language understood and freely chosen by those concerned. However, parameters for analysing linguistic rights include degree of territoriality, amount of positivity, orientation in terms of assimilation or maintenance, and overtness. These rights also include 'major languages of global communication', which can enable people to 'access power and information sharing in the twenty-first century' and to 'bridge the gap between the rich and the poor countries' (Hurst and Lansdell, 1999:3).

Linguistic rights also enable a person to access information and knowledge, particularly basic scientific and technical knowledge (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1994: 344). As formulated by UNESCO, linguistic rights are important for an individual's 'development', which has been defined as the process of 'increasing and enhancing human capabilities, affording people access not only to material benefits but to such intangible benefits as knowledge and to play a full part in the life of the community' (Wolff, 2000:7 and Musau, 2004:59).

When African languages are not developed and used, their speakers will not have access to government services, programmes, knowledge and information. The speakers of these languages often do not understand the policies, the objectives and the procedures of development and, therefore, cannot meaningfully participate in these processes. In fact, we need to acknowledge that all the world's developed countries have developed on the basis of their national languages, as they have adapted and integrated technology within their cultural and social values, thus reaching all the people in their countries.

The problem of Africa has been captured by Mazrui (1999) as follows:
" *….no country has ascended to a first rank technological and economic power by excessive dependence on foreign languages. Japan rose to dazzling industrial heights by scientificating the Japanese language and making it the medium of its own industrialization. Can Africa ever take off technologically if it remains so overwhelmingly dependent on European languages for discourse on advanced learning? Can Africa look to the future if it is not adequately sensitive to the cultural past? This lingo-cultural gap, then, is seen as a serious impediment to the full maturation of Africa's own scientific genius. Against this backdrop, then, the need to "scientificate" African languages cannot be over-emphasized".*

As Batibo (2005) notes, the fast-developing countries of Asia, such as China, Korea, Taiwan1, and Thailand base their development strategies on their indigenous languages as this is the only way to involve the whole population in the development effort and to meaningfully bring technological advancement within the country's cultural framework. Unfortunately, in most African countries language planning activities and issues of language policy are not given much attention.

African leaders ought to appreciate that development is about people, and as the former Tanzanian president, Dr Julius Nyerere phrased it, "development is for man, by man and of man" (Nyerere 1978: 27). Development should be perceived in a broad sense to mean socio-economic and human development, i.e. the full realization of the human potential and a maximum use of a nation's resources for the benefit of all. If language groups are given a chance to develop literacy and knowledge in their own tongues, it will prompt them to develop different world views and make them a more informed and tolerant population and also enable them to participate more meaningfully in development issues in their nations (Muthwii and Kioko 2004). Speakers of these languages would not look down on their native tongues; since they would appreciate that their mother tongues are as important as the European languages.

In Africa there have been successful politically motivated decisions to assign new roles and functions to languages thus changing the status of these languages radically. Examples of such decisions include the choice of Arabic in Mauritania, Kiswahili in Tanzania, Amharic in Ethiopia, Somali in Somalia, etc. The experience of South Africa also shows that strategies can be evolved to make official communication feasible in several languages. African languages can, therefore, be developed alongside the ex-colonial languages to serve various functions in the region. Some of the recommendations that would facilitate the development of African languages are discussed below (Batibo, 2005: 60).

Empowering African languages to serve as languages of wider communication does not mean discarding the European languages. The former colonial languages, English,

French and Portuguese can be *preserved* and *their roles re-defined*. These languages are important in international communication and trade and they also serve and languages of wider communication in the African continent where French and English are commonly used as official languages. European languages in the whole of Africa could serve as languages of self enhancement and self-empowerment. For instance, in South Africa, English became associated with the anti-apartheid movement and it was perceived as the language of unity and freedom from Afrikaner rule among the black population of the country. Following the eventual successful uprooting of the apartheid system, English has emerged with strong positive connotations stemming from its earlier role in an opposition function and its representation of future hopes. However, the new status of English did not stop South Africa from recognizing ten other languages to serve as official. Naturally, European languages will be the languages used for communication with the external world in any domain of development. Empowering African languages to serve as languages of wider communication in regional or national or even trans-national/trans-frontier communication will by no means replace the English and French as languages of international communication and thus should not be seen as a threat (Batibo, 2005: 62).

2.15 Who should develop African Languages?

Bamgbose, Ayo (2011), says in enhancing the status of African languages, it is useful to consider three dimensions: agents, domains and scope. Agents could be individuals, government, civil society organizations (CSO), regional and international organizations. Domains of language use are many and include public domains such as education, legislature, administration, judiciary, etc. as well as private domains such as the home and private organizations. Scope could be local, national, regional and international. The following activities are used as an illustration of the three dimensions: medium of instruction, language development, legal status, working languages, cross-border languages, linguistic human rights, and Internet and Communication Technology (ICT).

Bamgbose (2011:9) says, language development is one activity that lends itself to participation by a variety of agents including individual authors, language commissions, university departments, media houses, writers, language societies, and translators. He says that terminology is often created in the process of translation. Medium of instruction, particularly in basic education, is a potent dimension of enhancing African languages. On language development and legal status, he says, African languages need to be made official languages of the courts and of legislatures as well as entrenching it in the Constitution. He also says that an important initiative of empowering and development of African languages is their use as working languages at national and regional levels. This then means the involvement of policymakers and people in the legal fraternity. He also advises that efforts should be

made towards the use of African languages in computer applications and in ICT. This means that, we also need to involve people in the ICT sector to develop African languages.

Adeyemi A (2008) citing the developments in Nigeria, and focusing on academics or linguists, advises that developing languages is not the exclusive reserve of a trained linguist; and academics need not see the battle for the survival of African languages as an all-academic-affair. He says, collaborative efforts between researchers in our language institutes, colleges of education and universities, and other stakeholders would go a long way in saving and empowering our endangered languages. He quotes Jibril (2007: 285) who suggests that:

> *Linguists should thus form lobby groups to enlighten and lobby communities, local government councils, state or regional governments, parliaments and state and national assemblies to pursue policies or carry out actions which will promote the use of African languages in education, government business, in homes and other domains, in addition to direct actions aimed at developing these languages, such as funding research, publication, website development, etc.*

With regards to Nigerian local councils, which I assume would be municipalities and traditional houses in South Africa, Adeyemi quotes Babalola (2002: 3) who argues:

> *It is then suggested that the local government councils in Nigeria, which are seen as the custodians of the indigenous cultures, could be given the responsibility of overseeing the development of indigenous languages in their areas of operation so as to nurture and preserve the many cultures in Nigeria.*

Adeyemi (2008:14) argues that to make this realizable, we need to create special schools and colleges for languages; more funds should be pumped to local councils for this task and there has to be a working alliance with universities and other stakeholders.

Adeyemi (2008:19) further notes that development strategies focused on languages themselves without involving the target users would be counterproductive. Thus, language planning policies, however lofty they are, would not produce results unless they are keenly monitored in the process of implementation. The trained linguist should not be an archer whose arrow (linguistic theory) is well sharpened but perpetually kept in the sheath (the academic community) without aiming it at the target (the larger society). The campaign for the empowerment of our indigenous languages is no less important than any other campaign directed at sanitizing the society of certain ills such as corruption, lust for foreign goods, human trafficking, smuggling, child abuse and the production of fake products. All of these have received wide publicity in the media, as there are jingles on state and national radio and television stations, sensitizing the people on the imperative of eschewing such acts that would hinder the development

of the country. He says, few people are aware of this battle for the survival and development of African languages.

He says, it is worrisome that the people for whose sake academics gather every year at conferences do not even know that something is wrong with their cultural heritage, and that unless some urgent steps are taken, the indigenous languages will totally lose their relevance. This is the crux of the matter, yet linguists attend conferences and workshops to pontificate on the development strategies of ameliorating the status of indigenous languages, but at the point of execution, something goes wrong, creating a gulf between the academic ideals in the conference/workshop room, and the linguistic problems in our communities, waiting to be solved.
Adeyemi (2008:23) goes on to say, there is a setback in the implementation of language development strategies that we seem to have paid too much attention to literacy in the description of our indigenous languages; hence we downplay the oral traditions that our languages preserve. Thus, documenting African languages should not be focused solely on developing the orthography, the lexicon or the dictionary. Linguists at this stage of trying to develop African languages perhaps need to shift the emphasis hitherto laid on literacy to the oral aspects of language use in order to be able to explore the cultural aspects of language that would readily arouse the users' sentiments and sense of pride in their cultural heritage. He says that most of academic work and papers that have been presented on language development end up in journals and university libraries and are never disseminated to communities or government for implementation.

2.16 Conclusion

South Africa has a very progressive internationally acclaimed Constitution that recognises eleven official languages and has language legislation that influences language development. In this chapter, I have tabulated various pieces of legislation that pertain to language and that could have played and could still play a big role in enhancing language development. The status change of previously-marginalised African languages, conceptualised as a political compromise during the constitutional negotiations, did not take into consideration the prevalent linguistic culture in South African society. The speakers' negative attitudes towards the instrumental value and high-status functions of the African languages, were not adequately taken into account. The speakers of the African languages are in the majority, but it is the languages of the minority, English and Afrikaans languages, that are the languages of power.

I have tabled a history of development of South African languages. The development and promotion of the use of African languages and mother-tongue education by the missionaries and by the apartheid Nationalist government, had its ulterior motives. There was no correlation between the promotion of the use of African languages and

the creation of African language-based areas and facilities on one side, and the resources allocated to the Africans' education and the development of African languages. Even now, according to Beukes (2009), the current government's lack-lustre approach to policy implementation, together with the hegemonic position of English and negative attitudes regarding the functional uses of African languages, has resulted in language matters taking a back seat in government's transformation agenda. Beukes continues and says, a report submitted in 2003 to the then Minister of Education by the Ndebele committee on the development of African languages as mediums of learning and teaching in higher education, concluded that 'the future of the indigenous African languages as mediums of instruction is bleak unless a long-range plan is devised that could be implemented as a concerted effort over the next two to three decades' (Ministerial Committee Report 2003, 4). The report recommended to then Minister of Education, Kader Asmal, that 'there would have to be a coordinated, long-range national plan that would work at national, provincial and local level to provide adequate resources and support for indigenous African languages' (*ibid*, 20).

People's socio-economic development is not really possible if their languages are ignored. The sad fact is that one of the obstacle in the way of the rapid development of the African languages is what Ngugi wa Thiong'o has called "the colonised mind", the fact that the vast majority of black people simply do not believe that their languages can or should be used for higher-order functions even though they cherish them and are completely committed to maintaining them in the primary spheres of the family, the community and the church. It is clear that political will and commitment are going to be the decisive elements if we are to move from the point where the European languages dominate our societies to a point where African languages do so. The leadership has to ensure that both the public service and the private sector adhere strictly to the national language policy and plan, and to the provisions of the South African Languages Act.

In the courts of law English is now the de facto working language, since proceedings mostly take place in English, while interpreting is provided for speakers of African languages, if and when required. In education the impact of the belief that African languages have little instrumental value while English is perceived as the language of aspiration, is significant. The use of English is increasing as more and more parents send their children to former 'Model C schools in pursuit of a better education for them. The medium of teaching and learning in these schools is English. These schools are, generally speaking, still better equipped than township schools, since they have better resources (such as physical facilities) and often also better-trained and more experienced teachers (Moyo:2002).

Thirdly, the use of mainly English in political, economic, justice, technology, health and education sectors to mention just a few, prevents the majority of the people from gaining access to vital information and, therefore, from full participation in the

democratic political process. It undermines the self-confidence of English second language speakers and those who do not speak or understand English at all. As one writer suggests, it smothers the creativity and the spontaneity of people who are compelled to use a language of which they are not in full command.

Fourthly and lastly, the language development initiatives that are not coordinated, result in lots of duplication where one finds various government institutions, universities and non-governmental organizations doing the same projects. PanSALB is currently crippled and has no development initiatives currently. The language planning agencies such as the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB), constitutionally mandated to develop and promote the use of these languages, and also government's executive arm in language policy and planning matters, the National Language Service (NLS) of the Department of Arts and Culture, should be consolidated further, supported, maintained, funded and monitored with a view to providing in the developmental needs of African languages and their users.

Unless there are language development initiatives and implementation thereof, the country's majority will continue to be left out of the main socio-economic development and English will continue to maintain its hegemony. The public and the formal private sector will continue to be dominated by English and Afrikaans. The schooling system will benefit those that can understand and speak English fluently. Politicians and institutions of higher learning, therefore, need to think deeply about the language question and come up with practical solutions to language development that will benefit all citizens of South Africa. As Ricento (2000:204) puts it, "language becomes a vector and means by which an unequal division of power and resources between groups is propagated . . . thwarting social and economic progress for those who do not learn the language of modernity," which in South Africa is English.

In the next chapters, I will attempt to offer some solutions of how South African languages can be developed by doing research in various institutions in South Africa and by visiting few countries around the world, investigate their language developments projects, initiatives, implementation tools and policies used in various countries to develop languages. I will also interview African linguists in the African continent as well as South African linguists who have written widely on how African languages can be developed and in the end, I will present my findings.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The Oxford Dictionary defines Research Methodology as "the systematic investigation into and study of materials and sources in order to establish facts and reach new conclusion". According to *Write a Writing* (2015), research methodology "involves specific techniques that are adopted in research process to collect, assemble and evaluate data. It defines those tools that are used to gather relevant information in a specific research study".

This research study explores what is being done and what has been done to develop African languages in South Africa in various institutions such as government, educational institutions, independent projects, projects initiated by private companies and by individuals. This study further explores whether those strategies, programmes, projects and methods are effective and impactful, and what else can be added to strategies currently employed to improve and speed-up the development of African Languages. It also explores the bottlenecks, perceptions and attitudes that may be hindering development of previously marginalised languages. It equally highlights some success stories of progressive language development initiatives undertaken by various institutions and how those may be replicated nationally. In the end, it will offer suggestions and recommendations on how the country can revisit methods and strategies used to develop African languages based on what is working or has worked either here in South Africa or in other countries. The end goal is to move away from stagnancy into action, increase the pace of development where it is slow, and learn from progressive strategies that are effective and producing tangible results.

This chapter outlines research methodology used to collect and analyse data so as to attain objectives of this research. The researcher's wish is that this matter is not theorised but that, issues that cause slow progress or that impede development of African languages be looked at, thoroughly researched, addressed and proper action that befits our context in the country gets implemented.

3.2 Methodology used

There are two research methods that are widely-used to validate credibility of the outcomes of a research, namely the qualitative and quantitative research methods. The researcher has opted for Qualitative Methodology. Adi Bhat (2019) in his blog page, defines qualitative research as "a method that collects data using conversational methods. Participants are asked open-ended questions. The responses collected are essentially non-numerical. This method not only helps a

researcher understand what participants think but also why they think in a particular way".

The internet article produced by the *Emma Eccles Jones Research Centre*, states that "qualitative research focuses on the "why" rather than the "what" of social phenomena and relies on the direct experiences of human beings as meaning-making agents in their everyday lives." It goes on to say, "Qualitative methods allow the researcher to study selected issues in depth and detail without being constrained by pre-determined categories of analysis." Saul Mcleod (2019) states that, the aim of qualitative research is to understand the social reality of individuals, groups and cultures as nearly as possible as its participants feel it or live it. He states that, people and groups, are thus studied in their natural setting. He goes on to say that, research following a qualitative approach is exploratory and seeks to explain 'how' and 'why' a particular phenomenon, or behaviour, operates as it does in a particular context.

Wong (2008; 14) states that, "the increasing popularity of qualitative methods is a result of failure of quantitative methods to provide insight into in-depth information about the attitudes, beliefs, motives, or behaviours of people. Qualitative methods explore the perspective and meaning of experiences, seek insight and identify the social structures or processes that explain people's behavioural meaning. Most importantly, qualitative research relies on extensive interaction with the people being studied, and often allows researchers to uncover unexpected or unanticipated information, which is not possible in the quantitative methods". According to Crossman (2009), "qualitative methodology allows the research to investigate the meanings that people attribute to their behaviour, actions, and interactions with others and it goes directly to the source - the people themselves".

Methods used to collect data for this research are:

- documentary analysis,
- questionnaires and
- personal interviews with language experts or practitioners who are in various language fields and various institutions.

3.2.1 Questionnaires and Interviews

One form of collecting data that the researcher used in this qualitative method was to draw up questions to be used to extract information from respondents to elicit whether there is enough language development taking place. The researcher opted for open-ended questions because they allow respondents to talk in some depth in their own words. This helps the researcher to develop a real sense of a person's understanding of a situation. Self-administered questionnaires with few direct but different questions were developed. A choice of a few and direct questions to a particular institution or individual had an intention of ascertaining a response. These were formulated into questionnaires. The researcher pre-notified respondents telephonically and through

emails that she will be sending questions or will be coming to them to do an interview so that they expect the questionnaire or personal visit. She gave a background and purpose of her research.

The response rate was about 95%. The reason for a positive response may be that I have worked in three government institutions, at a language section, for 13 years, at a level that allowed me to interact with a number of institutions and various language experts. I therefore knew some of the language practitioners of language officials that I interviewed or contacted. I either had met them or had some previous contact with them, either through written communication, or through invites to conferences where I would have invited them to present on language topics, or had worked with them or had collaborated with them in certain projects or where I was invited to do a presentation. That made communication easier, and thus was keenly received and responded to.

3.2.2 Questions asked

The researcher used different questions for different institutions and various individuals for a reason. The purpose of the research is not to downplay what has been done but rather to identify what more needs to be done and to identify bottlenecks. I am of the opinion that the development is slow and there are different reasons and different perspective for this opinion. Secondly, methodologies used to develop languages and resources needed are not the same in government and in other sectors. While a government may have to wait for a policy to be passed to get a go-ahead, an institution that needs to implement a technological language implementation may be delayed by lack of resources or lack of data. A community organisation or an educational institution may first need to portray a need or may have to bring a tangible proof that this is a necessary project or programme. Language practitioners at a provincial government may have a workable policy but may lack funding to implement it. Various contexts present various challenges. I therefore compiled questions that will extract information on current and previous development initiatives, progress and stumbling blocks, future planned initiatives and effectiveness or ineffectiveness of implemented language development programmes in a particular institution.

Questions on questionnaires to language practitioners were the same but those posed on interviews were open-ended questions. Also, questions posed to heads or directors of language institutions zoomed into what that particular institution was doing to develop African languages or to implement a language policy that recognises the African languages as official languages.

Questionnaires had the following five questions:

1. How do we develop our African languages in such a manner that they can be used nationally and internationally in all fields and sectors such as legal, economic, technology, medical, academic, scientific fields and so on?
2. In your opinion, why is there no full-force/full-blown development of African languages? Why isthere no similar commitment from our government as was shown during development of Afrikaans?
3. With all languages policies passed, what are obstacles to implementation? Or are these policies not enforceable? For example, according to the Use of Official Languages Act of 2012, all departments should have language units and not all departments have language units and no one says anything about that. What therefore hinders implementation and enforcement of language policies?
4. What currently needs to be done to develop African languages? Who should do so?
5. How do we collate language development initiatives in various institutions in our country in such a manner that we know what is being done where, or what has been done so that we grow from there, so that we support and encourage each other, and for awareness's sake and so as to avoid duplication? Who should do that?

With government institutions like the National Language Service, that are implementers of language policies, I asked about previous and current programmes that a department is engaging in, staff complement, finances, effectiveness and hurdles as well as future plans.

3.2.3 Documentary Analysis

The researcher has spent huge amounts of time analysing information from written documents. The reason is that the researcher is definitely not the first researcher who has looked into the question of development of African languages. She is thus aware that some research has been done on this topic.

The researcher went through various conference presentations and resolutions of such conferences, read newspaper articles that talk to African languages developments, Masters' thesis and doctoral dissertations of various scholars who looked into this topic and South African government documentation that speaks to plans, strategies, "dreams", and a vision of developing African languages. She then extracted information that directly speaks to language development.

Apparent in the textual database is that there are various factors that cause lack of development of African languages, and not just in South Africa, but in the African

continent at large. The researcher reviewed those and extracted information to get the views on this matter or topic.

3.2.4 Ethnographic Observation

There is also an element of personal observation in the whole research in that, the researcher personally worked in a number of language institutions, played a role in language development programmes and was part of decision-making at a management level. She sat and listened to national parliament portfolio committee discussions in Parliament, on language legislation and implementation of such legislation.

To avoid personal bias and personal subjective views on the chosen topic, I interviewed current heads of national language institutions so that my previous observation does not form a whole or holistic view on current language development initiatives.

3.3 Profile of respondents

Respondents speak various South African languages as home language including Afrikaans as well as English. They are adult males and females. They comprise of managers and language practitioners who do practical language work as well as officials.

The researcher targeted the following respondents:

- Language lecturers and language teachers
- Language developers at universities that have language centres or that do language development work within the university premises
- A previous chairperson of PanSALB who was also a member LANGTAG that was tasked by the first minister of the first democratic government to develop African languages
- Management of Buro of the Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal (WAT) in Stellenbosch
- National Language Service
- PanSALB managers
- Linguists who have written extensively on the topic of language development
- Language Practitioners in government departments including local government (municipality language practitioners).

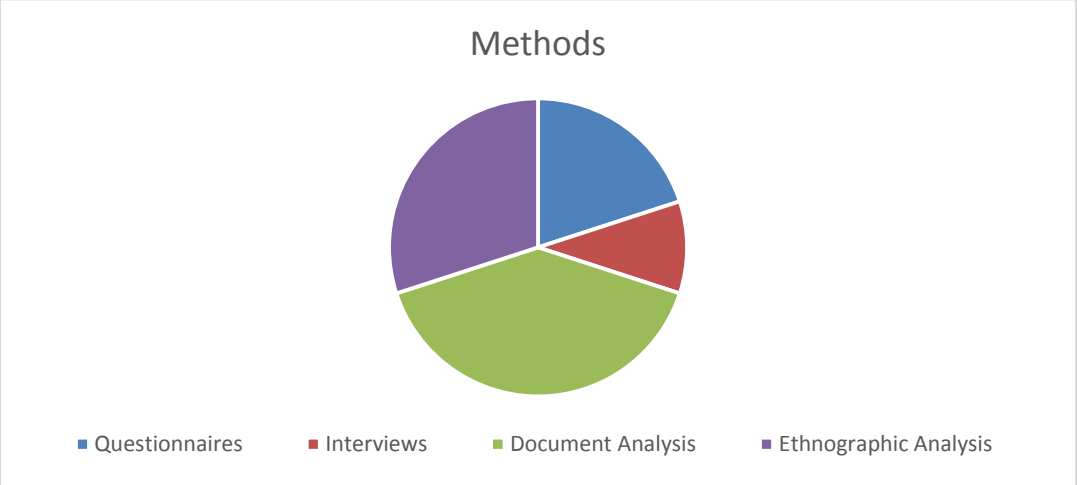
3.4 Information sources

As already stated, I extracted and analysed a lot of information from research already done that is presented in some documentation form. Documented work extracted was mainly conference presentations, papers published in journals, articles from

newspapers and government-produced documents that address language development theme or topic. The reason for this is based on my frustration that we are running around, going back and forth in circles, talking, researching, calling conferences that address the same issues, do same work in our small corners, argue, compete, but we never finally come together and state what exactly needs to be done by whom and when, what has been done, who is doing what, where and how do we consolidate and how do we move forward to ensure that there is notable implementation of language policies. As a country, we do not monitor, we do not audit outcomes and we do not evaluate or check that there are tangible, visual results of African languages development. We talk, we complain, we hit walls and we get frustrated with no way forward.

Respondents are people who were approached to take part in the research and that were actually interviewed or sent questions to. Because this is a purposive research meant to answer a particular question or meant to respond to a particular question on slow development of African languages, certain categories of respondents were chosen so as to receive direct, valuable and informative data related to the topic being researched. They were purposefully selected to provide knowledge and their perspective on language development, specifically in their sectors and their impression on how we are doing as a country on issues of African languages development.

Most research work was information extracted from written documentation as shown in the graph below:



3.5 Data Focus

The researcher extracted data that addresses sectors, tools and vehicles needed to drive and steer language development or that could play a role in ensuring that African languages are developed. These documents are in the form of conference papers,

journal publications, theses, dissertations, newspaper articles, policies that speak to what needs to be done to develop African languages, hindrances and blockages as well as recommendations. These papers address the role that is played or not played or that could be played by the following sectors and stakeholders in developing African languages:

- ✓ Speakers of the African Languages
- ✓ Technology and Language
- ✓ Education Sector
- ✓ The Media
- ✓ Publishers
- ✓ Economic sector
- ✓ Justice Sector
- ✓ Government

Data extracted also looks into the following matters:

- ✓ Context-driven Language Policy Planning
- ✓ Incongruent language policy
- ✓ The gap or link between language policy and language practice
- ✓ Clarity of roles between PanSALB and DAC
- ✓ Training of language practitioners
- ✓ Language review body
- ✓ Multilingualism
- ✓ How Afrikaans was developed
- ✓ Language as a resource
- ✓ The social and economic value of languages
- ✓ Functional benefits of languages
- ✓ Legal recourses for language legislation violations
- ✓ Adequacy or inadequacy of funding for language offices and for language structures
- ✓ Review of language processes that were initiated by government
- ✓ Terminology development, translation and dictionaries
- ✓ Localisation
- ✓ Globalisation
- ✓ Technological initiatives
- ✓ Political will, commitment and prioritisation of language by government
- ✓ Policy-makers' understanding and knowledge of language issues affecting the country and language management at large
- ✓ Research on language management such as auditing of language policies and research on implementation of language policies.
- ✓ Promotion of literature, of reading, of writing
- ✓ Intellectualisation of African languages.
- ✓ Decolonisation
- ✓ Making the learning of African languages compulsory
- ✓ Collaborative opportunities

- ✓ Monitoring
- ✓ Promotion and visibility of African languages, and
- ✓ Use of African languages in public transactions and at workplace.

As displayed above, the study establishes:

- whether current language legislation, language environment, role players, language management, support structures and language tools enhance development of African languages
- what has been done in the past by government and how far it went
- Roleplayers in language development
- stalemates
- projects and programmes that some universities are embarking on
- how Afrikaans developed and what lessons can be learnt from that process for African languages

3.6. Analysis of Data

I went back to the first chapter, the proposal chapter to look at the question that this research addresses and read through the issues the study intends to address. I also revisited chapter 2 to extract researched information on the state of African languages in South Africa. These two chapters gave me a frame of themes to analyse and questions to focus on. Questions were formulated focusing on issues raised in researched information and on first-hand information of the researcher as someone who worked in various government language services in South Africa. Further information on how she went about in analysing data is presented in the next chapter. Questions that were posed to various stakeholders are attached in Appendices.

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter outlines research methodology used, respondents that were interviewed as well as texts analysed. The researcher is of the opinion that development of African languages is moving at a very slow pace and this affects speakers of African languages in that they do not get all services and information in their languages. It also affects their livelihood. She opted for qualitative method so as to uncover reasons, attitudes and opinions of role players involved in language development. She pointed out the areas of interest that she focused on in the research. Respondents from various institutions were sent questionnaires and some were interviewed in person. A number of papers, presentations and documents that survey tools, methods, frameworks of development and structures that are in place to enable development of previously-marginalised languages were studied, reviewed and analysed to find information on previous and current status of development of African languages, progress, hurdles and recommendations on the way forward. The researcher also tapped on her knowledge of having worked in various government language services.

CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

Marshall and Rossman (1999:150) describe data analysis as the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the collected data. It is a process of organising, inspecting, rearranging, modifying and transforming data to extract useful information from it. Perez (2019) defines data analysis as, the process of evaluating data using the logical and analytical reasoning to carefully examine each component of the data collected or provided. They go on to say, data is gathered from various sources related to one's research topic. Once the data is collected, it is then reviewed and analysed to get to a conclusion or form some sort of finding.

Data analysis includes the following components:

- Revisiting purpose of research
- Familiarising yourself with the data
- Data Analysis Procedures and Methods
- Analysis
- Interpretation
- Identification of Findings
- Presentation

A crucial point mentioned by Braun and Clarke (2006:17) is that, analysis is not a *linear* process where one simply moves from one phase to the next. Instead, it is more of a *recursive* process, where one moves back and forth as needed, throughout the phases of analysis. In this research, data is analysed using a qualitative method. According to Cohen (Cohen *et al.*, 2007:461), qualitative data analysis can be described as the process of making sense of the views and opinions of situations, corresponding patterns, themes, categories and common similarities. It is a process in which transcribed data is analysed. It is composed of a range of processes and procedures whereby a researcher moves from the data collected, into some form of explanation, understanding or interpretation in order to achieve research aims and objectives. It commonly uses narrative analysis which involves analysing data that comes from a variety of sources including interviews, questionnaires and other written forms of texts.

4.2 Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research is to find out about development and empowerment of previously-marginalised languages taking place from the time South Africa attained its democracy in 1994 and seeks to answer the following questions:

- How much have these languages been developed after legislation was passed that supported that they be developed?
- The development is said to be going at a slow pace, what is holding it back?
- Who is supposed to be developing and implementing?
- What tools, structures and frameworks are there for developments?
- What impact does that development and empowerment of African languages or non-development and non-empowerment or partial development have on the citizens who were previously disempowered?
- What can be done to accelerate the development?

4.3 Method used in Data Analysis

The data analysis method chosen is thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke define thematic analysis as a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data set and interprets various aspects of the research topic. It is different from other analytical methods in that, researchers need not subscribe to the implicit theoretical commitments. It is not tied to any pre-existing theoretical framework. According to Caulfield (2019), thematic analysis examines the data to identify common themes, topics, ideas and patterns of meaning that come up repeatedly. It is used to find out something about people's views, opinions, knowledge, experiences or values from a set of qualitative data.

Defining it further, Braun and Clarke (2006:10) state that "in contrast to IPA or grounded theory (and other methods like narrative, discourse or CA), thematic analysis is not tied to any pre-existing theoretical framework, and so it can be used within different theoretical frameworks (although not all), and can be used to do different things within them. Thematic analysis can be an essentialist or realist method, which reports experiences, meanings and the reality of participants, or it can be a constructionist method, which examines the ways in which events, realities, meanings, experiences and so on are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society. It can also be a "contextualist" method, sitting between the two poles of essentialism and constructionism, and characterised by theories such as critical realism, which acknowledge the ways individuals make meaning of their experience, and, in turn, the ways the broader social context impinges on those meanings, while retaining focus on the material and other limits of "reality". Therefore, according to Braun and Clarke, thematic analysis can be a method which works both to reflect reality, and to unpick or unravel the surface of reality.

There are different approaches to thematic analysis, namely an inductive approach and a deductive approach. According to Braun and Clarke, an inductive approach involves allowing the data to determine one's research themes. The themes identified are strongly linked to the data itself. They are not driven by the researcher's theoretical interest in the area or topic. Inductive analysis is therefore a process of coding the data *without* trying to fit it into a pre-existing coding frame, or the researcher's analytic

preconceptions. In this sense, this form of thematic analysis is data-driven. A deductive approach involves coming to the data with some preconceived themes one expects to find reflected in the data collected, based on theory or existing knowledge. It tends to be driven by the researcher's theoretical or analytic interest in the area, and is thus more explicitly analyst-driven.

In analysing data for this research, I used a combination of deductive and inductive qualitative analysis approaches. The reason I used both was that, I worked at the language services for many years so I had a kind of idea of what is going on. On the other hand I needed to find out why the situations are the way they are and I needed researched literature to unveil and unpack the reasoning behind the slow development and lack of implementation of language policies. I therefore needed to deduct and induct so that my research is not subjective. I worked from interviews and questionnaires and texts that speak to language development were sought and analysed. The text was then coded.

4.4 Coding

After familiarising myself with data collected I then coded it. Coding is defined as the process of organizing data to identify recurring themes in texts or responses and the relationships between them. According to (Boyatzis, 1998: 63), codes identify a feature of the data that appears interesting to the analyst, and refer to "the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon". This involves analysing the texts, choosing and highlighting the data and assigning words or terms or phrases to those chunks of texts" to describe the content.

I therefore used the following method to analyse the data:

- Went through and sifted through all data collected
- Familiarised myself with all texts and interviews
- Recorded texts were transcribed
- Texts were read
- Texts were analysed and direct information on development and implementation was extracted
- Analytical framework was developed
- Themes were generated to represent the data
- Data was analysed and interpreted
- Text was then put in a table with three columns and sometimes two columns of text and code and themes
- Findings were induced and deduced
- Themes were reviewed and revisited to come up with final themes.

Some text is presented as is because it is self-explanatory, that is, a speech or conference is presented as is because it explicitly responds to the research.

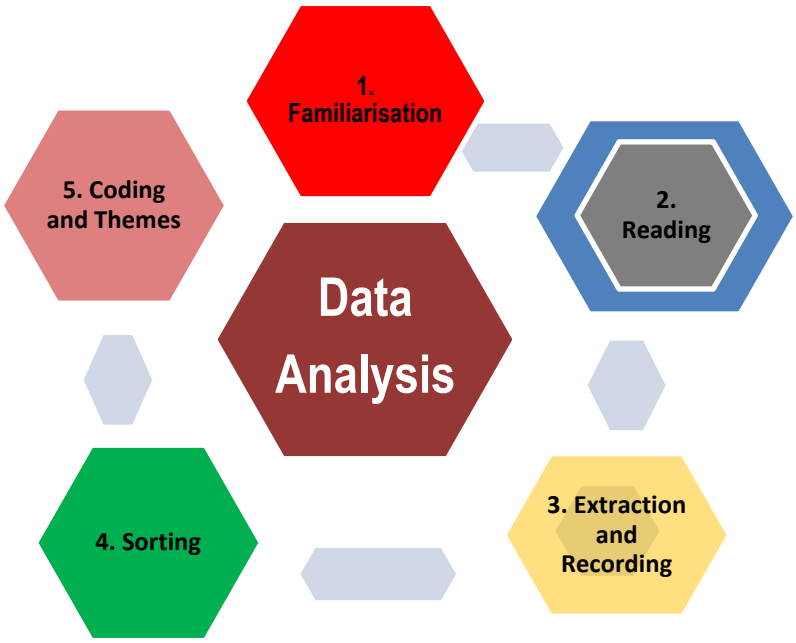


Figure 1: Data Analysis Method

4.5 Arrangement and Presentation of data collected analysed

In analysing the data, it became apparent from text, interviews and questionnaires that at some stage, there was an intention to develop previously disadvantaged African languages but as time went on, initiatives to do so slowly disintegrated and only a few initiatives were carried forward without much impact to language development or empowerment.

In the data analysis, I established the following, that:

- Language Development and empowerment needs of African languages are understood;
- Benefits are known;
- Legislation and implementation methods were established;
- Disadvantages of not developing and empowering these languages are understood;
- Strategies for development and implementation have been sought and presented but there were no follow-ups to some of them;
- Structures were in place and some are still are in place;
- There were a number of language developments initiatives between 1994 and 2004 but some were left hanging or abandoned;
- Struggles and hindrances are known but they just remain frustrations;
- There has been no synergy and co-operation between implementing agencies;
- There has been no repercussions for non-implementation;
- There has been no monitoring by government agents;

- The government implementing agencies are underfunded;
- PanSALB is embroiled in endless legal battles that have been going on for years that eat up a budget that is supposed to be used for development and implementation;
- Hegemony of English;
- Lack of political will;
- No public awareness campaigns leading to parents preferring that their children be taught in English; and
- There are pockets of language development work done by private companies, NGOS, institution of higher learning and by individuals.

To illustrate the above, the presentation of analysis therefore will be as follows:

- The legislative frameworks, processes followed, structures for development and implementation, pitfalls and recommendations
- Government implementing agencies
- Benefits of developing and using African languages
- Language Development work and implementation by institutions of higher learning and by private sector
- Gaps – Failures
- Lessons from Afrikaans
- Development work taking place in various institutions
- Recommendations

In addition to questionnaires and interviews conducted by the researcher, there is a lot of literature written on development of African languages in South Africa but this information is not collated. The researcher will then present the above in the form of direct texts analysed that speak to the topic of development of African languages and implementation of development programmes.

For evidence reasons and for referral purposes, I have presented analysed texts in this chapter for ease of reference. In the next chapter, I will summarise the findings.
The analysis focuses on government implementing agencies, namely the National Language Service (NLS) which falls under the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture, the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) which is a body tasked by the South African Constitution to create conditions for the development and use of all official South African languages including the sign language and Khoe and Nama languages, the education sector and the private sector.

What follows now is the analysis of the texts and evidence of the analysis.

4.6 Government Initiatives

4.6(a) Legislation

The data analysis shows that there is legislation in place to enable development and implementation. Acts, Bills and policies were passed by national government and certain provinces and municipalities followed suite and developed language policies.

The following legislation was promulgated:

a) PanSALB Act as early as 1995 (Act No 59 of 1995 as amended in 1999)
b) the National Language Policy Framework (NLPF) (DAC - 2003)
c) Various Language-in-Education Policies and Acts
d) the Use of Official Languages Act (Act 12 of 2012)
e) Incremental Implementation of African Languages (IIAL) policy in 2013
f) the South African Language Practitioners' Council Act in 2014; and
g) Some municipalities drew and passed their language policies.

Explaining the amount of legislation that was put in place to ensure language development and implementation of all South African languages, in a paper titled: *Language policy incongruity and African languages in post-apartheid South Africa*, Anne-Marie Beukes who worked for both language implementation agencies, namely PanSALB and National Language Service, in managerial positions wrote:

> *South Africa's constitution, which entrenches official status to 11 languages, is widely acknowledged as exemplary. In fact, its provisions on language have been rated as the most progressive in the modern world (cf. Heugh 2007, 187). In the immediate post-1994 period, the South African government duly responded to the constitutional imperative by engaging in language policy and planning aimed at promoting language equity, supporting diversity and developing the historically marginalised African languages. Consequently, the necessary legislative and other measures were taken with a view to operationalising language policy processes, the milestones of which ranged from the Pan South African Language Board Act (1995) and the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology's Language Plan Task Group (1996), to the National Language Policy Framework (NLPF) published in 2003. In addition, government also established a range of support structures aimed at realising policy implementation, such as the National Language Service (NLS) in 1994, as well as the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) in 1996 – a statutory language planning agency to manage affirmative action for the African languages that were marginalised in the past. At the same time, albeit through separate processes and initiatives, the Ministry of Education produced its Language-in-Education Policy in 1997, and the Language Policy for Higher Education in 2002.*

Dr Ben Ngubane who was the Minister of Arts and Culture established a Language Plan Task Group (shortened as Langtag) with the following objectives, that:

- All South Africans should have access to all spheres of South African society by developing and maintaining a level of spoken and written language which is appropriate for a range of contexts in the official language(s) of their choice
- All South Africans should have access to the learning of languages other than their mother tongue.
- The African languages, which have been disadvantaged by the linguistic policies of the past, should be developed and maintained.
- Equitable and widespread language services should be established.

Langtag put forward the following definition for language development:

g) Development of a standard orthography and spelling system of a particular language
h) The elaboration and modernisation of the vocabulary of that language
i) The creation of new registers such as those in education, legal system, journalism and others
j) Elevation of the status of a language so that it's speakers are willing to use it in high-status domains
k) Accessibility of science and technology and the economic benefits thereof
l) Language elaboration and language spread where the language functions beyond the family and the community environment.

Langtag released its report in 1996.

4.6(b) Standardisation / Language Codification

One of the recommendations of Langtag was that African Languages need to be standardised. Conferences and workshops were held to obtain facts regarding standardisation of African languages. One of those workshops was held in 2005 in Pretoria to check on how far orthographies and spelling rules of African languages have been regularised.

Figure 2 : Cover of the Langtag Report Document

Orthographies have been developed and continue to be developed. All official languages have their own orthographies that were built on orthographies that existed prior to 1994 by the Old Language Boards that were established in the homelands.

Figure 3 : Cover of the Document Report on Standardisation

4.6(c) Terminology Development and Dictionaries

Main developmental work that has taken place is terminology development of various spheres and various fields. Terminology lists are mainly developed by National Language Services. They invite and put together language practitioners and field experts, develop the lists that are then sent to PanSALB for verification through their various National language Bodies to verify each language. Some institutions of higher learning such as the University of Stellenbosch's Language Centre have also developed term lists. Praesa also developed some Maths and Science term lists. Individual government departments also developed term lists with a subject of their department, for examples, Stats SA developed a statistics terminology list in all African Languages. Municipalities also develop their own term lists that tend to cover provincial languages.

The Pan South African Language Board has established National Lexicography Units (NLUs), attached to universities, to develop monolingual, bilingual and trilingual dictionaries in languages spoken in those provinces where those universities are. The Afrikaans dictionaries for example are developed at a national lexicography unit that is at the University of Stellenbosch, the isiXhosa dictionaries are developed at Fort Hare University, the Xitsonga dictionaries are developed at a national lexicography unit that is at University of Limpopo, and so on. I have attached some of the covers of some term lists and dictionaries developed as annexures and as a collage. Below is a collage of some of the covers of term lists that have been developed as a tool for language development:

Monolingual and multilingual dictionaries have been developed by National Lexicographic Units operating from various universities. Covers of the few dictionaries are shown below:

Figure 4: Covers of some dictionaries produced by NLUs

4.7 Analysis from texts, questionnaires and interviews

I will now present extracts of information from written texts, questionnaires, interviews on what took place from 1994 to date that address the following themes:

- The legislative frameworks, processes followed, structures for development and implementation, pitfalls and recommendations
- Government implementing agencies
- Benefits of developing and using African languages
- Language Development work and implementation by institutions of higher learning and by private sector
- Gaps – Failures
- Lessons from Afrikaans
- Development work taking place in various institutions
- Recommendations

4.7 (a) Legislative frameworks, structures, processes, pitfalls and recommendations

There are two national government implementing agencies that operate officially. They operate from Pretoria and have provincial structures. These two agencies are depicted in the figure below:

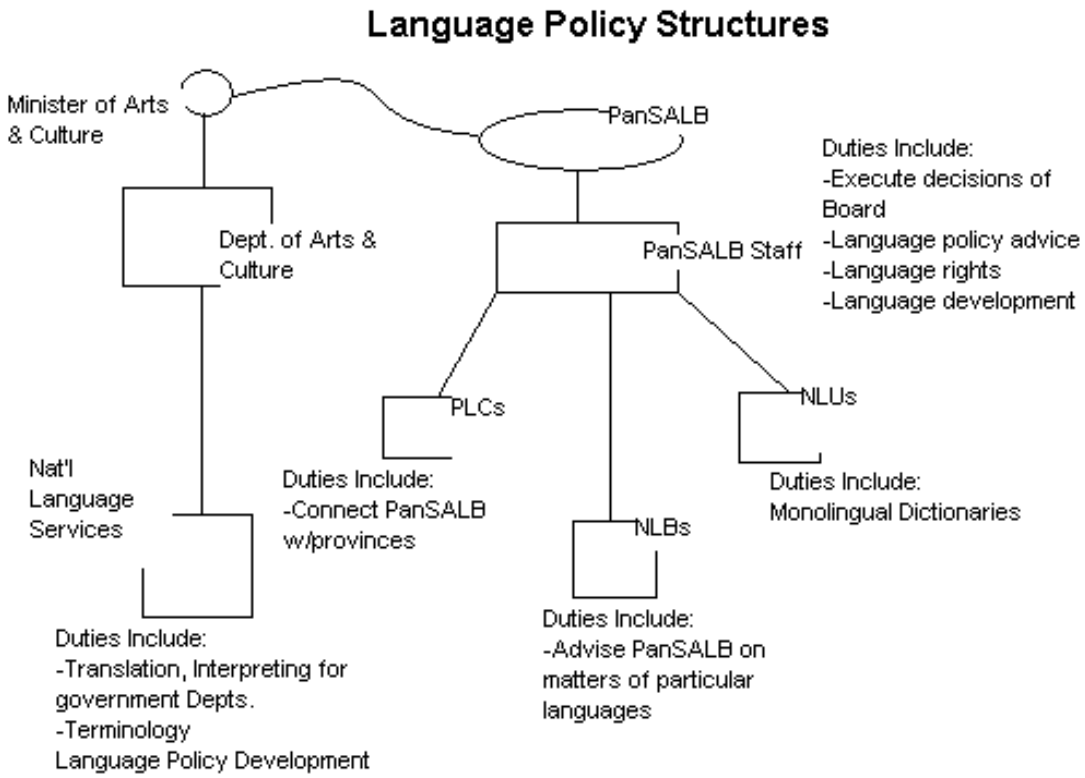


Figure 5: *Government Language Agencies - Source : Timothy Perry*

I will now present data that I have analysed that researched on language development focusing on legislative frameworks, structures, processes, pitfalls and recommendations by various researchers and papers presented in various conferences.

Paper by Anne-Marie Beukes: Language policy implementation in South Africa: *How Kempton Park's great expectations are dashed in Tshwane*

In a paper presented in 2004 and published in 2008, titled, *Language policy implementation in South Africa: How Kempton Park's great expectations are dashed in Tshwane,* Beukes who worked for the government implementing agencies tabulated frameworks that were put in place to advance all eleven languages. She says, within the first 2 years of democracy, bold start was made by the South African government, with several ground-breaking language planning activities, among which was the Language Plan Task Group (Langtag) process. As regards language diversity issues, the first 10 years of democracy also produced several policy processes.

A Languages for All Conference was held in Pretoria on 27 and 28 May 1994. Some 400 participants, broadly representative of major language stakeholders, attended the Conference to debate two important issues, namely (i) the process of drafting the legislation on the Pan South African Language Board as envisaged in the language provision of the interim Constitution, and (ii) consultation on the new institutional

structures that would be required to support the new multilingual dispensation. The power of the executive arm of government in language matters was transferred to the newly established Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST). This served as confirmation that language matters were relegated to government's backseat. After the good progress made in preparing the way for the establishment of PanSALB, concern was raised about government's political commitment to managing the legislative process required for the establishment of the Board. Non-governmental organisations such as Praesa and National Language Project (NLP), raised their concern in parliamentary circles. They campaigned for the relocation of the executive management on language matters from the "dysfunctional" DACST to the "successful" Department of Constitutional Development. After mediation by Neil Barnard, then Director-General of Constitutional Development, a joint workshop was held in February 1995 with his department and DACST in collaboration with Praesa. The workshop resolved that the management of language matters would remain within the jurisdiction of the DACST; that the implementation of a national language plan should become an immediate objective of government and that a non-governmental advisory group should be established to put forth the necessary recommendations needed for the implementation of a national language plan.

Through a process of bottom-up pressure on DACST, a climate was created that "compelled" the Minister to honour his department's language policy and planning brief. In a letter dated 10 October 1995, Ngubane subsequently invited seven prominent linguists to collectively devise a coherent national language plan which would encompass all state structures and civil society. The Language Plan Task Group (Langtag) was thus established. At Langtag's first meeting on 9 November 1995, where Neville Alexander was elected chairperson, Ngubane stipulated that a language plan for South Africa would have to be a statement of the country's language-related needs and priorities. Subcommittees of Langtag would investigate language equity, language development, language in education, literacy, language in the Public Service, heritage languages, South African Sign Language, and alternative and augmentative Communication (AAC), equitable and widespread language services and language as an economic resource. Seven subcommittees and one study group comprising a total of 35 language experts and stakeholders were involved over a six-month period in a process of consultation through workshops and seminars on a variety of policy needs and priorities. After consulting with language stakeholders, experts and interested persons and parties, each subcommittee submitted a comprehensive report on its consultation processes and research findings to the Main Committee. A draft Langtag Report was subsequently compiled and distributed to stakeholders and interested parties. The draft Report was debated at the Langtag Consultative Conference convened by the Minister on 29 June 1996 in Pretoria. After considering all submissions the Final Langtag Report was compiled and presented to Ngubane on 8 August 1996 for consideration and action.

The Langtag Report pointed to a general disregard for the principle of language equity from Parliament to all three levels of government. The Report also pointed to a lack of commitment in the Public Service to implementing a policy of multilingualism and to a discernable trend towards monolingualism among the political, business and educational leadership. the Report addressed the ongoing legitimisation of monolingualism and found that arguments regarding the superior position of English as an international language and the access that the language offers through its "technological advances" and "trade benefits", as well as the perceived "cost advantages" of using a language "which all South Africans understand", were popular. Ngubane honoured his commitment to finalising a language policy after Langtag by appointing a small Language Policy Advisory Group in 1999, chaired once again by Neville Alexander. The Minister's brief to the Panel was to develop a draft language policy based on the Langtag recommendations for his consideration. This time round further consultation with government departments and Cabinet took place. Yet again a major consultative forum of language stakeholders was convened in 2000, at which occasion the first draft of the Language Policy and Plan was revised. This draft, together with the SA Languages Draft Bill, was prepared by the Advisory Panel in a remarkably short time.

The National Language Policy Framework (NLPF) was finally approved by Cabinet in 2003. The NLPF was devised as a package that would comprise a policy statement, an implementation plan, the South African Languages Act and the South African Language Practitioners' Council Act. The NLPF's Implementation Plan envisages a broad range of mechanisms to facilitate implementation, i.e. terminology development, translation and editing, language technology, a language code of conduct, a directory of language services, language audits and surveys, language awareness campaigns, the Telephone Interpreting Service for South Africa, an information databank, the development of Sign Language, language learning, and budgeting.

Beukes (2008:13) notes that, the Langtag process was supported by mobilising language stakeholders across the board through systematic consultation by language experts in collaboration with government's executive arm in language matters. Following the passing of the NLPF, very little attention was paid to Langtag recommendations. Language planners have pointed to significant gaps between language policy and implementation, a situation that has more often than not been attributed to government's ineffective management of language matters and the inadequate congruence between government's language policy statement and real language practice.

Beukes (2008:26) states that, against the backdrop of contemporary views on language policy and planning in South Africa, this supposedly exemplary language planning exercise does require re-evaluation. Thorny constitutional issues, of which the "language question" was one, were finalised only at the eleventh hour during the negotiations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) in Kempton

Park in November 1993. The demarcation of these languages according to the official status afforded to them as markers of ethnic identity in apartheid's separate homelands and independent states was the norm used by the Kempton Park negotiators. This important issue was not adequately addressed by the Langtag process. Issues such as the affirmation of the indigenous languages, the official status of Afrikaans, those rights pertaining to languages that were applicable in the previous dispensation, and the right to mother-tongue education were some of the major concerns that required careful, unhurried deliberation. The socio-political context, therefore, required an acknowledgement of the value of the African languages, and hence a revival of their status and use in order to facilitate their affirmation.

Beukes (2008:26) then alludes to an important point of criticism against the outcome of the Langtag process and the way in which it shaped the Final Report that it must be directed at the Langtag leadership and their failure to give concrete effect to the Minister's brief. Instead of boldly "translating" the input from the consultation process in a clearly defined language policy proposal as requested by the Minister (cf. his brief to the Main Committee "to join hands with the Ministry to collectively devise a coherent national language plan" the Langtag Main Committee delineated its mandate as a mere needs-and-priorities analysis to be used by the Ministry as a "guideline" for policy development. The Langtag Main Committee's reinterpretation and toning down of the Minister's brief arguably resulted in a missed opportunity. She goes on to say, in order to determine possible gaps in implementation, "initial conditions" (policy goals) should be scrutinised with a view to assessing whether and how "predicted consequences" (implementation) have been realised.

Beukes (2008:26) also states that, in addition to existing albeit under-funded and under-staffed language offices in provinces and recently in national government departments, some 35 language structures were created as substructures of PanSALB since its establishment in 1996. Critique on the inefficiency of these structures and the ostensible lack of delivery have pointed to significant qualitative implementation gaps. She says, the democratic language policy and planning has not realised its "intended purposes" but has seemingly become trapped in the "gap" or "disjunction" between policy development and lack of policy implementation. She recommends that there needs to be a comprehensive review of the needs and priorities identified by the Langtag process. Review of policy will, among other things, have to pay close attention to "gap-producing factors" such as citizens' language preferences and repertoires and the current position and development of the African languages (Beukes, 2004).

4.7(b) ***Challenges to the Promotion of Indigenous Languages in South Africa:***
By Prof Kwesi Kwaa Prah

In addition to facts mentioned above from Beukes' Paper, Prah adds that the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) is not listed in the Chapter 9 Constitution

institutions, but was included in Chapter 1 of the Constitution that talks about human rights as the issue of language was perceived to be so fundamentally important to human rights that it was addressed in the *Founding Provisions* of the Constitution. He also notes that, a decade (now two decades) and more after the end of the apartheid regime, the equality of the nine African languages with English and Afrikaans remains more on paper than in reality. He says, most observers who have looked at the issue of language policy in Africa agree about the fact that there is a big gap between intended policy (planned or espoused policy) and action or implementation. One important reason for the vacillation is that elite interests have become very entrenched in the *status quo* and the use of colonial languages. Indeed, in a cultural sense, it is arguable that African elites owe their positions of privilege and influence to the use of the colonial languages. They are the languages of power, as dictated by the colonial dispensation and inherited by the elites. Therefore, where many frequently see the logic in the argument for the unstinted use of African languages, the ruling groups and elites are unable to, as it were, cut off the branch on which they are sitting.

He notes that the technological culture of South Africa is constructed on the cultures, and in the languages of its white minority. Knowledge, its production and reproduction, is negotiated and built in the languages and cultures of this culturally European minority. An Africa-centred approach in South Africa implies that if development is to take place which provides the masses of South African society cultural and linguistic access into the process, this will have to be done in the cultures and languages of the masses, unless we want to suggest that the African languages and cultures of the masses are inherently inferior and can provide no basis for social and cultural advancement. In education, knowledge production and reproduction is carried out exclusively in either English or Afrikaans. The African languages do not feature in this area. He is of the opinion that, by and large, the process of transformation in South Africa at the cultural and linguistic levels point to a steady integration of the emergent African elites into the cultures of the white minorities, principally the English.

He recommends that greater capital outlay would have to be apportioned to literature and translations, which reflect the rich diversity of the cultural make-up of the country. To do this we have to move away from the current dominance of English to a situation in which all the languages of South Africa are treated equal, and properly resourced not only on paper but, in fact. The African languages will need to be greatly empowered and developed to be languages of science and technology. He feels that it is not possible to develop the society in a balanced or socially sustainable fashion when the languages for the production and reproduction of knowledge are exclusively located in small minorities. The persistence of this condition undermines democracy in a cultural sense and entrenches a sense of inferiority not only to the African languages but those who use those languages. It makes for a one-way-traffic of cultural integration of the majority into the cultures of the minority. It will be therefore useful to encourage multilingualism on the basis of full equality of the cultures and languages of South Africa, as matter of public policy. If the indigenous South African languages

are to be used in transforming and leading South Africa to modernity, the whole exercise needs to be undergirded by economic rationality and the cultural empowerment of the masses. Literacy in the indigenous African languages is crucial. For without literacy in the languages of the masses, science and technology cannot be culturally-owned by Africans. Africans will remain mere consumers, incapable of creating competitive goods, services and value-additions in this era of globalization.

He also recommends the following:

1. The importance of active advocacy work and campaigns. This should involve both state and civil society organizations. A systematic plan for this work needs to be drawn up.
2. Cooperative linkages should be established with bodies involved with similar or related work of cultural and linguistic kind.
3. Publications in indigenous languages.
4. A conscientious attempt should be made to learn from the Afrikaans experience and the dramatic development of Afrikaans in fifty years, and the prosperity and enlightenment it has brought Afrikaners, should bring to our understanding the relevance of language to social transformation in South Africa.
5. Special attention should be directed to the needs of the "silenced voices." These marginalized minority languages include TshiVenda, Xitsonga, the Khoe and San languages.

4.7(c) A Structure that was created to enable language development

Language Research and Development Centres (LRDCs) in South Africa: By the National Language Service : 2004

The Department of Arts and Culture established the Language Research Development Centres in 2004 to give impetus to the implementation of the National Language Policy Framework (NLPF) to do the following:

- Effectively develop official indigenous languages to ensure their public usage in such important fields as law, commerce, science, politics, education, etc
- Encourage and support language-related research
- Stream activities, promote synergy and enhance co-ordination across all units and committees involved in language development work to avoid duplication of effort and wastage of resources
- Facilitate and nurture prolific writing in African languages
- Advise on programmes that will attract more students to study African languages by indicating clear employment opportunities

- Contribute to the development of linguistic competencies in other international languages to enable South Africans to participate in SADC and in other international organisations.

Their structure or formulation was planned as follows:

- Nine LRDCs, one for each official African language
- Will have sub-units
- Will be based in historically disadvantaged institutions of higher learning
- Government will enter into partnership with institutions where the LRDCs will be located
- At initial stages, there will only be basic infrastructure to get started:
  - 1 Director
  - 1 Secretary
  - Co-ordinators for sub-units
  - Part-time workers
  - Administrative support
  - Office space and equipment
  - There would be a Centre Management Committee with Head of School or Head of Department of African Languages, CFO of the institution and Head of Provincial Language Forum and representatives from, Department of Arts and Culture, PanSALB, SABC, Department of Communications and reps of language units of various departments.
  - National Advisory Committee (NACO)
  - DAC will chair committee meetings and act as secretariat to the National Advisory Committee (NACO).

The focus areas were language enhancement, terminology development, research and databases, writing and publishing, heritage and language museums and community outreach. The centres would link with PanSALB structures and provincial language units. Provincial interests and priorities were to feature well in the centres and heads of Provincial Language Units in would interact with provincial MECs to appraise them of the operations of the centres.

Implementation would be as follows:

Phase 1

- Set up infrastructure and acquire necessary human and physical resources
- Pilot studies in Heritage, Language Enhancement and Community Outreach
- Design research frameworks for all focus areas
- Fieldwork, analyse and interprete data
- Develop clearly defined projects with timeframes, deliverables and costing
- Prioritising, approval and funding of provincial projects
- Accelerate work on terminology development that is already under way

Phase 2 – Expand infrastructure according to project requirements

Phase 3 – Expand activities and projects to rural areas. Develop sub-centres.

BUDGET

Year 1	*Year 2 (10% increase)*	*Year 3 (10% Increase)*
R2 559 000.00	R2 814 900.00	R3 096 390.00

That initiative started and ran for about two years and was abandoned and discontinued.

4.7(d) Extract from a paper by: Vic Webb, *CentRePoL*, University of Pretoria

Steps that were taken to fulfil constitutional stipulations and language policy directives

Prof Webb mentions the following steps that laid a ground for development of African languages:

- SA language policies contain all the important features of modern language policies: they generally express well-informed views about the objectives of language planning, stressing the role of language in development, the construction of (national) African identities and the protection of cultural diversity and pluralism
- Good progress was made in language policy development in SA
- A SA Languages Bill (later an ACT) was developed and accepted by the SA cabinet
- Provincial language policies were developed
- Language policies were developed at local government level
- Extensive cost-estimates for language policy implementation were undertaken, notably by the National Treasury for the implementation of the SA Languages Bill, and by the Western Cape Government for the implementation of their language policy
- A language-in-education policy (LiEP) was accepted in 1997, which gave school governing bodies the right to determine a school's language policy, allowed learners to select their own MoI, demonstrated an understanding of the benefits of promoting language in education, that committed the education department to the principle of additive bilingualism, and expressed determination to promote multilingualism as a resource and cultural diversity as a national asset
- A Commission for the promotion and protection of the rights of cultural, religious and linguistic communities, required by the SA constitution, has been established.

He then spells out why these initiatives have not been a success and says:

- There is a striking discrepancy between the country's language policy ideology and its language policy practice: state language behaviour is becoming increasingly monolingual, with English becoming more and more dominant and the other official languages becoming more and more marginalised in public life, that is, the power relations between these languages are becoming increasingly a-symmetric and the 9 African languages still have very little economic, social and psychological value. The seriousness of this discrepancy is apparent if one keeps in mind that official behaviour is a powerful force which can establish "reality" and can control the development of citizens' attitudes, beliefs and behaviour patterns, leaving citizens with no real choices regarding language preferences and usage.
- Language policy development has had no impact on the language political state of the Bantu languages: they are still in the main low function languages, used only for social interaction in private and personal domains, religious and cultural practice, deemed inappropriate for use in higher functions such as education, legislation and public debate, and are still seriously subordinated and minoritised.
- A significant proportion of the SA population, in particular the brown, Indian and white communities, is not effectively proficient in the African languages, which means there is little meaningful inter-group communication, that is: national integration and nation-building is thwarted.
- Language policy practice in education is in an equally poor state. Despite the liberal, democratic LiEP of 1997, theoretically allowing learners a choice of MoI from the 11 official languages, ESL is the MoI for the majority of black learners in SA in spite of their generally wholly inadequate academic proficiency in it.
- [Due to lack of awareness campaigns], parents see English as the most important (maybe only) instrument for getting a job and for occupational mobility, for getting access to quality education, success, social status, openness, modernity, progressiveness and access to international recreation (books, music, films and television). The Bantu languages are not seen as appropriate for education inter alia because they are associated with apartheid and its policy of mother-tongue education, and, also, with inferior education.

Speculating on reasons for non-implementation of language policies and acts, he cites:

Political and bureaucratic factors

Political elites manipulate the language regime to promote their political purposes. Political and bureaucratic leaders in SA probably believe that the government will perform its task more effectively if only one language is used and believing that the use of a single language will lead to more effective public administration, will facilitate

effective central control, and will be cheaper and more practical, and that, on the other hand, an official policy of ML will hinder national integration…and retarded development. The second factor is that, though it is possibly true that some members of the SA cabinet have an ideological commitment to multilingualism, it is probable, rather, that they believe that it is only about linguistic and cultural rights and that language is therefore not a national priority. Another possible factor is that, language is no longer a salient feature of ethnic identity. Language development is unlikely to be successful unless it is an issue on which the survival of the government depends as was the case with Afrikaans. This has also meant that the political value of the successful development of any indigenous African language is extremely limited.

Economic factors

Development-oriented elites in multilingual countries typically perceive a conflict between linguistic pluralism and modernisation, and typically propose to solve this conflict by promoting linguistic assimilation, generally the use of a foreign language. Possibly, the adoption of a language belonging to a rich and powerful foreign country creates economic, political and cultural dependence and strangles the channels of professional access and interclass mobility. The second factor is, once again, globalisation (the production, distribution and consumption of goods and information and the migration of workers subject to free market forces and competitiveness), which obviously facilitates linguistic and cultural assimilation to the dominant language of globalisation, English.

Sociolinguistic factors

The central factor is the a-symmetric power relations between the languages of the country: the hegemonic strength of English and the negative social meaning of the Bantu languages. The Bantu languages are generally perceived as inappropriate for use in high-function formal contexts and have consequently also not developed the capacity to be used in such contexts.

Secondly, several key language political concepts that were central in the time of apartheid, such as *mother-tongue instruction* and *ethnicity*, have also had a negative impact on the implementation of a meaningful policy of ML.

Cultural factors

- High Power Distance: respect for authority and seniority, with subordinates expected to be obedient, and less questioning of authority; the centralisation of political power and of decision-making; and a linkage between power, status and wealth
- Uncertainty Avoidance: being unwilling to take risks, intolerance of ambiguity, clear definition of the distribution of power, rigidity, traditionalism, totalitarian ideology, with citizens accepting the authority of political leaders
- Collectivist (low individualism) index: collective interests prevail over individual interests, views predetermined by group interests, political power exercised by

interest groups, rigid social systems, large differences in wealth between sectors of the economy.

4.7(e) No Easy Walk to Linguistic Freedom: A Critique of Language Planning during South Africa's First Decade of Democracy : Gregory Hankoni Kamwendo

Kamwendo starts by applauding the initiatives taken by South Africa to accord the 11 languages an official status, establishment of PanSALB and of the Commission for Religious and Linguistic Rights. He however observes that, that contrary to the aspirations of the constitution, there is no parity of esteem and equality among the eleven official languages. He notes that a language hierarchy in which English is at the top, Afrikaans in the middle, and the African languages at the bottom, is the order of the day. English dominates domains such as the mass media, education, the legislature, the judiciary, the army, and so on. Basically, it is still English and Afrikaans that are the languages of economic and political power. Thus, the majority remains disadvantaged because, to borrow Bamgbose's (2000) terminology, language excludes them from active participation in political and economic endeavours. He also mentions that, it is also worrying that there are escape clauses in the constitutional clauses on language. Escape clauses give governments and other bodies, excuses for not adhering to the constitutional provisions in full.

Whilst there is a recognition of the critical role of language in national development, there is no meaningful attempt to incorporate the language factor into national, regional and continental socio-economic development plans. For example, the language question was not adequately taken on board the Reconstruction and Development Programme. Even in President Mbeki's African Renaissance, there is an "inadequate representation of the language issue and the role of African mother tongues in education and development, both of the individual and society in general" (Wolff, 2003: 2). Wolff notes that it is common to omit the language question from key development agenda or programmes such as NEPAD. On his part, Alexander (2003) argues strongly that there can be no genuine African Renaissance without taking the African indigenous languages on board.

Language issues rank low in comparison with jobs, crime-prevention, housing and health. One thing that is clear is that governments are reluctant to invest in language policies on account of cost, yet "in other areas of social policy, we are, to some degree, willing to tolerate costly or time-consuming procedure to promote equality". Providing funding for language issues is not a priority. In addition, not many donors have serious interest in language matters. Although large sums of aid money are being poured into various programmes of democratisation and 'good governance', donors' lack of interest in language-related issues betrays a narrow-minded understanding of what democracy entails in Southern Africa. One painful reality is that African languages are held in low esteem, the result being "the continued stigmatisation of the indigenous

African languages". African languages have "a very low social and political status, being seen as almost meaningless in public life". Any talk about the elevation of African languages is seen as a roadblock to the acquisition of English. English is perceived to be synonymous with education itself. As such, it still remains a tall order to promote the use of African languages as media of instruction.

He concludes by saying, the success of South Africa's bold language plan depends on political will. Where there is a lack of political will to implement policies, one is bound to see declarations without implementation. For the implementations of language plans to succeed, the main propelling power is political will. Where there is political will, as was the case with the corpus development of Afrikaans (Raidt, 1999), there is always a way.

4.7(f) Language rights, ethnic politics: A critique of the Pan South African Language Board: Timothy Perry

According to Perry, the latest writings on language policy all acknowledge that language policy is almost inevitably political, an endeavour complicit in the exercise of state control. Wherever proficiency in a minority official language serves as a favourable condition for success, the lucky few who speak that language as a first language will naturally have an advantage over the many who speak it as a second or third language. Members of the privileged elite, in other words, are given a head start over the disadvantaged majority. Crucially, elite closure does not always occur as a result of official policy. Indeed, unofficial policies that prefer *de facto* a particular language prove as destructive as official policies that do so *de jure.* In such scenarios oftentimes the dominant language of business in a region will become the *de facto* language of a state located within that region, and give rise to all the symptoms of elite closure exhibited by *de jure* policies. South Africa has allowed English to become the sole and *de facto* language of power. Because of this, non-English-speaking majority will effectively become — or perhaps we should say *remain* — unable to participate meaningfully in the political life of their country. Language abets everything from psychological damage and physical violence to economic underdevelopment and social exclusion.

Alluding to what may be the cause of lack of effective and impactful implementation of language policies, Perry singles out problematic, ambiguous and indecisive clauses in the country's Constitution. He states that Albie Sachs, currently a judge in the Constitutional Court, in reference to a section of the 1994 Constitution that carried through to the 1996 version, wrote, "[t]he new constitutional provisions relating to language are messy, inelegant and contradictory" (Sachs, 1994: 1). Du Plessis and Pretorius (2000:507) call Section 6 ambiguous, and suggest that it bears some of the responsibility for the delays in implementation of multilingual policies in South Africa. Section 6 of the 1996 Constitution, which names the state's obligations with regard to language, strikes many as a confused legal bramble. Section 6, according to Du

Plessis and Pretorius, is composed of three distinct parts. The first, s6(1), declares the eleven official languages, in alphabetical order from English to isiZulu. The second part, comprising s6(2) and s6(4), sets out some normative guidelines for language policy. The third part, s6(3), instructs the national, provincial and municipal governments on how to select the appropriate official languages for a given purpose (2000: 507). Notably, these three parts lack any "clear indication of how these parts are supposed to interrelate" (2000: 507). Some have suggested that cardinal ordering of clauses suggests a hierarchy where s6(2) would override s6(3) in case of a conflict, s6(3) would override s6(4) and so on. But in fact, section 6 is most often interpreted as "nothing more than the sum of its disconnected parts". As a result, human subjectivity lends a great amount of influence when weighing practical considerations such as "usage, practicality and expense" against competing rights-oriented considerations such as the "parity of esteem" and equitable treatment the eleven languages purportedly must enjoy.

Section 6(4) gives us some idea in its instruction that "all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably". "Equitable treatment" has an important historical reference in "gelykberegtiging", or "equal treatment", the principle that chaperoned the legally enforced equality between English and Afrikaans from the time of Union through to the 1961 and 1983 Constitutions, and up until 1993. According to Du Plessis, "In practice, this led to the well-known 50/50 language dispensation, where in essence every freedom, right and privilege accorded to one language had to be granted to the other". But the 1996 Constitution, by contrast, calls for "parity of esteem and *equitable* treatment", a term that is arguably less demanding than "*equal* treatment" or "*gelykberegtiging*", and most importantly, lacking in any guiding legal precedent. Thus when s6(4) commands government to achieve and uphold equitable treatment and ensure parity of esteem, it appears to allow some space for interpretation.

Three conceivable factors appear to govern the interpretive space. First, read with s6(2), s6(4) clearly regards the "historically diminished" "indigenous" languages as more needful of official attention — in order to repair legacies of linguistic inequality. Second, 6(3)a-b allow that some circumstances may limit the promotion of multilingual constitutional ideals. "Usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or the province concerned" may provide justification for a more restrained fulfilment of s6(2) on the national and provincial scene. In municipalities, residents' "language usage and preference" may similarly impact on complete fulfilment of the clause. Roodt, however, notes that these "opt-outs" in (a) and (b) do not have the same legal status as a norm and cannot trump the overall spirit of the section; the exceptions cannot override the rules. Notwithstanding, of course, "government and provincial government must use at least two official languages". Third, "parity of esteem" and "equitable treatment" will take some time. In the words of Du Plessis and Pretorius, "In the light of the marked

differences in historical privilege and levels of development, parity of esteem is not a state of affairs needing to be affirmed, but a distant goal to be achieved".

In section 6(5), the Constitution introduces the concept of "a Pan South African Language Board", which parliament must create through legislation. This section distinguishes itself from the foregoing four sections in that it boasts a relatively high degree of clarity. It therefore requires little explication; we may note in passing that the Board has differential duties with regard to the languages mentioned in s6(5)a and those mentioned in s6(5)b. Other articles in the Constitution make mention of language. Most salient of these, s185(1) mandates that Parliament create a Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities (the Section 185 Commission). the Commission has the power to, *inter alia*, establish "community councils" and to investigate rights abuses presumably reported by these councils. Overall, the constitutional section and the legislative Act that establish the Section 185 Commission bathe in the rhetoric of reconciliation. The first object of the Commission (s185(1)a) is to promote respect for cultural, linguistic and religious communities, while the second object is to "promote and develop peace, friendship, humanity and national unity" among those communities. We may also note that because its duties include raising awareness, maintaining databases, investigating rights abuses and making recommendations to organs of state where appropriate, the Section 185 Commission seems to have some overlap with the rights-mediation duties of PanSALB.

In Section 29(2), the Constitution sets out the right to education in the official language of one's choice. This right has certain limitations — of reasonable practicability.
He then critiques PanSALB starting on how it was formed and how it lost its track. He says, according to Heugh (2003) the idea of an independent language body first emerged as part of Alexander's proposal for "language planning from below", an approach that could be understood as emphasising governance over government (see Alexander, 1992). "Ordinary people", in terms of this approach, would propose local language policies that most closely met their specific preferences and needs. This grassroots emphasis did not, however, deny the need for some kind of body or "central agency" to facilitate local endeavours. In 1991, the National Language Project initiated a conference at which the idea of an independent language body garnered interest (Heugh, 2003). Since it promised, by its very unitary structure, to "arrest [the] linguistic balkanisation" perpetrated by the apartheid-era language boards, the idea of an independent language body appealed to members of the ANC. Additionally, because it would actively engage the promotion of multilingualism, the body would offer protection for Afrikaans and thus also appealed to many constituents of the NP. The NP, fearing the hegemony of English, lobbied hardest for such a body. The ANC, also sympathetic to an independent language body, assented, and in the 1993 Constitution there appeared in s3(10) the mandate for the creation of a Pan South African Language Board. While the word "board" suggested some continuity with the language

boards of the former regime, “pan” declared the Board as having a unifying perspective — one of multilingualism, rather than of multiple monolingualism.

The Board was at first also independent, accountable only to the Senate. Later, the brief history of PanSALB followed a trajectory of decreasing independence, and increasing subordination to governmental, and effectively party-political, control. Following the “Languages For All” Conference, and after some early delays, Roelf Meyer, then the Minister of Provincial and Constitutional Development, intervened to fast-track the PanSALB legislation. Soon after, the State Language Service (and not the Senate, which had constitutional responsibility for PanSALB) began the process of establishing PanSALB. Significantly, not only did this subordinate PanSALB to a government department, but the subordination was to the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST), a rather peripheral government function “far away from the heart of educational, economic and developmental planning”. Constitutive legislation was passed in 1995, but the Board did not acquire funding or board members until 1996. When funding did arrive, it came, rather improvidentially, through DACST, and amounted to the modest sum of R11 million per year (for the first five-year term). Owing to the fact that PanSALB is responsible for the eleven official languages, Khoe and San and sign languages, and the various community and religious languages, this implied that each language would receive less than one million rands per year.

In 1996, the fortunes of PanSALB took a decided turn for the worse when Lionel Mtshali took over as the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. Mtshali, in turn, assigned Musa Xulu, the Director-General of the department, to oversee cultural and language policy. Under the authority of Xulu, between 1996 and 1999, three major developments significantly compromised the independence of PanSALB. First, the new 1996 Constitution altered the mandate of PanSALB, eliminating its independent status and nullifying its relationship to the Senate. Second, in 1997, DACST announced that it would hand over responsibility for the expensive National Lexicography Units (NLUs), including the ongoing English and Afrikaans dictionary projects, to PanSALB. Though at first it resisted, PanSALB ultimately accepted responsibility for the NLUs, although on the basis of verbal undertakings that DACST later violated. In the end, PanSALB was stuck with eleven unwieldy dictionary projects, and only R4,6 million in funding to support them. Remarkably, R2 million was earmarked for the Afrikaans dictionary, R2 million for the nine remaining African languages and R600 000 for English. Not only did this constitute a highly actionable instance of inequitable treatment (each African language could expect R222 000 per year), but the added responsibilities, which outpaced the added funding, further impaired PanSALB’s ability to function. Third and finally, in 1999, an amendment to the PanSALB Act 56 formally subordinated PanSALB to DACST, reducing the formerly independent body to the status of — in most respects, at least — nothing more than a sub-department of government.

Simultaneously, the Amendment turned PanSALB's erstwhile obligations into mere options, by replacing in several sections the imperative term "shall" with the legally weaker term "may". For example, Section 8(1)c(5) of the principal Act directed: "The Board *shall* initiate or investigate legislation … dealing … with language". But after amendment, the same article read "the Board *may* initiate or investigate legislation …" (my emphasis). Considered alongside the departmental subsumption of PanSALB, this change can be seen as a serious weakening of the Board's powers. In this one case, no longer was investigation of legislation an obligation of an independent board, but rather an optional activity subject to injunction by the whims of government. PanSALB's independent powers had by this point indeed been "successfully eroded. In 1998, PanSALB finally hired a core staff, and began to undertake several projects, in areas from research and orthography to translation and advocacy. In November 2000, PanSALB launched the Provincial Language Committees (in essence, provincial avatars of PanSALB) and the National Language Bodies (one for each official language, plus sign language, heritage languages and Khoe and San languages) by way of declaration in the *Government Gazette*. There were overlaps in the duties of PanSALB and the NLS, especially when PanSALB was seen as subordinate to the Department of Arts and Culture.

PanSALB, as one of the language watchdog institutions, is charged with the duty to protect the language rights of citizens. PanSALB has the powers to receive complaints from citizens, conduct investigations, issue subpoenas, publish findings and "recommend" action to government departments, statutory bodies and even private firms. In light of the alterations of its original mandate, PanSALB cannot "instruct"; it can only "recommend". As a result, PanSALB on its own has no power to enforce its decisions; recalcitrant duty-bearers can freely flout PanSALB's findings. Exactly this has been PanSALB's experience; many government departments have simply ignored PanSALB's recommendations. For example, the Justice Department, blatantly violates Section 6(3) of the Constitution with its openly-avowed English-only policies, but there does not remain much PanSALB can do. A number of statutory bodies, for example, have each allegedly violated language rights by way of their English-only or English-mainly policies. PanSALB lacks enforcement powers as long as it remains, in the phrase so often invoked by those familiar with PanSALB, "a watchdog that cannot bite, only bark". PanSALB is also constrained by funding.

4.7(g) Excerpts from the: Report of the ad hoc Committee on the Review of Chapter 9 and Associated Institutions : A report to the National Assembly of the Parliament of South Africa : 31 July 2007 chaired by Prof Kader Asmal

Popularly known as Kader Asmal Report : Report on PanSALB

This report acknowledges that the marginalisation and suppression of indigenous languages in South Africa was part of the systematic and deliberate oppression of the majority by the apartheid government. By refusing recognition to indigenous cultures and languages, the apartheid government stripped people further of their heritage,

dignity, identity and sense of belonging. At the same time, the languages of the ruling minority were elevated and developed through considerable state assistance. The previous bilingual system that only recognised English and Afrikaans had the effect of systematically diminishing the status, usage and development of indigenous languages and also created access barriers to the limited government services provided to the majority of the population.

The report then delves into its understanding of what PanSALB should be doing. It states that the powers of the Board conferred on it by the Act may be grouped broadly as follows: advisory functions in relation to functions of the Executive; investigation and remedy of complaints; promotion of language rights and usage; and co-ordination of language planning. The Committee noted that there is a serious discrepancy between the provisions of the Constitution and the provisions of the Pan South African Language Board Act regarding the main objective of the Board. Section 6(4) of the Constitution states that "all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably" (Committee's emphasis). The Act on the other hand states that one of the main objectives of the Board is to create "conditions for the development and for the promotion of the equal (Committee's emphasis) use and enjoyment of all the official South African languages", When this discrepancy was pointed out to the members of the Board, they informed us that the Board preferred the construction of its mandate in the Act. The Committee notes that this view is not constitutionally tenable because the Constitution is the higher law and all law that is in conflict with the Constitution is invalid to the extent of the conflict. Moreover, the Committee is perplexed at the Board's assertion in this regard, given that the "equal" use and enjoyment of all languages in South Africa would have enormous and far-reaching social, political, business and resource implications and would not be possible.

The Committee felt that the Board has a very narrow focus and has therefore not fully pursued its extensive legislative mandate nor has made use of its extensive powers. For example, the Committee was unable to find significant evidence either in documentation or in its interactions with the Board that the Board has implemented programmes to promote the use of sign language, to promote the use of interpretation and translation facilities, to investigate alleged abuses of a language right, policy or practice, to facilitate co-operation with language-planning agencies outside South Africa or to monitor the observance of constitutional and legislative provisions regarding the use of language. The Committee was also of the view that the Board misconstrued its mandate as it relates to interaction with the public. The Constitution and the Act state that the Board must promote all official languages as well as respect for multilingualism. In fact, the Act states that the Board has a legal duty actively to "promote an awareness of multilingualism as a national resource." This necessarily requires the Board to embark on information and public education campaigns as ignorance and prejudice against multilingualism are amongst the greatest obstacles in its realization. This has not been done. The Committee notes that, because of this misapprehension regarding its mandate, the Board has unfortunately not devised or

implemented a coherent and sustained public education campaign. Instead, it has been involved only in ad hoc and reactive campaigns, thereby falling far short of what is required by the Constitution.

The Committee notes that in terms of the Act the Board also has the power to monitor the observance of the constitutional provisions regarding the use of language and the contents and observance of any existing and new legislation, practice and policy dealing directly or indirectly with language matters at any level of government. However, the Committee was informed by members of the Board that there has been no systematic monitoring of this kind – merely "informal checking to see whether there has been compliance". The Committee considers it unfortunate that no details are available about the monitoring of the observance of the relevant constitutional provisions as this makes it very difficult to ascertain the effectiveness of the Board.

The Committee noted with concern that the Board does not have in place a mechanism that would allow the public to raise complaints about its work. Moreover, the Committee was presented with evidence that the Board does not always follow up on the complaints it has received. The statistics at the disposal of the Committee suggest that the Board does not have the kind of public profile that the important work it is tasked to do warrants and requires. Moreover, the Committee considers the decline in the number of complaints received by the Board to be indicative of the decline in its public profile.

The founding Act of PanSALB provides for its members to serve impartially and independently and exercise and perform their powers and functions in good faith and without fear, favour, bias or prejudice, subject only to the Constitution and the Act. The Act also states that no organ of state may interfere with the Board or its members and requires all organs of state to afford the Board such assistance as may be reasonably required. Despite these legal assertions of impartiality and independence, the Act invests the Minister of Arts and Culture with wide powers over the Board. The Minister can terminate membership of any member on reasonable grounds, and can dissolve the Board on any reasonable grounds. The Committee notes that the provisions of the PanSALB Act are extraordinarily broad and afford the Minister vast discretionary powers over the Board. Such authority afforded to the Minister places a question mark over the Board's independence. Given these powers accorded to the Minister by the Act, it is not surprising that the Board informed the Committee that its relationship with the Department of Arts and Culture is not cordial.

The Board was of the view that the Department was encroaching on its mandate on language development, which, in turn, it felt, compromised its independence. This view contrasted sharply with a view from the Department that it sees the development of languages as one of its primary responsibilities. To that end the Department has undertaken initiatives involving the creation of extensive capacity in terminology development and management; the coordination and advancement of human

language technologies; language policy development; the provision of translation, editing and interpreting services; literature promotion and development; the establishment of language research and development centres; and the development of telephone interpreting services for South Africa. The Department maintains that there is no overlap between its responsibilities and those of the Board. Despite the provisions of the Act which, as has been pointed out above, give the Board a broad mandate to promote multilingualism and indigenous languages, the Department views the Board as an advisory body that may monitor the development of languages. The Department maintains that the Board cannot be expected to do the work of language development and be watchdog at the same time and that it is best suited to investigate complaints, conduct research, and monitor and make recommendations to appropriate institutions.

The committee also noted a clear overlap between the mandate of the Board and that of the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities. Both institutions are empowered to promote the rights of marginalised linguistic communities and to conduct research on this issue. While the Commission ostensibly deals with the matter from a rights-based perspective and the Board from a more practical perspective, the Committee is of the opinion that – apart from the work done by the Lexicography Units of the Board – there is in principle very little difference between the mandates of the two institutions. The Committee further notes with concern that, despite this overlap, the Board only has a tentative, unsigned co-operation agreement with the Commission. The Committee was also informed that these two bodies have not formalised their working relationship in any other way, although they do cooperate on an informal and ad hoc basis. The Committee is of the view that the absence of such an agreement leads to duplication and renders both institutions less effective than they otherwise would have been. The duplication of mandates also has serious cost implications. The committee also noted that huge chunk of the Board's budget goes to the salary expenses and the expenses of the Board accounted and only one third of the available money was spent on the mandated activities of the Board.

The Committee drew the following general conclusions:

- The contribution of the Board to democracy is limited
- Reorganisation of the Board will bring about a sharper focus on its constitutional and legal mandates and avoid duplication of work with that carried out by the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities and the Department of Arts and Culture.
- The appointments procedure for the Board requires revision, particularly to assert further the independence of the Board.
- The Board has a legal requirement to promote close co-operation with organisations performing similar work to its own.
- The Board be incorporated into the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities as a

joint activity. A new body of Commissioners capable of fulfilling the mandate of both bodies can be appointed. Such a transition would require amendment of legislation.

4.8 Questionnaire Sent to the Department Of Sports, Arts and Culture : National Language Service

Role played by National Language Service in the development of African languages from 1994 to date [year – 2019]

<u>QUESTIONS and Responses</u>

1) Sections and total staff complement

44 staff members

- Chief Director (CD) - 01
- Personal Assistant to CD - 01
- Translation and Editing (T&E) - 14
- Director (T&E) - 01
- Personal Assistance to Director (T&E) - 01
- Administrators (T&E) - 02
- Terminology Coordination Section (TCS) - 14
- Director (TCS) - 01
- Human Language Technologies (HLT) - 02
- Language Planning and Development (LPD)- 04
- Director (LPD) - 01
- Auxiliary Services (AUX) - 02

2) Overall Budget of NLS – and how much of it goes to operations and how much of it goes to remuneration of staff (percentages)

Overall NLS Budget which is inclusive of PanSALB's = R 177 404m

- Remuneration of staff – 18.7%
- Operations – 3.5%
- Contractual obligations for multi-year projects – 9.6%

3) Focus areas of sections

Section	**Focus Areas**
Translation and Editing	Translation and editing of documents in all official languages including foreign languages
Terminology Coordination Section	Development of specialised terminologies in all official languages

Human Language Technologies	Development of language technologies
Language Planning and Development	Facilitation of the development and implementation of language policy and legislation

4) Programmes and projects

Directorates	***Projects***
• Translation and Editing	Translating official documents in all official languages and foreign languages for all organs of state
• Terminology Coordination Section	Developing terminology of specialized domains, for example domains currently are as follows – • Engineering and construction • Road Safety • Information Communication Technology • Indigenous plants and animals
• Language Planning and Development	• Policy development and implementation • Skills development
• Human Language Technologies	• Autshumato V • Code-Switch Corpus • MobiLex • Speech analytics • Mburisano • Ebook Augmentation System

5) Effectiveness of each section

All sections of NLS are effective because they all achieve targets that are set for each financial year. (Refer to Annual Report on the DAC website)

6) Success and failures or constraints

All sections of NLS are effective because they all achieve targets that are set for each financial year. (Refer to Annual Report on the DAC website)

The unit has been successful in complying with legislation in terms of developing a language policy and implementing it.

7) Collaboration with PanSALB

Whenever there is a need to work with PanSALB, the NLS is always available and willing to do so.

8) Future Plans towards development of African Languages

- *NLS ensures that legislation that regulates the use of official languages for government purposes is in place so that national government can service people in the language of choice*
- *Development of terminology will continue in various domains to develop and promote African languages to a level where they can be used in most sectors that were not easily accessible*
- *Human language technologies are being developed to support multilingualism and enhance access to information in the official languages through technology, and this is continuing until all official African languages can access these technologies*
- *Official documents are translated and edited for in all official languages of South Africa and foreign languages*

4.9 Benefits of developing and using African Languages

4.9 (a) Document : Rethinking Strategies Towards Development Of African Languages By L C Yuka

- Human beings are more creative when they engage the world in a language with which they are capable of handling abstract and complex issues. They reflect, receive and process information, create and exchange ideas optimally in the language in which they possess native speaker intelligence
- Consistent poor performance of children in primary and secondary schools cannot only be attributed to teachers and material but also a language deficit in English
- There is an urgent need to produce scientists who can invent, produce and generate solutions to complex problems of Africa but sadly some of them cannot communicate in English
- People are an integral part of any government and in recognising that they are an integral part, the government must accept the socio-cultural aspects, principles and beliefs that define them as people and language is one of those.

Why are African languages not marketable?

- It is difficult to market African languages because they lack social, political and economic benefits that European languages offer. They are confined to cultural interactions
- African languages question suffers from avoidance, arbitrariness, vagueness, fluctuation and declarations that are void of implementation

Recommendations:

- Setting up of a language development academy that will help each language to express highly technical concepts and make each language a language of formal education and a language of government business
- We need to identify current language needs of Africans and functional benefits that languages offer and we give the languages functional roles
- Package intellectual output in our languages such as the way Chinese do it when they sell their products. They must be used as languages of export
- Allow citizens to compete intellectually in their languages and to use mother tongue as language of business
- We must insist on education that is knowledge-based rather than education that is language-based
- We need a dedicated language development plan, careful planning and consistent implementation of such a plan
- These languages have to be taught and studied by all citizens
- Government to encourage learners through writing competitions and prize awards for best writers
- Every speech community needs to be encouraged to value, protect and promote its language

4.9 (b) Extract from a Paper: Language as a 'Resource' in South Africa: The Economic Life of Language in a Globalising Society: Laurence Wright

Language is an economic entity – what the economists call an economic „good" – as much as any other social phenomenon. We have to explore the ways in which language behaves as an economic entity. Only once this "economic map of linguistic possibility" is securely in place – and this is far from the case at present - can we begin to decide where best to apply the limited human and economic resources at our disposal to make the deepest and most appropriate long-term impact on linguistic reconstruction. The key to fruitful implementation of any language policy is the intelligent harnessing of existing or untapped social motivation in its service.
No language planner has the luxury of starting from a linguistic *tabula rasa.* The pre-existing socio-linguistic forces at work in society are real and powerful. A strongly interventionist language policy, as South Africa's is in intent, must choose its battle-fields wisely, or become a paper phantasy of merely ideological import. The ambitious young South African is attracted to the globalised world of economic possibility both carried and symbolized by English. The central fact of South African linguistic ecology is the magnetic pull of the formal economy. It would be no exaggeration to say that *from an economic standpoint* the value of particular languages, countrywide, relates to their utility within the formal economy. What the linguistic ecologist in South Africa would like to ensure is that the power of English doesn't overwhelm or stunt the

potential of other South African languages. The question is whether there exists the popular will to accomplish this in any substantial way.

Policy provisions relating to linguistic equity and redress at the moment stand in marked contrast to emerging practice. The entrenched dominance of English at the heights of the formal economy raises certain questions about the character and depth of the educated multilingualism to be aimed for. It is vital to note that in principle the relative effectiveness of English or an African language as a language of learning (or even as a subject) is not a matter of intrinsic superiority or inferiority in either case. It is a matter of the availability of good-quality educational resources, both human and technical – plus the appropriate social and intellectual motivation. A properly functioning education system should be able to take learners from any language background and produce well-educated graduates who are proficient in the languages they have chosen to study, employing the language/s of learning of their preference. This must be the baseline assumption for educational reconstruction.

The development not only of high-quality textbooks but of excellent general reading material in abundance for African languages is critical if these languages are to provide cognitive and affective educational scaffolding comparable to that which is so richly available in English. Looking only at increasing the prospects for effective multilingualism in the education system, such work would include serious and wide-spread teacher upgrade efforts, development of high-quality textbooks for the previously marginalized languages (PMLs), whole-school management training, and general educational renovation, all requiring concentrated intellectual effort and hard work. At present, additive multilingualism is merely a theoretical policy prescription. The methodology, the training and appropriate African language text-books are hardly on the drawing-boards.

While this development and controversy works its way through the education system, English will undoubtedly become more firmly entrenched. It will do so because the value of English is determined by the wealth and power of the large-scale central economy in its relation to the globalised world economy, while the value of African languages remains in general tied to the utility of small-scale social communication and the value of local cultural heritage.

4.9(c) Extract from Prof Kaschula's input (Response to a Questionnaire sent to him)

1. We need a context driven, integrated language policies in order to ensure the maintenance of cultural identity, while creating economic prosperity for indigenous language speakers (Grin 1994; Vigouroux and Mufwene 2008).
2. Language policy planning and implementation should take place within, and contribute to, a dynamic economic environment.

3. Language planning in a globalised world, and particularly in South Africa, should be multi-dimensional, involving various role-players in local as well as national government and the economy. It should be a meaningfully engaged process with both a bottom-up and top-down approach in order to actualise the individual within the context of local and national economic growth (Alexander 1992; Docrat and Kaschula, 2015).
4. English is spoken by only 9.6% percent of South Africans as a mother tongue, yet it tends to command center stage in the workplace, often subverting the indigenous languages and their speakers. The notion that in the face of globalisation the hegemony of English is appropriate needs to be challenged. Indeed, there is a belief that any focus on indigenous language development is axiomatically opposed to economic development and global trade, that it is problematic, expensive and clumsy.
5. With globalization, there is a need for management policies that are culturally sensitive, context focused and driven to ensure that outcomes are efficient and effective and meet the demand of the triple bottom line (3BL). The dichotomy, global versus local, in sociolinguistic terms, implies choices of linguistic repertoire, i.e., between global languages and local languages (indigenous mother tongue languages, or home languages in South African usage).
6. Grin observes, '[t]he 'economics of language', or 'language economics', as a field of research that plays a marginal role in academia, but an increasingly important one in practice' (ibid.). Grin (1994) argues for a greater focus on the interdisciplinarity between language policy and economics.
7. South Africa has been recognized as having a progressive and empowering language policy. Section 6 of the Constitution (1996) places all eleven languages on an equal footing, though it recognizes the diminished status of the African languages and the need for 'parity of esteem' between all eleven languages. This contributes to status planning for all our officially recognized languages, but it does not necessarily contribute to market related opportunity language planning. Eastman (1992: 96) states that '[l]anguage planning refers to efforts in a socio-political situation to solve language problems, preferably on a long-term basis, by heeding the processes of social change. In relation to South Africa, this process began under colonial rule where Dutch and English were initially used as languages of economy. From this emerged Afrikaans, which under apartheid together with English became languages of trade from 1948.
8. Econo-language planning: This points to a need to integrate language, identity and economic realities into a coherent language planning process that takes cognisance of localisation (indigenous language and culture) in the face of globalisation. For this reason, language planners and language planning initiatives need to be overt in suggesting the need for an economic identity as part of language planning.

9. Different linguistic and socio-economic needs and conditions should therefore dictate the policy. Language planners need to have the best interests of the society in mind.
10. Official languages, which hold the key to economic power and otherwise. Official languages are used in formal public transactions such as the workplace and in education. However, in South Africa, there seems to have developed a quadraglossic model (building on Kamwangamalu's 2000 triglossic model) where English is at the top, followed by Afrikaans, then isiZulu and isiXhosa in third place, with the rest of the languages trailing behind in fourth place. Indigenous languages therefore remain on the fringes of economic use and are largely relegated to the informal economy. This excludes the majority of South Africans from the mainstream economy. Furthermore, the inevitable creation of a three-tiered economy emerges, with fluent English-speakers controlling the first economy, functional English speakers operating in the second economy where they can get by with their functional English proficiency, and those with no English proficiency relegated to the third economy or informal sector.
11. Research: Testing of benefits of monolingualism versus multilingualism and choice of working language - The particular contribution of linguistics to such interdisciplinary research is to avail complementary methodological approaches to the study of communicative patterns in the workplaces, such as, firstly, linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches addressing both mono- versus multilingual options for language policies in the workplace and the relevant issue of language proficiency and competencies. Secondly, cultural and ethnolinguistic approaches addressing both aspects of plurality and diversity of value systems and differences in terms of the actual use of patterns of communicative behaviour ('ethnography of speaking'). Thirdly, combined interdisciplinary approaches addressing the interface of language, mind, and culture under cautious revisiting of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis and 'linguistic determinism' in the narrow context of workplace communication.
12. It is the economic usefulness of a language that determines its future
13. We need a contextualised language planning initiative. There is a need for more coherent and contextually driven planning tools which ensure economic growth to benefit the masses. This formalisation will support the lobbying of governments to embrace the value and potential of languages beyond the quaint historical consideration and link with cultural identity, though an important one too.
14. Policies passed after 1994 speak to poverty eradication, reducing inequality, job creation and improving the quality of life for all and *promotion of economic and social transformation.* The irony is that none of these language policy documents make any reference to providing access to information in languages that the populace understand best, a fundamental error within the planning process. The poor have been left in a linguistic lacuna, largely uneducated and unable to navigate the world through English.

15. NDP recognises the complexities that face South Africa, but does not explore how language can contribute to social cohesion, or to economic inclusivity. Arguably, of the four thematic areas mentioned in the plan i.e. rural economy, social protection and community safety, the role of African languages should be unquestionable and of paramount importance in these three thematic areas. NDP encourages a renewal in terms of agriculture and farming. While this sector is seen as an important one in creating employment and food security in the future, it is doubtful that a small-scale farmer from a rural area would ever be able to access a loan from the Land Bank though the medium of English. How would they even obtain access to the bank – would it be through internet technology, which is often non-existent in rural areas, or would they have to undertake a costly trip to an urban area? If the NDP is serious about boosting agricultural production then access to any information regarding this plan should be facilitated through languages that people on the ground understand best. No-one should be disadvantaged in this sector, whether it be in relation to markets or financial access on the basis of language.

Policy makers must engage with language planning issues, particularly opportunity planning, from a multidimensional perspective: from language as a tool for cultural identity through to language as a tool for economic empowerment, to language embracing the potential of technology. Language planning activities must be driven by both the market needs, technology, as well as through government policy.

4.10 Language Development work and implementation by institutions of higher learning and by private sector

4.10.1 Extract from an interview I had with Prof Ngubane

Question: **Language development initiatives and projects that are run by the University of KwaZulu-Natal to develop isiZulu as a language**

We have about 600 students in our isiZulu department because we made isiZulu in this university compulsory. It does not matter which bachelor degree you are studying, you must have 16 credits of isiZulu in this university, whether you are doing law, medicine, Bsc, etc. A student does not attain any bachelor degree without isiZulu. This is achieved through the University's language policy that states that all students must do isiZulu. The university intentionally funds the roll-out of isiZulu. There is funding that comes through the vice-chancellor's office to ensure that we manage this huge number of students. They pay contract lecturers to ensure that we are able to cope with these huge numbers.

We have a language development unit that produces the material, it translates material and develops a vocabulary bank. We have a programme called Zulu lexicon (*and he shows it to me*) that is fed with new terms every day and these words are spell-checked. We have an isiZulu corpus App that one can download into a phone. We also have a translation app as well that translates words, terms and sentences from

English to isiZulu. We seconded Prof Khumalo to run this programme and when it is fully functional, it will be a programme of the isiZulu department because we cannot teach other languages if we do not have a term bank.
***Question*:** From your experience as a PanSALB chairperson, what do you think needs to be done to develop African languages?

From my PanSALB experience, let me start by saying that the passing of 2012 Use of Official Languages Act was a breakthrough. The core of the business of developing languages is to use them. Languages are meant to be used and we are not using them. They are hardly used even in parliamentary debates and Parliament is full of interpreters that are not used optimally yet they get paid monthly. That Act stipulates that, all departments must have language units that would employ language practitioners who would translate documents and all other material in at least three or four languages. That would mean that our languages are used and they are getting developed. It would also result in language practitioners getting jobs. Employing a language practitioner to translate a document into a particular language makes that language accessible.

We have been saying here that we want to promote isiZulu as an academic language of teaching and learning. That cannot happen if the teaching material is not translated into isiZulu. I thought this Act was going to be implemented. You find that the mother tongue speakers think that translation and interpreting is a waste of time. It is worse with consecutive interpreting where you have to wait for someone to speak and then interpret. That makes some people think that interpreting drags meetings and they take longer than they would usually run. Civil servants are the ones who are supposed to be pushing for the use of our languages. Why should we develop them if they will not be used? Even our children these days speak English and some people ask, what is the benefit of developing these languages? I think if the 2012 Act can be reinforced, our languages could be developed.

We also need to standardise orthography and spelling of each language. You find that different provinces use different words for the same item because people are influenced by other languages of areas that they live in. If orthographies are harmonised, then languages will also develop. Spelling must also not complicated so that it is easily accessible to everyone.

Question: What do you think needs to be done to develop our languages?

We need to speak them and to use them, starting from our homes. When you are fluent in your home language, it makes it easier for you to learn other foreign languages as you grow.

Question: There is a perception from parents that there is no value in learning African languages and there are no jobs for people who are studying African languages and that English is an international language and opens doors for their children to find jobs. We do not say that people must stop learning English. We need it to communicate with people who speak a language that we do not speak, for example, between amaVenda and amaZulu. Secondly, if the 2012 language Act had been implemented, those who majored in languages at a tertiary institution would easily find jobs in government departments. Lack of implementation of that Act robs our children of language jobs. This is the same argument with linguistics, students ask us, what are we going to do with linguistics? However, if you have done linguistics, you find it very easily to decode other languages because linguistics is about formation of languages. You can easily navigate from one language to the other.

At provincial level, if all provinces can set aside a budget for language development, languages would develop because there is always an excuse that there is no money or there are no resources. There is something else we are trialling now with the PanSALB provincial manager. We are doing an Olympiad to award the learners who have performed well in isiZulu. That is another way of promoting a language.

Another practical way of developing languages is to read books to our children in our languages. In literature, we need to start writing content that appeals to the current youth issues. Our cover book designs need to be attractive. We are conscious about morals when we make book covers and other cultures are not worried about morals, they use covers that will appeal to audiences. We need to transform the content of our books so that they appeal to young people of today. We are driven by our culture that speak of morals and respect and that becomes disadvantageous at times.

Another problem we have is attitude to our languages. We praise those who speak English. We should have pride in our languages. Those of us who are professors, when we mention that we are professors of African languages, we immediately pick some disappointment when you mention that you are a professor of an African language. We need to encourage youth to have pride in their mother tongues, otherwise after this generation, our languages will die.

4.10.2 Extract from : In search of the African voice in higher education: The language question : Russell H. Kaschula

An example of best practice related to the integration of language teaching within the sciences would be that of **UCT,** where since 2004 no medical student can graduate without passing vocation-specific courses in isiXhosa and Afrikaans. These languages are taught and assessed through a process of on-site clinical examinations (OSCEs), where the student is evaluated by both linguists and clinical skills experts when examining a patient. The objective is to evaluate how well the candidate examines the

patient while using the patient's mother tongue; in this case isiXhosa, Afrikaans, or English (Kaschula 2013).

At UCT, there is also the innovative work of the relatively recently-formed Centre for African Language Diversity (CALDi), which researches Khoi and San languages; as well as the Centre for Higher Education (CHED), the latter focusing particularly on terminology development and the creation of isiXhosa glossaries to aid cognition and transfer to English (Madiba 2014).

The University of KwaZulu-Natal also has innovative language-learning programmes in isiZulu for nursing and psychology, and recently made the study of isiZulu compulsory at the second-language level (Ngcobo 2014).

The University of Venda offers a Bachelor of Arts (BA) in Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS); and has introduced other African languages, including minority languages such as isiNdebele. A further example of best practice would be the isiXhosa glossaries that have been developed at the University of Stellenbosch as well as at the University of South Africa; for example in psychology.

The Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University offers short courses in translation studies, and has opened a Translation and Interpretation Office as part of the Department of Applied Language Studies in the Faculty of Arts. The University of North-West has implemented a process of simultaneous translation within the lecturing system, and text editing programmes for African languages which are ongoing and contribute to concept formation and terminology development.

One of the proven initiatives is that being pursued at **the University of Limpopo**, which offers a BA degree in multilingualism (BA Contemporary English and Multilingual Studies (BA CEMS)), where some subjects are completed in Sepedi (Sesotho sa Leboa) and others in English (Ramani 2011). This is a model that universities need to explore further, and the number of students enrolling for this course has grown exponentially. What makes this approach unique is that it is a linguistically mutually inclusive approach that embraces both English and an African language. It is perhaps the "most complete response" to the 2002/3 Department of Education policy.

Rhodes University

The teaching and learning of isiXhosa at **Rhodes University,** arguably a success story; as well as the creation and implementation of a language policy at the university as part of greater transformation. Through engagement with management and recognising a need from the student body, isiXhosa mother-tongue courses were introduced in 2008. It is indeed almost inconceivable that a university in the heartland of Xhosa speakers would not have offered isiXhosa at the mother-tongue level as part

of the Africanisation of the university; where isiXhosa mother-tongue students can learn about and in the language, creating “voice” where there was previously academic silence.

Today, there are 500 students studying isiXhosa at both mother-tongue and second-language levels at this university, from first year through to third year, Honours, MA, and PhD levels; as well as the vocation-specific courses discussed below. The Humanities Faculty Board has also accepted that postgraduate theses can now be written in a language other than English. Indeed, language has become a visible marker of Africanisation in what was arguably one of the most Eurocentric universities in South Africa, as reflected even in the controversial name “Rhodes University”. As part of this transformation, vocation-specific courses have been developed in journalism, law, education, and pharmacy; with the isiXhosa course that forms part of journalism being compulsory at either the mother-tongue or the second-language level. In other words, in the same way that a UCT student cannot graduate with a medical degree without passing isiXhosa and Afrikaans, journalism students at Rhodes must pass the required level of isiXhosa.

The above developments are informed by the university language policy, which was accepted by the Senate and the University Council in 2005 and revised in 2014. As part of a meaningful engagement exercise, the university approved the formation of the University Language Committee in 2011. This committee is made up of representatives from across the university community, from support staff to students, professors, and deans of faculties. The main function of this committee is to oversee the implementation of multilingualism on campus in a meaningfully engaged manner, to organise annual multilingualism awareness events, as well as to revise the University Language Policy every three years. The Rhodes Language Committee is based on the model followed at UCT.

The intellectualisation of African languages is seen as part of transformation at South African universities. At certain universities, this is being facilitated through centres; for example, the CHED at UCT and **the Fundani Centre for Higher Education Development at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology**. **The University of Johannesburg** has a Language Unit that fulfils this purpose. At other universities, it is being spearheaded by departments of African languages; for example at the University of Venda and the University of South Africa.

4.10.3 Extract from : Indigenous African Languages as Agents of Change in the Transformation of Higher Education Institutions in South Africa: Unisa : Pinkie PHAAHLA

In a few cases, language planning forms an integral part of the overall policy structure of the institutions concerned and is being managed at the highest level (Council, top

management and faculty managements). For example, at **the University of Johannesburg**, there is a Language Committee that operates as a committee of Senate and that comprises specialists in language planning, language teaching, translation and interpreting, literacy development and other developmental activities. Under the Senate Language Committee there is a Language Unit which carries out the mandate of the Senate Language Committee.

Only a few tertiary institutions have established strongly developed system of policies, plans, managerial capacity and support structures that will ensure the effective implementation of policies. In this regard, **North West University** is at the forefront of all of South Africa's HEIs. In some classes at North West University, the lecturing staff facilitates teaching and learning in the language of tuition, while the tutor interprets the lesson in the language students understand best. This may seem cumbersome, but the fact remains that the university does not find this way of doing things at all difficult, and certainly not impossible.

As far as other universities are concerned, it was observed that some of the historically bilingual institutions were now practising subtractive bilingualism, including Unisa. Unlike the other institutions, **Unisa** recognises and has declared mother-tongue education for all South African students studying at Unisa as its official language policy.

Language policy and planning at Unisa began in 2006 in the context of the harmonised policies of **Unisa** and the former Technikon South Africa. The University pursues a policy of functional multilingualism in order to accommodate the linguistic diversity of both its staff and students. The policy contains certain guiding principles, and these guiding principles are based on the clause contained in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996, section 6(1)–(5)) and the PANSALB Act (Act 59 of 1995).

Unisa Policy provides that **Unisa** will make tuition available in the official languages on the basis of functional multilingualism (par 4.2.1). At undergraduate level, functional multilingualism requires steps to be taken to ensure that all programmes are offered in all official languages. To advance the goal of offering undergraduate programmes in all official languages, undergraduate modules must be provided with a glossary. The Department of Language Services is facilitating the compilation of these glossaries. The Senate Language Committee may consider applications to offer undergraduate modules in English only, provided that a glossary has been developed.

4.10.4 *Extract from* Embracing African Languages as Indispensable Resources through the Promotion of Multilingualism

Nobuhle Ndimande-Hlongwa & Hloniphani Ndebele. University of KwaZulu-Natal

In an attempt to promote multilingualism through the use of indigenous African languages in South Africa, different higher education institutions have been involved in various initiatives aimed at facilitating additional language acquisition.

Various initiatives have been witnessed in **different colleges of the UKZN**. The discipline of African languages has produced a CD-ROM and manual for the teaching and learning of isiZulu as an additional language for learners and staff. The discipline also collaborates with other disciplines in other colleges in the development of discipline specific terminologies. The College of Health Sciences has formulated strategies of addressing the language needs of both staff and students in an 'isiZulu for professional purposes' course. Moreover, the objective-structured clinical examination in the clinical skills laboratory initiative, which involves the testing of clinical skills, has been incorporated into the new curriculum at the medical school (Kamwendo, Hlongwa & Mkhize, 2014). The UKZN Extended Learning Unit has also rolled out a basic isiZulu course for all staff members at the university, as well as innovative language learning programmes in isiZulu for Nursing and Psychology (Hlongwa & Mazibuko, 2016).

The University of KwaZulu-Natal's language policy and plan

UKZN's language policy was first adopted in 2006 and revised in 2014. The policy is founded on and supported by principles of national and provincial policy provisions, such as the South African Constitution, the Higher Education Act, the Language Policy for Higher Education and the KwaZulu-Natal provincial language policy, among other legislative provisions. This policy was formed in accordance with the 'university's vision to be a premier university of African scholarship; its mission statement to address inequalities of the past and which includes the injunction to promote and foster tolerance and respect for diverse cultural and social values…' (UKZN, 2014).

The policy recognises isiZulu and English as official languages of the university. These languages are also officially recognised as languages of administration. The policy acknowledges the dominant status of English in academic discourse, international trade and industry, and government and private institutions. Proficiency in isiZulu, on the other hand, is vital for nation building and effective communication between students and the majority of the KwaZulu-Natal populace. The university will continue to employ English as its primary academic language, while developing isiZulu as an additional language of teaching and learning in addition to resources that make language use a real possibility for communication by the overall university community. The university's bilingual policy is based upon the national policy of multilingualism,

which advocates for the promotion of 'respect for diversity in language and culture'. It is hoped that, if implemented, this policy will go a long way in promoting multilingualism for social, intellectual, economic, and cultural development (UKZN, 2014).

The UKZN language policy seeks to promote bilingualism and multilingualism. This is evidenced in its aims, which include the preservation and promotion of respect and proficiency in all official languages and other heritage languages in order to enable potentially valuable cultural, economic, and scientific ties. The policy also commits the University to the development of an awareness of multilingualism by acknowledging all the official languages of the KwaZulu-Natal province and their linguistic, cultural, and communication value. In its commitment to the promotion of bilingualism and multilingualism in policy and practice, it is stated in the policy that an approach similar to that proposed for the study of isiZulu and English would be adopted to encourage the promotion and study of other languages spoken nationally and within the African continent. These languages include isiXhosa and Sesotho in South Africa, Kiswahili, French and Arabic in the continent, and emerging global languages like Mandarin (UKZN, 2014: 6).

In line with its language policy, UKZN introduced a compulsory basic isiZulu module for all non-mother tongue speakers of isiZulu and related Nguni languages in 2014, as a requirement for all degree programmes. This was done as a response to the medium- to long-term strategy of promoting bilingualism at the university. In light of this, this paper views the development and promotion of isiZulu and other African languages as a linguistic revolution. This revolution is a product of Cobarrubias's (1983) vernacularisation. Examples of vernacularisation include languages such as Kiswahili in Tanzania and Hebrew in Israel. In South Africa, vernacularisation can be exemplified through the remarkable development of Afrikaans during the apartheid era (Kamwendo, 2006).

4.10.5 Human Language Technology Project By North West University's Centre for Text Technology (CTexT)

(*extracted verbatim from its website)*

The Centre for Text Technology (CTexT) is a research and development centre at the Potchefstroom Campus of the North-West University. CTexT does research on human language technology and develops language technology products for the South African languages. Human language technology makes the interaction between people and machines (computers) easier by allowing people to communicate with computers in natural languages (our normal languages such as isiZulu or Afrikaans). It also teaches computers to understand and produce human language (speech and text), so people can have access to new technologies in the language of their choice.

CTexT's four main activities are:

- Research;

- Development;
- Commercialisation of products and services; and
- Maintenance of products and support to end-users/clients.

CTexT's focus areas (within the field of human language technology in South Africa) are:

- Resource-scarce languages (especially South African languages for which little data exists);
- Development of applications and resources for easier interaction between people and computers (e.g. spelling and grammar checkers, machine translation systems and data development); and
- Innovative approaches to processing natural languages.

4.10.6 An initiative by The Dept Of Sports, Arts And Culture in collaboration with North West University

Autshumato is a series of open-source (free) translation tools, which were funded by the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC). These tools are developed and managed by the Centre for Text Technology (CTexT®) at the North-West University in South Africa.

The Autshumato Integrated Translation Environment (ITE) is a software program with a translation memory, machine translation capabilities and glossaries to help translators with the translation process. Although the Autshumato ITE has specifically been developed for the eleven official South African languages, it can be adapted for translation between any two languages. It contains:

The Autshumato Terminology Management System (TMS) that helps with the development of terminology databases which contain terminology from different languages. As this is a server based technology, TMS's have to be custom developed per request.

Machine Translation software which can be used to assist human translators in their work. Machine translation happens when computerised systems attempt to automate the translation process from one human language into another.

Other resources that were developed as part of the Autshumato project include alignment software, a PDF Extractor and a text anonymiser to safeguard privacy when using the Autshumato ITE.

The Autshumato ITE is already freely available for immediate use. Terminology and machine translation systems are server based and have to be custom developed. The South African Department of Arts and Culture currently uses such a custom developed TMS and machine translation systems for translation from English into Afrikaans, English into isiZulu and English into Sepedi.

4.10.7 Software application suite for compiling dictionaries : **TSHWANELEX** *(Extracted from its website)*

TshwaneDJe Human Language Technology is a private company that develops and offers dictionary- and language-related software and consulting services. TshwaneDJe was co-founded by David Joffe and Prof. Dr. Gilles-Maurice de Schryver (experts in software development and lexicography respectively) in 2002, based on, amongst others, a joint vision of improving the world and bridging cultures through better dictionaries.

TLex (also known as TshwaneLex) is a professional, feature-rich, fully internationalised, off-the-shelf software application suite for compiling dictionaries or terminology lists. It has been adopted by many major publishers, government organisations, academic institutions and individuals worldwide.

TLex can handle virtually all of the world's languages (thanks to full Unicode support throughout), and includes features such as immediate article preview, integrated corpus, full customisability, automatic cross-reference tracking, automated lemma reversal, Online and Electronic Dictionary modules (for Web or CD-ROM publishing), export to MS Word format and typesetting software such as Adobe InDesign, and also includes teamwork (network) support.

TLex can be used to compile monolingual, bilingual and multilingual dictionaries, and supports the production of dictionaries in hardcopy (printed), electronic (CD-ROM), and online (Web) formats. The TLex Suite also includes tlTerm, a similarly sophisticated termbase system for the compilation and management of terminology that also aids translators.

One of the goals in the development of TLex has been to produce a dictionary compilation tool that is easy to learn and use, based on the principle that users *should not need* to have an advanced level of computer literacy in order to compile dictionaries.

4.10.8 Technology Initiatives

***Localisation Initiative by* Microsoft South Africa (MSA) a*nd* PanSALB**
Mail And Guardian Article

Mother-tongue technology

Thabo Mohlala 07 Feb 2007 00:00

Microsoft South Africa (MSA), a global software leader, has introduced a pioneering language programme that will give a massive boost to initiatives aimed at promoting multilingualism in South Africa. The programme, called the Language Interface Pack, will initially be available in Afrikaans, isiZulu and Setswana and may be accessed through Microsoft's latest version of Office 2007.

Jonathan Hatchuel, MSA's Windows client and group executive, says schools that are part of the programme will receive computers with software already installed in the language they use. For example, a computer for a school that teaches in isiZulu would come complete with commands and toolbars in isiZulu. Hatchuel says the software would be free of charge and all teachers and learners could download it. The programme is part of MSA's global local-language campaign. It aims to add the other official languages as the project unfolds.

The initiative echoes Education Minister Naledi Pandor's sentiments about the need to develop and use the nine indigenous languages in schools (apart from English and Afrikaans). In an address to a conference on language policy implementation at Unisa last year, Pandor said, "The role of language and access to language skills is critical to enabling individuals to realise their full potential to participate in and contribute to the social, cultural and intellectual life of the South African society".

MSA spokesperson Kethan Parbhoo said the project is a product of "partnership" between various role players, notably the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB), the National Language Board, various government departments, translators and the academic community. Parbhoo said that aside from facilitating access to technology by ordinary South Africans, the programme also "facilitates the preservation of language and culture".

He added that language has been a barrier to computer usage and that through this effort this would be overcome. Parbhoo said "standardising technical terminology" was among the first steps MSA took and that it worked closely with "academia to translate the core terms glossary for each of the languages in development". To retain the integrity and "linguistic excellence", Parbhoo said MSA had sent completed glossaries to PanSALB for verification.

Meanwhile, Hatchuel said the reason MSA started with Afrikaans, isiZulu and Setswana is that overall they "are technologically advanced in terms of the use of phrases". He said the process took time, as MSA had to get "consensus" from the users of the languages involved. Although he could not give the actual figure of how much the project costs, he said it ran into millions. Siphiwe Ntuli, who teaches grade nine at Stanger Secondary School in KwaZulu-Natal, gave the project the thumbs-up. He said the school started to use the software early last year and since then learners have shown great enthusiasm and drive to use the computers. "I found that learners enjoy working on the computer and have grown in confidence simply because it is in the language they understand. There is that sense of closeness to it and as a result they are free to explore and learn new things on their own," said Ntuli.

Marietta Alberts, PanSALB's manager of standardisation and terminology development, said putting the project together was not easy. "It is no easy task to develop terminology for the various concepts being used. The terminology and related concepts are known in English but not in the various official South African languages. Terms have to be coined for the various concepts to act as term equivalents for the English terminology." She said the process also involved other PanSALB technical committees such as the National Language Body, whose task it was "to ensure the terminology used adheres to the spelling and [cultural] conventions of the language". This was also to ensure that no vulgar, offensive or politically incorrect words creep in, she said.

The next languages to be developed are Sesotho sa Lebowa and isiXhosa.

Windows 7 goes African

23 Nov 2009

Adrian Wainwright : Microsoft SA communications manager

Janine Erasmus

Software giant Microsoft's latest version of its operating system for personal computers, Windows 7, will be made available in 10 African languages, five of them official South African languages. The successor to Windows Vista was released to general retail in October 2009. This comes less than three years after the launch of Vista, which took some time to gain acceptance and was widely criticised at first because of its initial high cost, heavy system requirements, and a few other issues.

Translation into the 10 African languages is expected to be complete by the end of 2011. The move is part of Microsoft's plan to make the operating system available in no less than 59 languages by the end of 2011. Also scheduled for translation is the latest version of the company's productivity suite, Office 2010, which is currently in its first beta. Microsoft South Africa's head of citizenship, Vis Naidoo, explained that the translation work is to be tackled by teams from South Africa, Ethiopia, Nigeria and

Kenya. Work has already begun, he said, and by the end of next year users will be able to navigate through the programmes in the local languages of Sesotho sa Leboa (northern Sotho), Setswana, isiXhosa, isiZulu and Afrikaans. In addition to the five South African languages, versions will also be available in Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, kiSwahili and Amharic, enabling users across West, Central and East Africa to become as familiar with the operating system as their southern counterparts.

The company's 2003 and 2007 suites and other popular applications are already available in some 100 languages, among them Uzbek, Quechua, Tatar, Bosnian, Punjabi, Macedonian, and Kyrgyz. Translations are applied through language packs, which can be downloaded for free and installed in Microsoft applications. South African localisation and translation company Web-Lingo played an important role in the release of Microsoft language packs in Afrikaans, isiXhosa, isiZulu and Sesotho sa Leboa for the 2007 office suite and Windows Vista. Web-Lingo MD Sonette Hill said that 4-million words commonly used in these software products were translated by a team of 40 linguists and two project managers.

Unlimited potential

Naidoo is responsible for Microsoft South Africa's programme of uplifting communities by bringing the benefits of technology to them. This is done through private and public partnerships under the Microsoft Unlimited Potential initiative. The long-term goal is to improve the lives of South Africans as well as create sustainable business growth for the software company.

Lack of access to computer technology is a major stumbling block to progress, said Naidoo, and is estimated to affect more than half of all South Africans. The problem is exacerbated by people not being able to understand the language of the user interface. Naidoo was speaking at Microsoft's Local Language Programme Africa Summit, held in Johannesburg from 16 to 18 November 2009. The gathering brought together teams from Microsoft, the company's partners within South Africa and government representatives. The Local Language initiative is just one component of Unlimited Potential. Access to computer technology in their own languages, he said, will give millions of South Africans new possibilities for education and employment. Naidoo quoted a 2006 UN study which showed that learning and development is possible only through familiar languages, as people learn better in their mother tongue. Bridging the digital divide in emerging markets, by providing software in languages that are meaningful to the local population, is crucial to unlocking this growth potential.

Translation and localisation

Lionbridge Technologies announced at the start of the summit that it would help the global software company with localisation across 35 languages, including the 10 African languages. Massachusetts-based Lionbridge specialises in translation, interpretation and localisation. "Emerging economies such as those in Africa are becoming the next computing frontier with strong demand for productivity and mobility

technologies. Language plays a critical role in bringing sustainable technology adoption to these markets," said Lionbridge CEO Rory Cowan. Microsoft is working closely with government and academia, as well as relevant bodies such as the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB), in the development of its South African language packs. Experts are needed because it is important to maintain the style and culture of a given language, but also to accurately translate new terms, like "broadband", which have never before been available in that language. According to PanSALB chair Sihawukele Ngubane, localisation must make it appear as though the application was originally developed in the local culture.

The KwaDukuza Resource Centre in KwaZulu-Natal, an educational initiative for the local community, is one facility that has seen the benefits of localisation and translation after installing the isiZulu language pack. People who are literate in isiZulu but not in English can now receive computer literacy training, and the availability of programmes in their own language has encouraged people to enrol in greater numbers.

This is how the project started:

Microsoft SA requested PanSALB and its structures to assist with the localization of the Microsoft software interface. Microsoft SA decided to start with three languages, namely Zulu, Tswana and Afrikaans. Standardizing technical terminology is an important first step in developing a local IT industry and Microsoft SA has cooperated with academia to translate the core terms glossary for each of the three languages.

With a view to maintaining linguistic excellence, the completed glossaries were sent to PanSALB for verification and the sign-off of the final builds. The final products were sent to members of the Technical Committees: *Terminology* of the respective NLBs for verification and authentication. It was found that the glossary that the committee had worked on was not correct and various changes were made in the respective languages.

The launch of the Zulu Language Interface Pack (LIP) was held on 20 April 2006 in Durban. On 27 June, Microsoft launched a Tswana LIP for Windows XP. This launch was held at Maropeng Cultural Village. Microsoft SA launched the Afrikaans LIP for Windows XP on 26 July 2006 in Cape Town. The LIPs are available as free downloads, and users can install the LIPs as a layer on top of an existing original version of Windows XP. To download the Zulu, Tswana and Afrikaans LIPs, visit www.microsoft.com/downloads/.

Microsoft Vista *Language Interface Packs* (LIPs)

In August 2006 PanSALB signed a contract with Microsoft SA regarding the development of LIPs for the new Vista platform for some of the official South African

languages. Microsoft SA had requested PanSALB and the NLBs to assist with the development of Language Interface Packs (LIPs) for the new Vista platform for Zulu, Tswana, Afrikaans, Northern Sotho and Xhosa.

The process entailed the following:
• Development of a style guide for translation purposes.
• Development of a Policheck table for each of the five languages to determine offensive words that should be avoided in the LIP.
• Translation and editing of a glossary for the Vista LIP (extension of previous terminology list).
• Verification of terminology (glossary) by TC: *Terminology development* of the respective NLBs. Authentication is done by the respective NLBs.

The process is in the final stages of completion and should be finalized after authentication by the National Language Bodies concerned. This process will start after the builds are done for each of the languages. Microsoft SA indicated that they will start on the LIPs for the remaining official languages once these five languages have been completed. This project can be regarded as another important step towards the realization of multilingualism.

4.10.9 Translate.org

LOCALISATION Organisation

Localisation is defined by K Schmidtz as “adapting a product or service to a local or regional market, in this case languages which are adapted to “appropriate linguistic and cultural aspects. This is “performed by translators, localisers, language engineers”. Translate.org.za is one of a few institutions of a few that does localisation. Others include Weblingo, Afrolingo and Folio to name just a few.

TRANSLATE.ORG.ZA

This is how Translate.org.za defines itself in its website:

“Translate has been championing local languages in the digital world for well over a decade. During this time we’ve seen changes in the environment and built an amazing set of skills and resources that we are able to bring to our partners.

Our initial focus, South Africa, saw us working on the eleven official languages of South Africa. As our focus grew, we included Africa, where we’ve assisted other local language groups as well as ran Anloc, an Africa wide network of localization experts. Currently our focus is global as we work with companies and organisation to address all aspects of localization across the globe.

At Translate our skills cover language strategy, localization, training, tool creation, digitisation and enabling technologies. We focus on a much wider scope of localization then most other organisations as our focus is on how to make local languages thrive. Translate has had the opportunity to increase the understanding of the need for local languages at events across the globe, with the UN, ministers and other leading decision makers. Our aim when working with you is to bring our skills and help you to shape a path to most effectively deliver and service local languages.

Translation tools
These are localisation tools that help language communities translate into their languages.

Training
Translate.org offers customised localisation training and training material for languages. Translate has hosted training across Africa, Europe and Asia. We've also published various training manuals and contributed to localisation book creation.http://www.translate.org.za/10-things-localizers-would-like-developers-to-keep-in-mind/

Strategy
Consulting to define strategies for languages or strategies for organisations wanting to reach new markets. We draw on a wealth of experience in localisation to help guide state institutions to set in place localisation strategies for their languages as well as helping organisation prioritise target languages when targeting new markets.

Enabling technology
Building technology such as keyboards, fonts, locales and spell checkers that ensure a language can operate in the digital world.

4.10.10 Telephonic Medical Interpreter Service

A Telephone Intepreting System Developed by Folio

Folio Online, based in Cape Town, South Africa, launches a pilot version of Folio InterTel, a telephonic medical interpreter service, at four South African hospitals and one clinic this week

Folio Online : WEDNESDAY, 13 OCTOBER, 2010

http://www.folio-online.co.za

Folio decided to address the need for medical interpreting in the first instance. Says Folio MD Philip Zietsman, “In mid-2008 I became aware of an increasing demand internationally for telephone interpreters and particularly, medical interpreters. Clearly, South African hospitals and medical institutions would benefit by a cost-effective service of this nature. This is because English and Afrikaans are the languages spoken by most of the medical practitioners, but they are often unable to communicate with their patients in local African languages, let alone those from the rest of the continent. Tragically, what’s lost in translation could be a life.”

Project Manager Marli Viljoen has researched and developed InterTel over the last year. This involved approaching the Department of Health of the Western Cape Provincial Government for their cooperation, and a budget was finally approved just months ago. She recruited interpreters who are mother-tongue speakers of 32 different languages residing both in Cape Town and Johannesburg and arranged for them to be trained in telephonic medical interpreting through MITIO - Medical Interpreting and Translating Institute Online. She has liaised with the superintendents of participating institutions and the medical practitioners who will initially use the system.

The MITIO course was adapted to meet South African requirements, which are typical of much of the third world. Students of the beginner’s course were introduced to the terminology and circumstances surrounding AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and malnutrition, in addition to the normal curriculum. The system utilises current call centre software and interpreters are requested to log on to the system each morning. They can log on and off during the day as and when they become available and calls

are routed through to their cellphones. The aim is for the client to have to wait no more than 30 seconds to be linked to an interpreter in the languages of their choice. It is anticipated that the average call duration will be about five to ten minutes. Up to four conversations can take place simultaneously and all calls are recorded.

The majority of the interpreters have tertiary qualifications. Their MITIO medical interpreter training, in addition to equipping them with the necessary vocabulary to deal with their assignments, also provides them with critical psychological, social and communication skills pertaining to the job. These include: staying calm when breaking bad news; understanding and explaining certain diseases in non-scientific terminology that the patient can comprehend; ensuring that the patient's symptoms are conveyed to the doctor precisely as they have explained them and not summarising what the patient has said. Interpreters must avoid getting side-tracked into discussions of a non-medical nature with the patient and must also not be tempted to make diagnoses. Furthermore, being a remote service, some of the content of the communication may be lost as what is conveyed in the form of body language cannot be seen by the interpreter.

In the African context, certain cultural considerations are likely to influence the communication that the medical interpreter is endeavouring to convey to both parties. These could include shyness on the part of the patient when it comes to explaining sensitive medical details to a doctor of a different gender. Also, very often patients will have consulted a traditional healer in the initial stages of the disease and have only come to the hospital or clinic when the illness is far advanced. The medical interpreter needs to be aware of these factors.

The 32 languages offered comprise all of South Africa's 11 official languages together with other languages spoken by immigrants from the rest of Africa such as Shona (Zimbabwe), Swahili (Kenya) and Yoruba (Nigeria). Even Russian and Chinese are offered. Marli Viljoen says, "I am delighted that this project is providing opportunities for our interpreters and I hope that one day soon, medical interpreting will be regarded as a viable career choice for young people who have graduated with degrees in languages".

The pilot programme will run for three months, after which the service will be offered to more hospitals, clinics, pharmacies and dispensaries in the Western Cape and eventually, throughout South Africa, Africa and the rest of the world.

Folio Online Email: info@folio-online.co.za Web: www.folio-online.co.za.

4.10.11 Initiative by National Language Service (NLS) within the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) in collaboration with Private Sector : Interpreting System

Telephone **I**nterpreting **S**ervice of **S**outh **A**frica (TISSA)

VerJon Consulting Services (Pty) Ltd Cecil Golden, 302 Freesia Street Lynnwood Ridge, Pretoria

TISSA is an acronym for **T**elephone **I**nterpreting **S**ervice of **S**outh **A**frica. It is the initiative of the National Language Service (NLS) within the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC). It was initiated in response to South Africa's linguistic needs. TISSA would enable service providers, mainly government departments, to communicate effectively with their clients in the language of their choice. This means that the clients would be able to select from the eleven official languages and the South African sign language (SASLA) in order to ensure that linguistic rights of South Africans are protected.

The call Process

- **Step 1:** The official / employee makes a call to the share call number: 08600 TISSA / 08600 84772.

- **Step 2:** The official / employee is connected to the TISSA Call Centre in Pretoria.

- **Step 3:** The caller is welcomed to the TISSA Service and informed that calls may be recorded. The caller is asked to hold while the call is transferred to the first available TISSA Call Centre agent.

- **Step 4:** The call is answered by the agent who speaks to both the official and member of the public.

- **Step 5:** After the Call Service agent has been informed of the language required, the system produces a list of available interpreters and the agent selects the appropriate interpreter.

- **Step 6:** A call is made to the interpreter via the technology system.

- **Step 7:** The interpreter answers and accepts the call.

- **Step 8:** The Call Centre agent connects the official, member of the public and the interpreter. As soon as the agent is satisfied that the interpreter can continue, he/she releases the call.

 Step 9: The interpreter explains the interpreting procedure and then interprets the conversation.

 Step 10: The official and the member of the public commence with their conversation in two different languages. In order to be able to receive a detailed interpretation, the telephone has two handsets with a mute (silence) button on each of the handsets.

NOTE: Prior to the interpreting session the official will have to explain to the member of the public how to use the handset provided for the three-way conference call.

 Step 11: When the conversation has ended the interpreter terminates the call by putting down his/her receiver.

(The call is recorded throughout the process and confidentiality is strictly maintained.
TISSA interpreters have all been trained and are bound to a strict Code of Conduct.)

Some of these technology initiatives were abandoned.

4.10.12 Extract from : AFRICAN LANGUAGES IN A DIGITAL AGE: Challenges and opportunities for indigenous language computing : Don Osborn

- We need to put in place technical conditions to facilitate the presence and use of all world languages on the Internet.
- National policies, should guarantee and regulate the supply and demand of ICTS in local languages so that computers delivered to African schools would be equipped with local language keyboards and software. This will take a great deal of time and energy, but it is feasible and worth the effort.
- Nurture the local capacity for the creation and distribution of software in local languages, as well as content that is relevant to different segments of population, including non-literate, persons with disabilities, disadvantaged and vulnerable groups.
- A useful general approach might be to develop a phased, long-term strategy emphasising various aspects of ICT and considering which should be localised, in which languages, how, in what order, when, with whom, and with what support. Given the rapid advances in ICT, there is an ever-present need to coordinate efforts, plan developments and train people. It is worth calling for investment in educating a generation of African experts in localisation.
- Public education : on localisation includes several groups: computer users in Africa in general, especially those that work in a technical capacity but are not

formally involved in localisation, as well as others that occupy key decision-making positions within the localisation ecology (such as policy-makers, educators and business people).

4.10.13 Extract from: Creating Wealth through Indigenous Languages: By *Christo Owen van der Rheede*

Practical Steps for converting African languages into economically viable programmes in communities

The following steps are proposed for converting communities' indigenous languages and its related cultural practices into sustainable and economically viable projects and programmes:

- Identify the unique culture drivers in communities within the language, education, literature, oral tales, poetry, drama, art, music, dance, food, traditions, traditional medicine, architecture, design, fashion, entertainment and religious practices domains.
- Determine how each of these culture drivers can be utilised to establish local publication, advertisement, communication technology, radio, television, film, language practice (translation, editing and interpreting), electronic communication media, theatre, design, fashion, entertainment, health, retail, heritage, tourism and cultural festivals industries and enhance education.
- Conduct a needs analysis and identify the culture drivers which have already been converted into educational, cultural, intellectual, economic and development activities.
- Identify the stumbling blocks preventing effective conversion of culture drivers into self-sustainable and integrated development activities.
- Introduce a well-designed advocacy and training programme to change perceptions and to empower communities with the required skills and knowledge to engage in extensive cultural mapping.
- Such cultural mapping involves identifying and documenting all of the local cultural resources, such as writers, poets, musicians, storytellers, dancers, historians, museums, books, galleries, craft industries, distinctive landmarks, local events and other industries, archaeological sites, etc.
- Consult and network with other role players in order to establish long-term partnerships, such as amateur and professional cultural agencies. Amateur cultural agencies include individual practitioners, non-governmental organisations, religious entities, cultural groups and councils. Professional cultural agencies include the radio, television, print media, design, electronic media, tourism, heritage, cultural festivals, architecture, fashion, music, drama, education, book, crafts, language practitioners, advertising, agriculture, speech and language therapy, communication and related industries. They provide highly professional services which are geared at developing professionals for the cultural industry.

- Consult with these agencies and design sustainable and economically viable projects and programmes.
- Identify expertise to execute these projects and programmes and obtain infrastructure and funding to support the implementation thereof.
- Monitor, evaluate and re-design projects and programmes to ensure that they do add value and contribute to the development of communities.
- Use community media to market projects and programmes, keep community informed and strengthen these initiatives with supporting mechanisms to ensure long-term sustainability and growth. Community media must provide opportunities for local musicians, writers, translators and performing artists to show case their talents on radio as well as television and to establish themselves as professionals. The growth in the indigenous community newspaper sector provides similar career opportunities in journalism, advertising, etc. and entrepreneurial opportunities for those with an interest in sales, marketing, delivery, etc. Established newspaper brands such as Isolezwe, Ilanga, UmAfrika also promote the isiZulu language and as such set an example for other indigenous language communities to also establish newspapers in their respective indigenous languages. This requires the support of its speakers who will want to buy media products in the various indigenous languages. In this regard much can be learn from Afrikaans and its development as a language of commerce and science.
- Electronic Media: The digital space introduces new and very exciting possibilities for all of our indigenous languages, A number of Internet sites already exist in our various indigenous languages and depending on the traffic it generates; it creates opportunities for advertisers to advertise their products. Mobile Web opens up new possibilities since it enables more and more people to access the Internet. However it requires the development and translation of digital content in the indigenous language, because content interest people and where people go, advertisers follow.
- Social Media and social networking such as Facebook is also being used more and more by companies, people, advertisers, marketers and communicators. Social media therefore provides additional opportunities for our indigenous languages to be used for other purposes than just social networking. These additional opportunities include using indigenous languages to creatively engage with particular indigenous language constituency, because it is one of the fastest growing tools to engage with people and promote a service or product, or to get the collective input of people, or to run an online project which is aimed at assisting people who are still trapped in poverty

4.11 Gaps and Failures

The following section highlights gaps and failures to develop African languages and to implement the Constitution, the PanSALB Act, the national language policy and all other existing legislation and plans that were initially put in place.

4.11.1 Extract from: Language policy incongruity and African languages in post-apartheid South Africa : **Anne-Marie Beukes**

Implementation failure, related to the use of African languages, is blamed on inadequate congruence between government's stated language policy, and 'on-the-ground' language attitudes and practice. Thorpe (2002, 1) refers to the latter situation as 'a clash between ideology and reality … a problem that will not be easy to resolve'. As regards language-in-education policy, government is widely accused of 'procrastinating' and 'prevaricating' on the implementation of 'a potentially enabling language-in-education policy', resulting in the potential of many learners in the South African educational system not being realised, and literacy levels remaining unacceptably low (Heugh 2007, 188). Heugh is also of the opinion that economic and educational inequalities have not changed substantially, owing to government's prevarication and its disregard for the relationship between language and literacy, and language and social and economic development. Lafon (2008, 35) points to the fact that the use of African languages as languages of learning and teaching 'remains *de facto* restricted to underprivileged schools located in townships and rural areas'. This state of affairs is closely linked to what Wright (2004, 187) refers to as the 'horrendous mismatch between the possibilities implied in school language policy options and the current ability of schools to deliver'. The impasse may be linked to a lack of support from the very people those language policies and implementation plans are aimed at. Developing sound policies and implementation plans, paired with adequate infrastructure and resources is commendable, but two decades into the new democracy it is clear that another approach to promoting the use and development of African languages will be required, if the tide is to be turned.

Policy failures: Looking more deeply

It is clear that South Africa currently finds itself in a 'retrogressive' situation of widespread policy failure. Government's lack-lustre approach to policy implementation, together with the hegemonic position of English and negative attitudes regarding the functional uses of African languages, has resulted in language matters taking a back seat in government's transformation agenda. Many language stakeholders in South Africa argue that the highly acclaimed constitutional ideals, i.e. the protection of South Africa's linguistic diversity and the transformation of its historically marginalised indigenous languages, have since been sidelined. As a result, the fate of the country's indigenous languages is a matter of concern.

A report submitted in 2003 to the then Minister of Education by the Ndebele committee on the development of African languages as mediums of learning and teaching in higher education, concluded that '[t]he future of the indigenous African languages as mediums of instruction is bleak unless a long-range plan is devised that could be implemented as a concerted effort over the next two to three decades' (Ministerial

Committee 2003, 4). The report recommended to then Minister of Education, Kader Asmal, that 'there would have to be a coordinated, long-range national plan that would work at national, provincial and local level to provide adequate resources and support for indigenous African languages'. The report furthermore indicated that language planning agencies such as the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB), constitutionally mandated to develop and promote the use of these languages, and also government's executive arm in language policy and planning matters, the National Language Service (NLS) of the Department of Arts and Culture, should be 'consolidated further, supported, maintained and monitored' with a view to providing in the developmental needs of African languages and their users.

Language experts and stakeholders across the board are in agreement that the work of these structures has not been entirely credible. Criticism has been levelled against the 'convoluted institutional and interest arrangements between these two pivotal language policy and planning agencies, which have given rise to a plethora of contradictory and counter-productive (power) structures' paralysing the delivery of language development and promotion (Beukes 2008, 22). In the same vein, Webb (2008, 19) argues that it is time that these structures are subjected to critical evaluation, with a view to assessing their efficiency and the outcomes of their activities: 'Is the overall management of the language development agencies effectively managed? Schiffman warns that unofficial ideas and assumptions may impact not only on policy development, but also on the implementation of policy.

South Africa's exemplary language policy and planning initiatives have not realised their intended purposes owing primarily to the failed policy implementation of changes in the status of the African languages. The status change as regards the position of these languages, conceptualised as a political compromise during the constitutional negotiations, did not take into consideration the prevalent linguistic culture in South African society. In this regard a decisive factor, i.e. speakers' negative attitudes towards the instrumental value and high-status functions of the African languages, was not adequately taken into account. Negative attitudes towards the African languages manifest in numerous ways. One of the most 'visible' examples of the African languages being relegated to the back seat of public and political life is the minimal use of these languages in both the national and provincial legislature.

Addressing gaps between 'intention' and 'performance'

Language planning agencies, such as government departments and language boards or academies, are pivotal policy instruments in bridging gaps between 'intention' and 'performance'. In addition, PanSALB – in particular – has failed to institutionalise the use of African languages in post-apartheid South Africa. Institutionalisation refers to society's acceptance of the status of a language/s in a wide range of sociocultural and language domains (May 2003). Good examples in this regard are the Académie française (French Academy), the Hebrew Language Academy and the Afrikaanse

Taalkommissie (Afrikaans Language Commission). The establishment of PanSALB should, likewise, be understood as an effort to create a language management structure to facilitate the operationalisation of government's socio-political objectives of nation-building, transformation and affirmative action for previously marginalised speech communities. Language boards or academies are a function of the socio-political context in which they originate.

Negative attitudes towards the use of African languages as mediums of communication and learning – a legacy of Bantu Education – is a significant barrier which thwarts policy implementation. Lack of support from the very people whom government's commendable language policies and implementation plans are aimed at, is a serious language management problem that should be addressed as a primary focus in language policy review and remake. Government's executive arm in language-in-education matters, the Department of Education, must be blamed for its failure to devise and operationalise a suitable implementation strategy. The former Education Minister, Kader Asmal, argued that the reason why multilingualism was not implemented in South African schools was: '… because of the constitutional compromise in 1996, language policy (was) a voluntarist tradition. He admitted that parents and communities were not opting for the use of African languages, and thus government's policy was 'not working on the ground, because people do not understand it'. (DoE 2001, 25). At the time he announced that government would put measures in place to popularise the concept of mother-tongue education and would develop a National Action Plan for introducing African languages into schools. Not only has government failed to produce the promised action plan, but it has also failed to enter into partnerships with its strategic language planning agency, PanSALB, with a view to designing suitable marketing strategies to raise awareness of government's language-in-education policy, and popularise the concept of mother-tongue education. Language planning agencies, such as PanSALB, are well positioned to promote policy options among speech communities, so that parents and learners fully understand the benefits, disadvantages and consequences of particular policy choices.

PanSALB, as the government's only dedicated statutory language planning agency with an extended infrastructure consisting of provincial language committees, national language bodies and lexicography units for each of the official (and other) languages, as well as an administrative head office with provincial branches, is ideally suited to venture into language planning marketing strategies. PanSALB's mandate, as provided for in section 6(5) of the constitution, is to 'promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of (i) all official languages; (ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and (iii) sign language; and promote and ensure respect' for all the other languages spoken by communities in South Africa. To 'create conditions' to promote the use of a language is part of language planning, aimed at marketing languages and changing speakers' attitudinal and behavioural patterns towards language.

Cooper maintains that marketing language is about 'developing the right *product* backed by the right *promotion* and put in the right *place* at the right *price*' (1989, 72). Thus, marketing of languages for the sake of effective policy implementation – an area that has largely been neglected in South Africa – could be approached according to the same basic principles of conventional marketing. The challenge for language planners would be to identify a marketable product that education 'consumers' would find 'attractive' and 'value' accordingly, so that the desired changes in attitudinal behaviour may be achieved. Applying marketing principles could thus prove to be a solution to bridging the gap between 'intention' and 'performance'. It is foolish to imagine that negative attitudes towards the value of the African languages, and the lack of knowledge about the value of these languages as languages of learning and teaching would change markedly, without a dedicated plan of action and focused strategies. Giving concrete effect to government's Language-in-Education Policy will require proper language management, of which awareness and marketing campaigns are arguably pivotal. Education consumers would have to be assured that the product would significantly facilitate optimal cognitive development, good academic performance, good skills in additional languages such as English, upward mobility, and material benefits as well as a sense of self-worth.

Marketing language, like other forms of social marketing, is about leadership that requires planning, implementation and the control of strategies, in order to find solutions for language-related problems and hence facilitate social transformation. Departments of education are usually not equipped to operationalise the marketing of languages, because of a lack of dedicated expertise in that area. Finding the 'right product', vernacularising the indigenous languages, and supporting their empowering role in education through 'correct marketing action' should, therefore, not be left to government departments, but must be addressed in partnership with government's dedicated language planning agency, PanSALB, and its language-in-education desk. PanSALB's potential to create awareness of the role of African languages in education is being restricted because of its limited success in collaborating with government's executive arm in language-in-education matters, i.e. the Department of Education (PMG 2001), and inadequate funding by government via the Department of Arts and Culture. Judging by the damning criticism levelled against PanSALB, it is clear that any policy review and remake should address the role and function of PanSALB.

4.11.2 Extract from a text : The gap between language Policy and Implementation : K Marais (2013)

Legislation should be accompanied by a detailed plan of implementation spelling out timeframes of achievement of objectives, domains of application of policy, incentives for compliance and sanctions to discourage non-compliance.
There are no sanctions against non-implementation of Languages Act and no incentives either for using them.

There is no language code of conduct in some municipalities. For effective and efficient public service delivery, there has to be multilingual policies and plans at levels of municipalities integrated to public service delivery because local government is the sphere of government closest to the people and municipal institutions affect lives of people living within that municipality. A number of municipalities do not have operational language policies and communicate with citizens in English.
Indigenous African language speakers have an attitude to the languages because they are not given a social and an economic value.
Application of the Use of Official Languages Act does not cover or encourage other sectors of society to use indigenous languages. UOLA is inadequate for the following reasons:

a) focuses only on national departments and contradicts constitutional requirements. It only regulates use of official languages for government purposes and at national level and does not cover regulation of language at provincial and local governments. It does not even assign provinces to legislate on language policies. There is no regulation for language usage by municipalities.
b) No mention of domains of use of official languages.
c) No regulatory framework for implementation and no guiding principles.
d) It is silent on language equity and language rights.
e) No mention of language learning and language acquisition.

There are no mechanisms of remedies where or when citizens feel that their language rights have been violated.

Recommendations:

- Quoting Mwaniki (2004), for effective and efficient public service delivery, there has to be multilingual policies and plans at levels of municipalities integrated to public service delivery because local government is the sphere of government closest to the people and municipal institutions affect lives of people living within that municipality. A number of municipalities do not have operational language policies and communicate with citizens in English.
- Quoting Webb (2002), language problems can only be resolved through good language planning, effective language management and political will.
- There should be cooperation and strategic partnership between DAC (National Language Service) and PANSALB on implementation structures, implementation mechanisms, and monitoring and evaluation process to identify strengths and weaknesses in the implementation
- There should be proper demarcation and clarity on roles and responsibilities between DAC and PANSALB
- Political drivers, right personnel and resources needed to drive implementation
- Language policy implementation to be an intergral part of each department for service delivery and all ministers to account to Parliament on how it is

implemented by each department or be placed in a different department such as GCIS

- Awareness campaigns to communities and private sector about importance of language and constitutional provisions on multilingualism. Communities also need to be sensitised on their language rights and how they relate to every aspect of their socio-political and economic life, on their education and on their communication with and from government
- Training programmes for translators, interpreters and editors (and terminologists)
- Training schedules, training courses, short courses and training material for in-service training for language practitioners
- National Language Policy Review
- Public servants to be sensitised to language issues so that they can appreciate the value of serving the public in their different languages
- Utilisation of Human Language Technology Projects to enhance, supplement and assist language services.
- There is a need for a language review body to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the language policies and Acts, their effectiveness and ineffectiveness to realistically implement the language directives
- A multi-disciplinary approach to language as it cuts across many sectors such as health, justice, education and so on. It should not led by language practitioners only.

4.11.3 *Extract from a paper : Mismatch or misfit? Critical perspectives on language policy development in South Africa: Theodorus du Plessis (2006)*

Although it would obviously be possible to simply ascribe the problems relating to language policy implementation primarily to inadequate management, this would offer a one-sided perspective on a complex matter. To ascribe it largely, on the other hand, to ideology, no matter how important, would also skew one's perspective, say Spolsky and Shohamy (1999). It is therefore essential to describe carefully the interwoven relationship between language policy, language ideology and language practice, as argued convincingly by Spolsky and Shohamy (1999) and Spolsky (2004).

A reversed view of the particular problem regarding language policy implementation in South Africa is that the language policy could possibly be mismatched with language practice. Instead of wanting to identify deficiencies in policy implementation, one would be able to go back to language policy design and question the extent to which South Africa's language policy was designed to keep pace with the South African language reality. The work by Schiffman (1998) on the congruence between language policy and language practice brings us close to such a completely different approach.

Language policy congruency

Every language policy is culture specific, and that as soon as the linguistic culture of a community or society or political dispensation is understood, it would also be possible to understand what happens to language policy, including why a specific language policy arises, why some language policies work and why others do not, and so on

Studies of the language dispensation in South Africa mentioned earlier allude to the existence of an incongruent language policy. This would mean that there should be an investigation of the nature of the link between language policy (whether overt or covert) and language practice, taking into account the problems relating to such determination of correlation.

South African language policy can be described as one that divides the high language registers between languages with differences in status, languages that dominate these registers (Afrikaans and English) and languages that play a subservient role in these registers (the so-called historically diminished or marginalised indigenous languages).

Studies on language policy implementation in South Africa indeed suggest that what is written on paper does not necessarily have results in practice, but rather that there is evidence of a "mismatch between South Africa's multilingual language policy on the one hand, and language practices on the other. The language policy promotes additive multilingualism, while the language practices promote unilingualism in English.

The activities of the National Language Service and the Pan-South African Language Board overlap in a way that holds serious implications for language development.

4.11.4 Extract from an interview with Julius Dantile

Obstacles to Implementation

Political will: There is no political will from the ruling elites to face the mighty hegemonic dominance of English as it suits and meet their needs. Some of the policies are confusing and baffling to such an extent that they are not implementable. To the example given, UOLA stipulates that the Minister is the referee and the player at same time. Section 9 gives that Minister powers to monitor other government departments on the implementation of the Act while it is blurry as to the role of PanSALB. UOLA supersedes any other language-related legislation or policies which makes it more legally powerful than the PanSALB Act.

PanSALB Act : PanSALB Act is also incomprehensible too as it does not clearly state what the main mandate of PanSALB is between monitoring and development.

4.11.5 Extract from :

SaDTU's Discussion Document : The Marginalisation Of Indigenous African Languages on The Education System: A Critical Reflection on how African Learners are Denied Opportunities to Succeed in Life

Pupils who use African languages at home, and who do not perform well at schools because of the inadequate competence in English as the language of learning and teaching are excluded from full participation in the world of work (Chisholm, 2004; Reddy, 2004; Alexander, 2005). English as a colonial language carries a dominant ontology which threatens the ontologies of the colonised, leaving them in a position of marginalisation and alienation. To address this problem, the ontics of pupils have to be recognised. For pupils to participate fully in social transformation, or in the continuation of transformation of reality, a process of decolonisation is needed. A postcolonial approach needs to be developed that would avoid both neo-colonial imposition and attempts to revert to a „pure" traditional culture. The hope is that such a dynamic concept of culture and ontology, which avoids traces of neo-colonialism, would enhance the ability of pupils to participate actively in shaping an increasingly globalised and complex world.

Language exclusion occurs as a result of language politics, especially in South Africa. One way in which language exclusion occurs is caused by the notion of "official languages", where those who are fluent in the official languages become participators and those who are not, are excluded. In the unique case of South Africa where two of the eleven official languages (English and Afrikaans) are imported languages which have dominance in education, it is clear that children who speak African languages are at a disadvantage in that they have to cope with mastery of English before they can receive any meaningful education, while children who speak English or Afrikaans can go straight to learning new content without having first to learn another language.

Many higher education institutions in South Africa have chosen to set additional admission criteria regarding language. Many have opted for only one or two languages of instruction, (English and/or Afrikaans), not only for selection in certain programmes, but also for admission to the institution, despite the fact that many of these institutions have adopted multilingual language policies that include one or more African languages as additional languages of instruction and learning. One example is the University of the Witwatersrand, which requires a level 4 score for English as a home or additional language, in addition to the requirement that a candidate should meet a certain standard in terms of the total National Senior Certificate score and the minimum entry criteria entry into higher education. On the other hand, the University of Pretoria seems to have adopted an approach where the language criteria decision is left to individual faculties. The result is that most of the faculties have set criteria with regard to two languages to the exclusion of African languages. The use of language criteria for admission, as set by many of the institutions, is biased and unfair

to the detriment of African language students and these results in their exclusion from these higher education institutions. The language criteria at higher education institutions do not take cognisance of trends in international literature on bilingualism and bilingual education, and they are in contradiction to the *Language in Education Policy of South Africa*, as well as the *Language Policy for Higher Education.*

4.11.6 Programmes Started and Abandoned : Researcher input

Under the topic, *Language Development work and implementation plan by institutions of higher learning and by private sector* above, I have attached programmes that were piloted and started by PanSALB and the National Language Service. Those programmes mainly have to do with use of technology to develop African Languages. Those programmes need to be revisited and a budget needs to be availed to fund them.

Secondly, it is apparent from the literature written, papers presented in conferences that ground work was done to develop African languages. From the papers attached, a clear gap and failure is that implementations plans were never followed up such as those recommendations by Langtag.

Thirdly, I attached above a wonderful initiative started by National Language Service of the Language Research and Development Centres that would be attached to institution of higher learning. Other than the fact that these were heavily underfunded, they were closed down.

Fourthly, there is developmental work going on. This work is not collated. In addition to not being collated, not everyone knows about these projects.

Fifthly, both National Language Service and PanSALB fail to inform the public of the developmental work they have done. I have attached covers of terminology lists and dictionaries developed by these two government language implementing agents. There are very few people who know about the monolingual dictionaries available in all African languages. Terminology lists of scientific subjects circulate within language practitioners and government departments. The wider public does not know of their presence and availability, hence the repeated assumption that African languages lack terminology for scientific subjects and as such scientific subjects or learning areas cannot be taught in African languages. Advocacy and awareness is just not there.

4.12 Lessons from Afrikaans

4.12.1 Afrikaans as a model – Strategies for African languages : by Dr Botha (2010)

In March 1905 Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr, journalist and later politician, delivered an epoch-making address on invitation of the students of the Victoria College in Stellenbosch. He was asked to speak on the subject, **"Are we serious?"** Hofmeyr was deeply concerned by the erosion of language rights under the new British colonial system in all four British colonies. His address was a wake-up call to the Afrikaans community to insist on their legal language rights and to use Dutch in all public spheres as determined by law. Hofmeyr confronted the students about their tendency to write, to court and to practice their religion in English and about their belief that they needed only English for their future. Hofmeyr emphasised, however, that he was not anti-English. The future of Afrikaans depended on the will of the speakers to assert their language. That will does not emanate from the masses or political movements, but from the creative and leading role of a smaller group of intellectuals and opinion formers. Hofmeyr planted a seed in the creative minds of young intellectuals and at the same time he also started a national debate on the benefit and value of a first language.

Gustav Preller, a young journalist of the Afrikaans newspaper, *De Volksstem* quickly responded to Hofmeyr's "Are you serious?" speech in a series of articles titled "Let us be serious" in which he strongly argued the case for the elevation of Afrikaans. This was followed by a speech by D.F. Malan titled, “We are serious," in Stellenbosch in 1908 in which he stressed that the future development of Afrikaans was in the hands of its speakers. In the years directly following the Anglo-Boer War (1899 to 1902), the case for the elevation of Afrikaans was argued by a whole range of leading intellectuals in most of the prominent urban centres. They used literary works such as poetry and newspaper articles to make the Afrikaans community acutely aware of the beauty and merit of their language, enabling them to give expression to their deepest and most intense emotions.

In l909, the *Zuid-Afrikaanse Akademie voor Taal, Letteren en Kunst* ('The South African Academy for Language, Literature and the Arts') was established. In 1915 the Akademie awarded the Hertzog Prize for Literature for the first time and it is still the most prestigious Afrikaans literary prize today. The aim of the prize is to encourage the publication of Afrikaans literature and it is awarded annually for prose, drama and poetry on an alternating basis. Since 1922 the Akademie has also advanced Afrikaans as a language of science through the accredited specialist journals, *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe* ('Journal for the Humanities') and *Tydskrif vir Natuurwetenskappe* ('Journal for the Natural Sciences'). *Tydskrif vir Natuurwetenskappe* also publishes English articles. The publisher, Nasionale Pers,

was to play an important role. Its weekly magazine *Die Huisgenoot* from 1916 became immensely popular. For decades, it offered the widest variety of reading in Afrikaans. A major role was played by the academic publishers in establishing Afrikaans as an academic language. J.L. van Schaik, established in 1915 in Pretoria, is a prime example. The newspaper, *Die Burger,* was founded in 1915 and became predominantly Afrikaans in the early 1920s. In the 1930s, three more Afrikaans newspapers were established. Afrikaans radio also took off during the late 1930s. In 1914, the first measures were adopted for the introduction of Afrikaans language education in the primary school. In the 1920s, the first Afrikaans high schools were established. The universities of Potchefstroom and Stellenbosch were instructing in Afrikaans in 1920, and in the 1930s the universities in Pretoria and Bloemfontein became predominantly Afrikaans.

In 1902, the Patriot Dictionary established the roots of Afrikaans bilingual lexicography. As an instrument of language development it had an even more far-reaching influence. When Afrikaans was recognised as an official language in 1925, it became imperative to illustrate the adequacy of its vocabulary in order to hold its own against English as a well-established, global language. In the next decade two bilingual dictionaries fulfilled that role and played an important part in the standardisation of the language, namely *Groot Woordeboek/Major Dictionary* (1926) and *Tweetalige Woordeboek/Bilingual Dictionary* (1931). To establish a sound terminological basis, a language relies on dictionaries and Afrikaans followed the traditional lexicographic process with the publication of numerous technical or special purpose dictionaries, aimed at the terminology of a variety of subjects. The official recognition of Afrikaans in 1925 prompted the State to systematically support widespread translation into Afrikaans, which presupposed extensive terminological research. A central bureau for translation and terminology was instituted in the civil service, assisted by similar bureaus in a host of public service institutions (the Departments of Transport, Postal Services, Mining, Defence, Geological Survey, etc.) and parastatal organisations (the Wool Board, the broadcasting authority (SABC), the state-owned Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR), and the Energy Supply Commission (ESCOM). In the private sector individual subject specialists and some of the larger corporations also contributed special-purpose dictionaries. The State's terminological work was later coordinated by the National Terminological Services (NTS) that operated a computerised terminological data base and issued a catalogue of technical dictionaries. The NTS and the State Language Services of Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) amalgamated to form the National Language Service.

The thriving Afrikaans publishing industry produced a great variety of books for all tastes and on all levels, including a number of multivolume encyclopaedias, as well as many newspapers and periodicals. Bible translations and Huisgenoot magazines. Creation of Afrikaans cultural festivals that have grown steadily during the past fifteen

years. Because of these initiatives, there are presently 6,5 million speakers of Afrikaans of whom 3,5 million are not white.

4.13 Conclusion

This chapter has, through data analysis, painted a picture of what is happening about language development and implementation thereof in South Africa. It gave legislation background, as well as frameworks and structures that were put in place to ensure that all South African languages are developed. It presented the programmes that are run by government implementing agencies. It also painted a picture of what the education sector is doing to either develop or not develop African languages. It gave highlights of what some institutions of higher learning are doing to enact language legislation. It also presented language and technology programmes that can be emulated by government institutions and run with to ensure that previously-marginalised languages are developed and used in all spheres. The texts attached pointed to where the gaps in implementation are and what can be done to close those gaps. The next chapter will present structured and summarised findings and recommendations.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the researcher presented data analysis looking at what has been done to develop African languages in South Africa from 1994 after the country attained a democratic government. The data analysis looked at legislation passed and what was done by government implementing agencies, by institutions of higher learning and by private sector to implement language policies that were enacted.

The following themes or pointers were used for data analysis and findings will thus follow the same themes or headings, namely:

- The legislative frameworks
- Government implementing agencies
- Development and Implementation frameworks and initiatives
- Benefits of developing and using African languages
- Gaps – Failures
- Recommendations

This chapter therefore outlines findings from the data analysis as well as recommendations.

5.2 Benefits of developing and using African languages

With the dominant use of English in the formal sectors of our country, and the popular perception that it is the language of access to opportunities and upward mobility and an international language, the question on many people's minds may be, why should we bother to develop and empower African languages, why bother to implement South African language policy that recognises 11 languages for use; what is it that we cannot do without them and who will benefit when they are used fully in all sectors.

Data analysis in the previous chapter and reviewed literature in chapter 2 point to the following benefits of developing African languages:

- Human beings are more creative when they engage the world in a language with which they are capable of handling abstract and complex issues. They reflect, receive and process information, create and exchange ideas optimally in the language in which they possess native speaker intelligence;
- Consistent poor performance of children in primary and secondary schools cannot only be attributed to teachers and material but also to a language deficit in English;

- There is an urgent need to produce scientists who can invent, produce and generate solutions to complex problems of Africa but sadly some of them cannot communicate in English;
    - Using mother tongues allows citizens to compete intellectually in their languages;
    - Linguistic rights also enable a person to access information and knowledge, particularly basic scientific and technical knowledge, they are important for an individual's development, defined as the process of increasing and enhancing human capabilities, affording people access not only to material benefits but to such intangible benefits as knowledge and to play a full part in the life of the community;
    - All languages are used for communication, participatory democracy, access to education, health, justice, information and health. When these services are offered in English, speakers of African languages are marginalised;
    - On technology, availability of content and software in the languages most familiar to people is of primary importance for them to access and be able to use ICT;
    - A particular language contains and expresses the indigenous belief systems - socio-cultural, political, economic and technological - of any society. It is the sum total of time-tested habits, attitudes, tastes, manners, shared values, traditions, norms, customs, arts, history, institutions and beliefs of a group of people that define for them their general behaviour and way of life. Prah has been mentioned in the previous chapter stating that people's culture is at the heart of contemporary debates about identity, social cohesion, and the development of a knowledge-based economy and these are expressed in mother-tongue languages;
    - On Chapter 2 of this research, I wrote and quoted that DF Malan was conscious of how important language and culture are to the people when in 1908, he said, "Raise the Afrikaans language to a written language, let it become the vehicle of our culture, our history, our national ideals, and you will also raise the people who speak it";
    - Ability to grasp and understand information in one's language enhances effective participation of all citizens in nation-building. Okolocha and Yuka (2011:8) argue that one of the reasons the African continent continues to lag behind in human creativity and has thus remained a continent of consumers is because African governments have not recognized that when their citizens compete intellectually in a second language they end up being a step behind their competitors who employ their mother tongue as a language of business.
    - Kwesi Prah (2007:4) states that, beyond the issue of rights, it is important to note that language and literacy are very crucial for societal development. A society develops into modernity when its citizens are literate in the languages of the masses. In other words, it is not possible to reach modernity if the language/languages of literacy and education are only within the intellectual ambit of small minorities. Historically, the jump towards expanded knowledge

production and reproduction in societies has only been possible when the languages of social majorities have been centrally placed;

- Neville Alexander and Vic Webb continually point out that, to access information in one's own language when one cannot speak the second language, takes away that person's power. Alexander states that, if one does not have the requisite command of the language(s) of production, one is automatically restricted in one's options as regards access to employment and all that that implies in a state where employment opportunities are hierarchically structured and differentially rewarded. The self-esteem, self-confidence, potential creativity and spontaneity that come with being able to use the language(s) that have shaped one from early childhood (one's mother tongue) is the foundation of all democratic polities and institutions. Being forced, therefore to express yourself in English when one cannot do so fluently takes away some of one's power and confidence. If one does not command the language(s) of production, one is automatically excluded and disempowered. He says, unless African languages are developed and are given market value, that is, unless their instrumentality for the processes of production, exchange and distribution is enhanced, no amount of policy change can guarantee their use in high-status functions;
- Webb (2002:14) declares that language can be a gatekeeper, discriminator, which facilitates participation and sharing or can act as a barrier to accessing opportunities. Tollefson (1991) says, the great linguistic paradox of our time is that societies which dedicate enormous resources to language teaching and learning have been unable or unwilling to remove the powerful linguistic barriers to full participation in the major institutions of modern society. He goes on to say, language competence remains a barrier to employment, education, and economic well-being due to political forces of our own making. While modern social and economic systems require certain kinds of language competence, they simultaneously create conditions which ensure that vast numbers of people will be unable to acquire that competence;
- When African languages are not developed, their speakers are denied direct participation in public interaction with government authorities and contact with other groups, or active contribution in the economy and society at large, and access to scientific and technical knowledge and thus denied individual development and full realisation of their human potential; and
- African languages must be developed and empowered, and their role recognized as vital and indispensable for South Africa's over-all development.

5.3 Legislative frameworks

According to data analysed, the Constitution of the country recognises and provides a framework for development and use of all official languages. It states clearly that practical and positive measures are to be taken to develop historically marginalised languages. There is also quite a number of pieces of language legislation passed and

promulgated between 1994 and 2003 by the national Department of Arts and Culture. Extensive cost-estimates for language policy implementation were undertaken, by the National Treasury to calculate how much it will cost to implement of the SA Languages Bill, and by the Western Cape Government for the implementation of the provincial language policy. Everything seemed to be set and looked as if the Bill would be passed and policies would be implemented.

After 2003, for nine full years till 2012, everything went quiet on the national language policy and on the languages Bill that was supposed to be passed by Parliament. Meanwhile provinces and local government worked on provincial and municipal language policies and a number of them were passed. Some were implemented and some were never implemented and no one monitored whether they existed, and in instances where they existed, they were not monitored whether they were implemented or not. Financial excuses were continually given for lack of implementation. Policies that were passed were not adequately funded, leaving them in a state of paralysis.

After nine years of the National Language Policy, national government passed the Use of Official Languages Act in 2012 meant for government departments and state institutions only. That also was never monitored and in 2021, nine years later, most government departments have ignored that Act and there has been no consequences for disregarding it. It is therefore just there in paper. PanSALB, which is the monitoring agent, is not monitoring its implementation.

The national Department of Education accepted a Language-in-Education Policy (LiEP) in 1997 that gave school governing bodies the right to determine a school's language policy, that demonstrated an understanding of the benefits of promoting language in education and committed the education department to the principle of additive bilingualism. However, because parents see English as the most important instrument for getting a job and for occupational mobility, for getting access to quality education, success, social status, openness, modernity, progressiveness and access to international recreation, education is mostly rendered in English from Grade 4 upwards in government schools and in English and Afrikaans in former Model C Schools. African languages teaching is offered between Grade 1 and 3 in black schools in rural areas and black locations and from Grade 4, teaching is in English. African languages are not seen as appropriate for education as they are associated with inferior education.

The Language Policy for Higher Education was also passed in 2002. Universities and Colleges in KwaZulu-Natal have now started passing policies that force students to learn isiZulu and to allow learners who want to be taught scientific subjects in isiZulu to be afforded that opportunity. North West University in Potchefstroom is also hailed for passing and implementing its language policy in teaching students in English and African languages. In some classes at this university, the lecturing staff facilitates

teaching and learning in the language of tuition, while the tutor interprets the lesson in the language students understand best. A number of other universities have also passed language policies that accommodate teaching of various subjects in African languages and those are universities like Rhodes, University of Venda, UCT, Unisa and University of Limpompo.

Government entities also have their own language policies that recognise African languages as official but implementation is a far-fetched dream. Monolingualism in the sense of the use of English mainly, is the norm in most government entities.

5.4 Government's Language Implementing Agencies

The Constitution provides for the establishment of a dedicated language development agency, the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB), charged with developing and promoting the use of all the languages of South Africa including the Khoe and the San languages and the Sign language. The operational part is driven by :

- the Department of Arts and Culture's National Language Services, charged by government to develop language policy and coordinate its implementation.
- The Education Department responsible for languages of learning and teaching in schools and language policies and implementation thereof in institutions of higher learning,
- The Department of Justice for courts and police stations,
- Department of Communications for broadcasting,
- Provincial departments of Arts and Culture for language policies and implementation thereof at provincial level, and
- Local Government department for municipalities, however each municipality has to develop its own language policy that is aligned with the provincial language policy.

5.5 Implementation frameworks and initiatives

Immediately after inception of the new democratic government in 1994, the then Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology convened a Language Task Group, known as LANGTAG, to advise government on developing a policy and implementation plan based on the constitutional language provisions. Amongst the tasks of LANGTAG was to come up with strategies for language development. In 1996, LANGTAG submitted its comprehensive report to government. This was followed by producing of the first draft of the Language Policy and Plan for South Africa and the South African Languages Draft Bill and in 2003, the Cabinet approved the National Language Policy Framework (NLPF). An Implementation Plan was developed, approved and established. According to this plan, development and implementation would be done in phases over a reasonable period and the Department of Arts and Culture was tasked to ensure this phased-in approach.

Additional structures were proposed to support policy implementation, namely, Language Units in each government department and in each province, a National Language Forum, made up of representatives from government and non-government structures that would monitor the implementation process and drive policy advocacy campaigns, and a *South African Language Practitioners' Council* that would be established through an Act of Parliament to manage the training, accreditation, and registration of translators and interpreters

According to Beukes (2004), the Implementation Plan specified a broad range of mechanisms that could be used for implementation that included terminology development, translation and editing, language, technology, a language code of conduct, a directory of language services, language audits and surveys, language awareness campaigns, the Telephone Interpreting Service for South Africa, an information databank, the development of Sign Languages, language learning and budgeting.

Cost analysis for language implementation was done by national Treasury using a company called Emzantsi in 2001, with Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology and came out with findings that implementation was doable and sustainable. This was then followed by publishing and tabling of the South African Languages Bill in 2003 that only became an Act nine years later in 2012.

The Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) was established in 1996 in terms of the constitutional directive and would report to the Minister of Arts and Culture. It was tasked to manage language development and to protect language rights. It established the required language management structures, namely national language bodies for each of the official languages, lexicography units for each of the official (and other) languages, an administrative PanSALB head office with provincial offices and 11 provincial Language Committees. Monolingual, bilingual and multilingual dictionaries have been produced by National Lexicographic Units and terminology lists have been developed by National Language Service that falls under the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture, previously called the Department of Arts and Culture.

A language-in-education policy (LiEP) was accepted in 1997, which gave school governing bodies the right to determine a school's language policy, demonstrated an understanding of the benefits of promoting language in education, committed the education department to the principle of additive bilingualism, and expressed determination to promote multilingualism as a resource and cultural diversity as a national asset.

National Language Service ran with various initiatives involving the creation of extensive capacity in terminology development and management; the coordination and advancement of human language technologies; language policy development; the

provision of translation, editing and interpreting services; literature promotion and development; the establishment of language research and development centres; and the development of telephone interpreting services for South Africa.

Various Institutions of higher learning have developed their language policies and some have gone further and implemented them. Some private companies, some partnering with the department of Arts and Culture and PanSALB and others doing so on their own, have done wonderful work on technology for language development and language use.

Some individuals and institutions of higher learning started units of language development but due to lack of funding and support from government, others closed down.

In Chapter 2 of this research, I also mentioned other initiatives taking place to recognise official use of African languages and these are:

- Some national, provincial and local governments produce documents in various languages to recognise the official status of African languages.

- African languages have become more visible in the media, especially on television. There have been newspapers in African languages especially isiXhosa and in isiZulu as early as from 1884 with the establishment of Imvo zabaNtsundu and Ilanga laseNatali from 1903.

- Translation and interpreting services are offered in some government meetings.

- Signage in some buildings also appears in African languages.

- Some banks started introducing ATM instructions in African languages.

- Some companies and government institutions invited language teachers to teach African language in their institutions.

- National Language Service offered bursaries for undergraduate studies and PanSALB also had a similar programme at some stage but was discontinued.

5.6 Gaps and Failures

1. Anne-Marie Beukes (2009) states that implementation failure, related to the use of African languages, is blamed on inadequate congruence between government's stated language policy, and 'on-the-ground' language attitudes and practice. Theo Du Plessis (2006) supports this view and states that studies of the language

dispensation in South Africa mentioned earlier allude to the existence of an incongruent language policy. This would mean that there should be an investigation of the nature of the link between language policy (whether overt or covert) and language practice, taking into account the problems relating to such determination of correlation. Incongruence happens where there is in fact declared policy, but where the practice is not matched with the stipulations of the policy. According to Dr Mwaniki (2004) what lacks is a framework by means of which government departments can deploy the projected financial resources for the realisation of the National Language Policy Framework and he feels that what lacks the most is language management.

2. Du Plessis (2006) goes on to say, South African language policy can be described as one that divides the high language registers between languages with differences in status, languages that dominate these registers (Afrikaans and English) and languages that play a subservient role in these registers (the so-called historically diminished or marginalised indigenous languages).
3. A number of linguists have alluded to the fact that, language constitutional provisions were a compromise between the conflicting positions and demands of the various parties involved in the transitional negotiations. This eleven languages compromise arrived at during the final hours of negotiations was meant to restore the dignity of South Africans whose languages had been degraded by the apartheid system. Following CODESA, there was no in-depth analysis of how language would be used to restore people's dignity.
4. According to Kamwendo (2006), there are escape clauses in the constitutional clauses on language. Escape clauses give governments and other bodies excuses for not adhering to the constitutional provisions in full. Timothy Perry (2003) says, because of these escape clauses, human subjectivity lends a great amount of influence when weighing practical considerations such as "usage, practicality and expense" against competing rights-oriented considerations such as the "parity of esteem" and equitable treatment the eleven languages purportedly must enjoy.
5. On education, according to Lafon (2008), the use of African languages as languages of learning and teaching is restricted to underprivileged schools located in townships and rural areas. Prah (2006) feels that, in education, knowledge production and reproduction is carried out exclusively in either English or Afrikaans. The African languages do not feature in this area. SADTU, a teachers' trade union, refers to this as language exclusion. Language exclusion occurs as a result of language politics, especially in South Africa where those who are fluent in the official languages become participators and those who are not, are excluded. In the unique case of South Africa where two of the eleven official languages (English and Afrikaans) are imported languages which have dominance in education, it is clear that children who speak African languages are at a disadvantage in that they have to cope with mastery of English before they can receive any meaningful education, while children who speak English or Afrikaans can go straight to learning new content without having first to learn another language. In higher institutions, Phaahla (2014) states that, only a few tertiary institutions have

established strongly developed system of policies, plans, managerial capacity and support structures that will ensure the effective implementation of university's language policies.

6. Convoluted institutional and interest arrangements between the two pivotal language policy and planning agencies, namely PanSALB and National Language Service, have given rise to a plethora of contradictory and counter-productive (power) structures paralysing the delivery of language development and promotion (Beukes, 2008). Du Plessis (2006) supports this view and states that the activities of the National Language Service and the Pan-South African Language Board overlap in a way that holds serious implications for language. Julius Dantile also agrees and states that PanSALB Act is incomprehensible too as it does not clearly state what the main mandate of PanSALB is between monitoring and development. And according to the report by Kader Asmal commission on Chapter 9 institutions submitted to National Parliament, PanSALB is of the view that the Department is encroaching on its mandate on language development, which, in turn, it felt, compromised its independence. This view contrasts sharply with a view from the Department that it sees the development of languages as one of its primary responsibilities to an extent that it established a unit that is tasked with language development. According to this report, the Department views the Board as an advisory body that may monitor the development of languages. The Department maintains that the Board cannot be expected to do the work of language development and be watchdog at the same time and that it is best suited to investigate complaints, conduct research, and monitor and make recommendations to appropriate institutions.
7. Beukes (2008) also states that, negative attitudes towards the use of African languages as mediums of communication and learning – a legacy of Bantu Education – is a significant barrier which thwarts policy implementation. Lack of support from the very people whom government's commendable language policies and implementation plans are aimed at, is a serious language management problem that should be addressed as a primary focus in language policy review and remake. Government's executive arm in language-in-education matters, the Department of Education, must be blamed for its failure to devise and operationalise a suitable implementation strategy.
8. According to Khethiwe Marais (2013), there are no sanctions against non-implementation of Languages Act and no incentives either for using them. Prof Kaschula (2019) supports this view and states that the use and development of African languages should be incentivised as part of a market-driven process. There is also a view that knowledge of at least one African language should be a requirement for job placement and as is the case with University of KwaZulu-Natal, all learners at higher institutions should be obliged to learn an African language. This is currently left to choice in many institutions of higher learning.
9. A number of municipalities do not have operational language policies and communicate with citizens in English.

10. Indigenous African language speakers have an attitude to the languages because they are not given a social and an economic value.
11. Marais goes on to say, application of the Use of Official Languages Act (UOLA) does not cover or encourage other sectors of society to use indigenous languages. UOLA is inadequate for the following reasons:
    f) It focuses only on national departments and contradicts constitutional requirements. It only regulates use of official languages for government purposes and at national level and does not cover regulation of language at provincial and local governments. It does not even assign provinces to legislate on language policies. There is no regulation for language usage by municipalities.
    g) No mention of domains of use of official languages.
    h) No regulatory framework for implementation and no guiding principles.
    i) It is silent on language equity and language rights.
    j) No mention of language learning and language acquisition.
    k) There are no mechanisms of remedies where or when citizens feel that their language rights have been violated.
12. Julius Dantile (2019), on questions sent to him adds that UOLA has loopholes. He says, among other problems he finds in UOLA is that, it stipulates that the Minister is the referee and the player at same time. Section 9 of UOLA gives the Minister powers to monitor other government departments on the implementation of the Act while it is blurry on the role of PanSALB.
13. Julius Dantile, who has worked for many years at PanSALB, worked for the Department of Arts and Culture and for a municipality, and many other people believe that there is no political will from the ruling elites to face the mighty hegemonic dominance of English as it suits and meet their needs. Kwesi Prah (2006) says, most observers who have looked at the issue of language policy in Africa are agreed about the fact that there is a big gap between intended policy (planned or espoused policy) and action or implementation. One important reason for the vacillation is that elite interests have become very entrenched in the *status quo* and the use of colonial languages. Indeed, in a cultural sense, it is arguable that African elites owe their positions of privilege and influence to the use of the colonial languages. They are the languages of power, as dictated by the colonial dispensation and inherited by the elites. Therefore, where many frequently see the logic in the argument for the unstinted use of African languages, the ruling groups and elites are unable to, as it were, cut off the branch on which they are sitting.

    Kamwendo (2006) states that the success of South Africa's bold language plan depends on political will. Where there is a lack of political will to implement policies, one is bound to see declarations without implementation. Kamwendo quotes Neville Alexander (2003) where he accused the South African leadership at various levels of paying lip service to the implementation of a policy of functional multilingualism. In an interview with Brock-Utne (2000), Neville Alexander was unambiguous in voicing his frustration: "There is a lack of political will on the part

of the current government to have our progressive language policy work". For the implementations of language plans to succeed, the main propelling power is political will. Where there is political will, as was the case with the corpus development of Afrikaans (Raidt, 1999), there is always a way.

14. Coupled with the above point, according to Kamwendo (2006), language issues rank low in numerous problems of serious social and economic inequalities, and limited resources. Government is reluctant to invest in language policies on account of cost, yet in other areas of social policy, it is willing to tolerate costly or time-consuming procedure to promote equality. Providing funding for language issues is not a priority. He goes to on to say, a painful reality is that African languages are held in low esteem, the result being "the continued stigmatisation of the indigenous African languages". African languages have "a very low social and political status, being seen as almost meaningless in public life". Any talk about the elevation of African languages is seen as a roadblock to the acquisition of English. English is perceived to be synonymous with education itself. Another factor according to Vic Webb, is that some members of the SA cabinet have an ideological commitment to multilingualism and even to the value of cultural diversity. The majority of them do not regard the language issue as something that needs serious practical attention. It is probable that they believe that language management is only about linguistic and cultural rights and that language is therefore not a national priority.
15. The dominance of English remains unchallenged. Afrikaans, to some extent, also still enjoys official use in written official documentation. According to Prah, the implicit presumption is that only those citizens who are literate either in English or Afrikaans need to know what is going on the country. The silent majorities who speak African languages are thus kept in the dark. Prah states that it is not possible to develop the society in a balanced or socially sustainable fashion when the languages for the production and reproduction of knowledge are exclusively located in small minorities. The persistence of this condition undermines democracy in a cultural sense and entrenches a sense of inferiority not only to the African languages but those who use those languages. It makes for a one-way-traffic of cultural integration of the majority into the cultures of the minority. It will be therefore useful to encourage multilingualism on the basis of full equality of the cultures and languages of South Africa, as matter of public policy.
16. Lack of active advocacy work and campaigns: According to the Kader Asmal report submitted to Parliament's Portfolio Committee, the Pan South African Language Board has misconstrued its mandate as it relates to interaction with the public. The Constitution and the Act state that the Board must promote all official languages as well as respect for multilingualism. In fact, the Act states that the Board has a legal duty actively to "promote an awareness of multilingualism as a national resource." This necessarily requires the Board to embark on information and public education campaigns as ignorance and prejudice against multilingualism are amongst the greatest obstacles in its realisation. This has not been done. The Committee notes that, because of this misapprehension regarding its mandate, the

Board has unfortunately not devised or implemented a coherent and sustained public education campaign. Instead, it has been involved only in ad hoc and reactive campaigns, thereby falling far short of what is required by the Constitution. Lack of awareness campaigns has led to parents seeing English as the most important instrument for getting a job and for occupational mobility, for getting access to quality education, success, social status, openness, modernity, progressiveness and access to international recreation and African language speakers in general undermining their own languages.

17. The report to the Portfolio Committee also noted that in terms of the Act, PanSALB also has the power to monitor the observance of the constitutional provisions regarding the use of language and the contents and observance of any existing and new legislation, practice and policy dealing directly or indirectly with language matters at any level of government. However, the Committee was informed by members of the Board that there has been no systematic monitoring of this kind – merely "informal checking to see whether there has been compliance".
18. The report also noted that there is no system in place for the public to lodge language complaints and complaints about the Board itself.
19. The report also noted executive interference in the work of PanSALB through powers vested in the Minister. The PanSALB Act the Act invests the Minister of Arts and Culture with wide powers over the Board. The Minister can terminate membership of any member on reasonable grounds, and can dissolve the Board on any reasonable grounds. Such authority afforded to the Minister places a question mark over the Board's independence. These powers result in a relationship tension between PanSALB and the Department of Arts and Culture.
20. Also according to this report, there is a clear overlap between the mandate of the Board and that of the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities (CRL). Both institutions are empowered to promote the rights of marginalised linguistic communities and to conduct research on this issue. While the Commission ostensibly deals with the matter from a rights-based perspective and the Board from a more practical perspective, the Committee is of the opinion that – apart from the work done by the Lexicography Units of the Board – there is in principle very little difference between the mandates of the two institutions. The Committee further notes with concern that, despite this overlap, the Board only has a tentative, unsigned co-operation agreement with the CRL. The Committee was also informed that these two bodies have not formalised their working relationship in any other way, although they do cooperate on an informal and ad hoc basis. The Committee is of the view that the absence of such an agreement leads to duplication and renders both institutions less effective than they otherwise would have been. The duplication of mandates also has serious cost implications.
21. Whilst there is a recognition of the critical role of language in national development, there is no meaningful attempt to incorporate the language factor into national, regional and continental socio-economic development plans. Neville Alexander is also of the view that, the promotion of multilingualism and the fostering of our

linguistic diversity in support of the very social transformation that we have achieved in other domains, as well as the role of language policy in "promoting or retarding economic growth and development", have not been integrated into the national planning agenda. Prof Kaschula states that, NDP recognises the complexities that face South Africa, but does not explore how language can contribute to social cohesion, or to economic inclusivity.

22. There is a lack of a detailed plan of action for the implementation of proclaimed policy. There was also no follow-up on all implementation plans that were spelt out in the Langtag Report.
23. There were some great initiatives of implementation both by PanSALB and National Language Service but some were just abandoned or not adequately funded. On the chapter on data analysis, I mentioned technology programmes that both NLS and PanSALB were involved in that were just abandoned. The Language Research Development Centres were also started and later closed down.
24. There is also a view that PanSALB is crippled by inadequate funding from government, inadequate resources and financial support to facilitate its work. It has made things work by using that inadequate funding for continual litigation of staff members and the Board that has been going for years.
25. The same goes for government department and provincial language offices. There are under-funded and under-staffed language offices in provinces and in national government departments. Finances are always used an excuse when it comes to language matters.
26. According to Prof Kaschula, indigenous languages remain on the fringes of economic use and are largely relegated to informal economy. This excludes the majority of South Africans from the mainstream economy. Furthermore, the inevitable creation of a three-tiered economy emerges, with fluent English-speakers controlling the first economy, functional English speakers operating in the second economy where they can get by with their functional English proficiency, and those with no English proficiency relegated to the third economy or informal sector. Webb says that, ultimately, the language political situation in the country will lead to a continuation of the unacceptable gap in the distribution of wealth in the country and the further continuation of the disadvantaging of an extremely large group of people in South Africa. Proficiency in the language of power provides cultural capital for the select few individuals who break through the constraints of poverty and lack of opportunity.
27. Prof Kaschula states that policies passed after 1994 speak to poverty eradication, reducing inequality, job creation and improving the quality of life for all and *promotion of economic and social transformation*. The irony is that none of these language policy documents make any reference to providing access to information in languages that the populace understand best, a fundamental error within the planning process. The poor have been left in a linguistic lacuna, largely uneducated and unable to navigate the world through English.

28. The role and the value of African languages in formal economy have not been researched and established. Young South Africans are attracted to the globalised world of economic possibilities both carried and symbolized by English.
29. Content of literature in African languages, especially books, does not appeal to youth. It is moralistic. There is also a few newspapers published in African languages.
30. According to Kwesi Prah, the technological culture of South Africa is constructed on the cultures, and in the languages of its white minority. Knowledge, its production and reproduction, is negotiated and built in the languages and cultures of this culturally European minority. This disadvantages masses of South African society leading to a lack of social and cultural advancement for those with no linguistic access to English and Afrikaans. Vic Webb concurs and says that the incremental increase in the use of English is (at least co-) responsible for inequalities in the country: unequal economic and educational development, unequal social opportunities, the inadequate development of democracy and the restriction of cultural liberty (i.e. the freedom to be whom one wants to be). The all-powerful status of English facilitates and the promotion of an Anglo-American view of life, is a threat to linguistic and cultural diversity, is a powerful factor in discrimination, marginalisation and exclusion. Prah also states that the persistence of this condition undermines democracy in a cultural sense also entrenches a sense of inferiority not only to the African languages but also to the speakers of these languages. He says, without literacy in the languages of the masses, science and technology cannot be culturally-owned by Africans. Therefore, Africans will remain mere consumers, incapable of creating competitive goods, services and value-additions in this era of globalization.
31. Webb also alludes to a problem of what he calls a High Power Distance: respect for authority and seniority, with subordinates expected to be obedient, and less questioning of authority; the centralisation of political power and of decision-making; and a linkage between power, status and wealth. Because of this, no one is questioning the absence of implementation of language policy. The Minister decides, the departments of arts and culture at national and provincial levels and counsellors and mayors at local government make decisions on whether or not to implement language policies and on whether or not they should budget for such.

5.7 Recommendations for addressing gaps and failures

1. **Review of language policies:** Beukes (2009) recommends that in order to determine possible gaps in implementation, initial language policy goals, should be scrutinised with a view to assessing whether and how implementation has been realised. She also advises that, we acknowledge that our policies are (relatively) incomplete and may (or perhaps should) therefore be continuously re-made. A more appropriate approach would therefore be "policy analysis beyond the policy" (cf. Pretorius 2003). She advises that we avoid linear models and rather opt for an interactive model which views policy performance and

review as a dynamic process, allowing for policies to adapt and be altered. Webb (2006) adds that we need to periodically evaluate the effectiveness of language planning implementation. Yuka (2011) recommends that we have a dedicated language development plan, careful planning and consistent implementation of such a plan. Kaschula (2019) adds that different linguistic and socio-economic needs and conditions should dictate the content of a language policy and language planners need to have the best interests of the society in mind. Kamwendo also recommends that we need a detailed plan of action for the implementation of a proclaimed policy.

2. **Legislation of language development and empowerment:** Marais (2013) recommends that language empowerment and development must be legislated and such legislation must be accompanied by a detailed plan of implementation spelling out timeframes of achievement of objectives, domains of application of policy, incentives for compliance and sanctions so as to discourage non-compliance.
3. **Language as part of mainstream development planning**: Kaschula (2019) advises that we need a contextualised language planning initiative. He says, there is a need for more coherent and contextually driven planning tools which ensure economic growth to benefit the masses. This formalisation will support the lobbying of governments to embrace the value and potential of languages beyond the quaint historical consideration and link with cultural identity. Mwaniki (2004) recommends that language policy, language planning and language management issues must be incorporated into mainstream development planning. Marais feels that language policy implementation must be an integral part of each department for service delivery and all ministers to account to Parliament on how it is implemented by each department or be placed in a different department such as GCIS.
4. **Conscious and planned efforts**: Mwaniki (2004) also states that, implementation of a multilingual policy and plan for South Africa is not going to happen all by itself. There must be conscious and planned efforts towards realisation of implementation. He says, since the government at all the three spheres is the one that is constitutionally charged with the responsibility of facilitating the implementation of multilingual policies and plans, Community Based Organisations (CBOs), Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) that have a stake in the implementation of a multilingual dispensation for South Africa should engage in a campaign of advocacy so as to sensitise both the government and societies on the need to implement a multilingual dispensation for South Africa.
5. **Multidimensional approach and linkages**: Prah (2006) recommends that we establish cooperative linkages with bodies involved with similar or related work of cultural and linguistic kind. Kaschula (2019) recommends that policy makers must engage with language planning issues, particularly opportunity planning, from a multidimensional perspective; from language as a tool for cultural identity through to language as a tool for economic empowerment, to language

embracing the potential of technology. Language planning activities to be driven by both the market needs, technology, as well as through government policy.

6. **Transformation of attitudes and perceptions through awareness campaigns and marketing**: Beukes (2009) says, to address negative attitudes towards the use of African languages as mediums of communication and learning, PanSALB through its provincial structures, is well positioned to promote policy options among speech communities, so that parents and learners fully understand the benefits, disadvantages and consequences of particular policy choices. PanSALB, as the government's only dedicated statutory language planning agency with an extended infrastructure consisting of provincial language committees, national language bodies and lexicography units for each of the official (and other) languages, as well as an administrative head office with provincial branches, is ideally suited to venture into language planning marketing strategies. To create conditions to promote the use of a language is part of language planning, aimed at marketing languages and changing speakers' attitudinal and behavioural patterns towards language. She strongly recommends language to be marketed for the sake of effective policy implementation and also to change negative attitudes towards the value of the African languages, and the lack of knowledge about the value of these languages as languages of learning and teaching. This will require leadership, planning, implementation and the control of strategies, in order to find solutions for language-related problems. Webb advises that information be provided through the public media on the importance of language. Marais (2013) recommends that there be awareness campaigns to communities and private sector about importance of language and constitutional provisions on multilingualism. Communities also need to be sensitised on their language rights and how they relate to every aspect of their socio-political and economic life, on their education and on their communication with and from government. Prah (2006) concurs and says that there should be active advocacy work and campaigns involving both state and civil society organizations and to do so a systematic plan for this work needs to be drawn up. Van Rheede (2016) concurs and says, we need to introduce a well-designed advocacy and training programme to change perceptions and to empower communities.
7. **Incentivisation:** Kaschula (2019) recommends that the use and development of African languages should be incentivised as part of a market-driven process. Fluency in African languages should be rewarded in the workplace. Ngubane recommends that there should be awards for learners who have performed well in African languages at matric level as a form of promoting African languages. Yuka concurs and says that government must encourage learners to value African languages through writing competitions and prize awards for best writers.
8. **Intellectualisation of African languages** : Alexander (2011) recommends that all higher education institutions should participate in facilitating and promoting the goal of the National Language Policy to develop all South African languages

in such a manner that they can be used in all high status functions, especially as formal academic languages at higher education level. In the same way that English and Afrikaans are used as formal academic languages at higher education institutions, every official language of South Africa should be developed towards that position. Prah (2006) concurs and recommends that, we vigorously promote the teaching of African languages while simultaneously developing academic books in African languages. Webb recommends that African languages have to continue to be intellectualised, and their capacities be developed in order for them to be used in high-function formal contexts. They need to become fully-fledged languages of print, with scientific texts and literature of aesthetic value and a culture of reading and of owning books needs to be developed, particularly in rural communities. Kaschula states that intellectualisation of African languages is seen as part of transformation at South African universities.

9. **Learning of African languages in Schools:** Wright (2002) states that it is vital to note that in principle the relative effectiveness of English or an African language as a language of learning (or even as a subject) is not a matter of intrinsic superiority or inferiority in either case. It is a matter of the availability of good-quality educational resources, both human and technical – plus the appropriate social and intellectual motivation. A properly functioning education system should be able to take learners from any language background and produce well-educated graduates who are proficient in the languages they have chosen to study, employing the language/s of learning of their preference. This must be the baseline assumption for educational reconstruction. The development not only of high-quality textbooks but of excellent general reading material in abundance for African languages is critical if these languages are to provide cognitive and affective educational scaffolding comparable to that which is so richly available in English. Other efforts needed to implement learning and teaching of African languages are serious and wide-spread teacher upgrade efforts, development of high-quality textbooks for the previously marginalized languages, whole-school management training, and general educational renovation, all requiring concentrated intellectual effort and hard work.
10. **Centres for language development research and development work**: Alexander (2011) also recommends that there be centres for language development research and development work for each of the marginalised official and endangered South African languages that are to be located in designated higher education institutions. The basic idea is that a university or a group of universities would be given the task of developing specific languages such as isiZulu, or isiXhosa, or Sesotho, or Setswana and over a period of 10 to 15 years, steps would be taken to ensure that each of the languages concerned are developed in that particular manner. A step-by-step development and implementation plan should be formulated for each of the relevant languages, such that, among other things, it will be clear when they

will be able to be used as languages of tuition in specific disciplines. Yuka also recommends that we set up a language development academy that will help each language to express highly technical concepts and make each language a language of formal education and a language of government business.

11. **Research**: Kaschula (2014) says, we need to do research to test benefits of monolingualism versus multilingualism and choice of working languages. The particular contribution of linguistics to such interdisciplinary research is to avail complementary methodological approaches to the study of communicative patterns in the workplaces. Yuka suggests that in the research we identify current language needs of Africans and functional benefits that languages offer and we give the languages functional roles. We must re-examine factors that can compel Africans and non-Africans to learn and employ African languages.
12. **Removal of interference and control of core business by language implementing agencies:** Kader Asmal report to the portfolio committee, reviewing performance of PanSALB recommends that language implementing agencies must have control over those matters that are directly connected with their functions under the Constitution and under the relevant legislation. These institutions must retain the ability to maintain operational control over their core business so that they perform their duties impartially. This control involves removal of the role of Ministers in appointments of chairpersons of boards and managerial staff of these agencies. Chairpersons should be appointed either by the institutions themselves or by the relevant parliamentary committee and public involvement in appointment processes should be enhanced.
13. **Determination of core business of PanSALB**: The Portfolio Committee also voiced a view in that report that PanSALB cannot be expected to do the work of language development and be watchdog at the same time and that it is best suited to investigate complaints, conduct research, verify language work done, do awareness campaigns, monitor and make recommendations to appropriate institutions. It therefore felt that PanSALB needs to be re-organised. Reorganisation of the Board would bring about a sharper focus on its constitutional and legal mandates and avoid duplication of work with that carried out by the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities and the Department of Arts and Culture. Marais concurs and says that there should be proper demarcation and clarity on roles and responsibilities between National Language Service and PANSALB and there should be cooperation and strategic partnership between these two implementing agencies on implementation structures, implementation mechanisms, and monitoring and evaluation process to identify strengths and weaknesses in the implementation of language policies and language programmes.
14. **On technology:** Osborn (2010) recommends that there needs to be frameworks in place, for technology presence. He says that national policies, should guarantee and regulate the supply and demand of ICTS in local languages so that content that is relevant to different segments of population,

including non-literate, persons with disabilities, disadvantaged and vulnerable groups is availed and so that computers delivered to African schools would be equipped with local language keyboards and software. This will take a great deal of time and energy, but it is feasible and worth the effort. We need to strategise on processes, identify role-players and put timeframes for implementation, identify implementers are to be identified and encourage collaboration between private sector, institutions of higher learning and government to make this exercise effective as private sector and universities are fairly advanced on technology.

15. **Corpus Planning:** Kamwendo (2006) says that it is not enough to simply declare the previously marginalised languages as official languages. There is a need to have this declaration of official recognition accompanied by appropriate corpus development. Language planning has been categorised into status planning and corpus planning and both are needed to develop a language. Corpus planning is the technical empowerment of a selected language or dialect. The objective of corpus planning is to enable a language or dialect to carry out effectively the functions that have been allocated to it.
16. **Using African languages as economic tools:** Wright (2002) states that, language is an economic entity as much as any other social phenomenon. He says, we need to explore ways in which language behaves as an economic entity. When this economic map of linguistic possibility is securely in place we can then begin to decide where best to apply the limited human and economic resources at our disposal to make the deepest and most appropriate long-term impact on linguistic reconstruction. He says we must begin by harnessing existing or untapped social motivation. Young South Africans are attracted to the globalised world of economic possibility both carried and symbolized by English and we need to tap into that. The value of English is determined by the wealth and power of the large-scale central economy in its relation to the globalised world economy, while the value of African languages remains in general tied to the utility of small-scale social communication and the value of local cultural heritage. He says, the central fact of South African linguistic ecology is the magnetic pull of the formal economy and the value of particular languages, countrywide, relates to their utility within the formal economy.

    Kaschula states that, in order to facilitate the use of African languages in the high status domain of economics, we need a consolidated plan that includes politicians, economists, linguists, NGOs and any other party that views the inclusivity of language usage as fundamental to economic growth and the sustainability of nations. He recommends econo-language planning where there is an integration language, identity and economic realities into a coherent language planning process that takes cognisance of localisation (indigenous language and culture) in the face of globalisation. He then says, for this reason, language planners and language planning initiatives need to be overt in suggesting the need for an economic identity as part of language planning. He says, there must be interdisciplinarity between language policy and economics.

Yuka recommends that we focus on knowledge based economies, creativity and innovative skills and package intellectual output in our languages such as the way Chinese do it when they sell their products. This will force the global market to take notice of our languages. They must be used as languages of export

17. **Budget and funding for language development:** Ngubane strongly recommends that budget should be set aside for language development at national, provincial and municipal level. He says, development of our languages needs to be heavily funded by government for it to take off successfully to an extent of even having tenders/bids for language development. For PanSALB funding, the Portfolio Committee on Arts and Culture in national Parliament, the Committee is of the view that Parliament's Budget Vote would be a more appropriate location for the budget of PanSALB. Furthermore, the Committee highlights the requirement for Parliament to establish or identify appropriate structures and mechanisms to ensure an effective and efficient budget process. The process should be negotiated with National Treasury and should afford PanSALB and Chapter 9 institutions adequate opportunity to motivate their budget submissions directly to National Treasury before decisions on the budget allocations are taken. Afrikaans was elevated and developed through considerable state assistance and the same should be done for African languages.
18. **Benchmarking and learning from programmes of others:** A few universities have started programmes that enforce use and development of African languages. The University of KwaZulu-Natal funds the roll-out of isiZulu. It pays contract lecturers to ensure that we are able to cope with huge numbers of students. It has a language development unit that produces the material, translates material and develops a vocabulary bank. This is achieved through the University's language policy that states that all students at this university must take isiZulu as a learning area or subject. A student cannot attain any bachelor degree without isiZulu. The University of Stellenbosch has a language development centre that amongst other functions develops isiXhosa terminology. Kaschula makes mention of some of the universities. He says, UCT integrated language teaching within medical sciences from 2004. No medical student can graduate without passing vocation-specific courses in isiXhosa and Afrikaans. These languages are taught and assessed through a process of on-site clinical examinations (OSCEs), where the student is evaluated by both linguists and clinical skills experts when examining a patient. The objective is to evaluate how well the candidate examines the patient while using the patient's mother tongue; in this case isiXhosa, Afrikaans, or English The Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University offers short courses in translation studies, and has opened a Translation and Interpretation Office as part of the Department of Applied Language Studies in the Faculty of Arts. The University of North-West has implemented a process of simultaneous translation within

the lecturing system, and text editing programmes for African languages which are ongoing and contribute to concept formation and terminology development.

The University of Limpopo offers a BA degree in multilingualism (BA Contemporary English and Multilingual Studies (BA CEMS)), where some subjects are completed in Sepedi (Sesotho sa Leboa) and others in English. At Rhodes University, vocation-specific courses have been developed in journalism, law, education, and pharmacy; with the isiXhosa course that forms part of journalism being compulsory at either the mother-tongue or the second-language level. Phaahla mentions that Unisa has language policy that provides for tuition in all official languages on the basis of functional multilingualism. To advance the goal of offering undergraduate programmes in all official languages, undergraduate modules are provided with a glossary. The Department of Language Services is facilitating the compilation of these glossaries. University of Johannesburg has a Language Unit that focuses on intellectualisation of African languages.

These programmes can be emulated by all institutions of higher learning. One institution can learn from another university, study how it did it and develop its own programme with a goal to develop and intellectualise African languages. The Department of Arts and Culture can study these programmes and formulate a document enforcing all institutions of higher learning to follow suite.

19. **Optimum use of languages**: Ngubane says that, the core of the business of developing languages is to use them. Languages are meant to be used and we are not using them. They are hardly used even in parliamentary debates. For languages to develop they need to be used in all sectors. Yuka concurs and recommends that every speech community needs to be encouraged to value, protect, promote and use its language. People must be made aware of programmes like TISSA that allows them to communicate with government in all official languages and access services and/or information in their languages.
20. **Monitoring and creation of proper platforms for complaints:** Perry (2003) states that PanSALB has the powers to receive complaints from citizens, conduct investigations, issue subpoenas, publish findings and “recommend” action to government departments, statutory bodies and even private firms. He says, according to its Act, PanSALB cannot “instruct”; it can only “recommend”. As a result, PanSALB on its own has no power to enforce its decisions; recalcitrant duty-bearers can freely flout PanSALB’s findings. Exactly this has been PanSALB’s experience; many government departments have simply ignored PanSALB’s recommendations and as a result PanSALB is often referred as a toothless institution. There once was a unit in PanSALB for linguistic human rights and monitoring but it was closed and staff fired in the legal battles at PanSALB in the name of reducing overbloated PanSALB without checking importance of the presence of that unit. This gap needs to be closed

and this function needs to be revisited. PanSALB and the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities need to institute a systematic monitoring of compliance to language regulations and of observance of the relevant constitutional provisions. They also need to devise a mechanism that would allow the public to raise complaints about language legislation breaches and define how these would be followed up, by who and how would the complainants receive feedback.

21. **Political Will:** Kamwendo (2006) states that the success of South Africa's bold language plan depends on political will. Where there is a lack of political will to implement policies, one is bound to see declarations without implementation. Neville Alexander accused the South African leadership at various levels of paying lip service to the implementation of a policy of functional multilingualism. For implementation of language plans to succeed, the main propelling power is political will. Where there is political will, as was the case with the corpus development of Afrikaans, there is always a way. In my personal opinion, it would also help to have members of portfolio committees at legislatures, including national parliament and counsellors that are members of a portfolio that deals with language matters, that have a genuine interest in language matters and or cultural matters at large if government is serious about our languages and our cultures. These may be community chiefs who are members of Parliament and legislatures, it may be those who were language teachers or lecturers, it may be people who were members of language interest groups, it may be people who are cultural experts and so on. If none of these people exists among members of a legislature or of a council, they may be regularly sourced and called to advise the portfolio committees on issues pertaining to languages.
22. **Staffing and Board appointments:** This is also a personal view of the researcher. Heads of language institutions and or language sections in the language implementing agencies need to be familiar with language matters. PanSALB board members must also be people who are familiar with issues affecting languages and the role that language plays in social cohesion, in the country's development and in the betterment of the lives of the citizens. We also need to be cognisant of the fact that, not all language academics, the doctors and professors, can implement programmes of development and use of languages. Attainment of professorship or a doctoral degree does not equate to a capability to lead or to manage a language institution.
23. **Learn from Afrikaans development:** We need to take lessons from how Afrikaans developed to be a language of education, commerce and science and technology. In the previous chapter on data analysis, I presented two papers on how Afrikaans developed to be a language that it is today. As mentioned, it was heavily supported financially by the state, it was backed by its speakers, it offered and still offers mother-tongue teaching and learning, an Afrikaans Language Academy was established, literary prizes were and still are

awarded for Afrikaans literary works, it has accredited specialist journals for Afrikaans as well as countless publications, media houses, newspapers and magazines in Afrikaans, it has technical dictionaries in Afrikaans and Afrikaans cultural festivals. We can learn from these experiences.

24. **Converting African languages into economically viable programmes in communities:** Van der Rheede (2016) recommends that we identify the unique culture drivers in communities within the language, education, literature, oral tales, poetry, drama, art, music, dance, food, traditions, traditional medicine, architecture, design, fashion, entertainment and religious practices domains and determine how each of these culture drivers can be utilised into economically viable programmes in communities. These would include identifying and documenting all of the local cultural resources, such as writers, poets, musicians, storytellers, dancers, historians, museums, books, galleries, craft industries, distinctive landmarks, local events and other industries and archaeological sites. When these have been identified, we then consult and network with other role players in order to establish long-term partnerships, such as amateur and professional cultural agencies. Amateur cultural agencies include individual practitioners, non-governmental organisations, religious entities, cultural groups and councils. Professional cultural agencies include the radio, television, print media, design, electronic media, tourism, heritage, cultural festivals, architecture, fashion, music, drama, education, book, crafts, language practitioners, advertising, agriculture, speech and language therapy, communication and related industries. Working with these agencies, we design sustainable and economically viable projects and programmes, we identify expertise to execute these projects and programmes and obtain infrastructure and funding to support the implementation thereof, we monitor, evaluate and re-design projects and programmes to ensure that they do add value and contribute to the development of communities and we use community media to market projects and programmes, keep community informed and strengthen these initiatives with supporting mechanisms to ensure long-term sustainability and growth.
25. **Literature, newspapers and magazines in African languages:** We have published books in African languages but as Prof Ngubane puts it, most of their content is just moralistic. They do not tackle current issues and there is not much youth literature or teenage literature for youth aged between 13 and 21. There are tons of children's books in African languages and the perception that they are few is not true. However, the public is not aware that they exist because authors do not have opportunities and money to market their writings. Stalls in book fairs have to be paid for and many African authors cannot afford to do so. There are not many people who know about the Book Development Council that is funded by the Department of Arts and Culture that funds authors to showcase their books. African publishers and authors need to be intentionally funded by government to publish their works. The Centre for the Book located in Cape Town, which is a government entity that helps authors to be self-

published, needs to do more work in this sector and needs to be visible and accessible to all.

We also need more newspapers in African languages that address contents that are of local, provincial and national interests as well as magazines in African languages. Prah states that over 90 % of the print media is in English and Afrikaans, with English taking precedence and he says that, the implicit presumption is that only those citizens who are either literate in English or Afrikaans need to know what is going on in the country and the silent majorities who speak African languages are thus kept in the dark.

There are lots of people who want to do these publications but are curbed by lack of funding and sometimes by the lack of interest from the speakers of the indigenous languages. Afrikaans newspapers manage to hold their own because of capital and other resources that help to maintain the solidity of the Afrikaans presence in the media. Some African languages newspapers that are in circulation tend to publish stories that do not appeal to the general public. There are established newspaper brands in isiZulu such as Isolezwe, Ilanga, UmAfrika that help to promote the isiZulu language and as such set an example for other indigenous language communities to also establish newspapers in their respective indigenous languages.

5.8 Conclusion

Findings in this chapter have revealed that, from the time of the enactment of the Constitution of the country with clauses that speak to the development of languages, to establishment of PanSALB and LANGTAG, there seems at the beginning to have been an intention to develop African languages to be languages of use in all domains. However, it seems as if the plot was lost along the way. There was an implementation plan but it was disregarded. LANGTAG came with recommendations and they were not all implemented. Frameworks and structures were provided at national and provincial levels but have never been optimally used. In some instances, though there were structures and frameworks, implementation or delivery was withheld by lack of adequate funding. In higher institutions there are pockets of great work of development and use of African languages taking place but it is everyone for himself or herself. Some private companies have taken it upon themselves to do some language work in the form of human language technology. Some institutions are also developing African languages but there is no co-ordination of projects that are being done.

Though there are policies and Acts in place, there is no monitoring to ensure that these pieces of legislation are adhered to. Most of all and sadly so, African languages are not taken into consideration in the overall human development discussions and discourse and on improving of people's lives and their conditions by government.

Language is not a priority in government. There is a limited view that languages are just for communication within communities and are for cultural and religious interactions. There is no understanding that economic opportunities are lost by the masses because information is provided to them in a language they do not understand and that societal development bypasses them as government information is relayed in English. Those who cannot speak English and thus cannot access information and some services are left to fend for themselves in accessing information availed in English by most departments and by private sector. The picture portrayed is that only those citizens who are literate either in English or Afrikaans need to know what is going on in the country.

Another factor is that, the whole language fraternity is held to ransom by government implementing agencies who either are not clear about their mandate such as PanSALB or who just do not do what they are supposed to be doing to implement language policies such as government departments. The lack of development of African languages and the minimal implementation of existing language policies, incomplete as they are, affects, marginalises and disadvantages the majority of the population of South Africa who do not understand nor speak English as they are denied direct participation in social discourse and economic development. Inability to access information in one's own language when one cannot speak the second language, takes away that person's power, self-esteem, self-confidence, and a potential creativity and access to opportunities of self-development.

African languages need to be developed so that they can be used in high-status functions. To do this language policy and language practice need to be congruent. Escape clauses in the Constitutions and in language acts and policies need to be rectified. A dedicated language development plan, careful planning and consistent implementation of such a plan is needed. Teaching in schools and in institutions of higher learning must also be offered in African languages and every learner in the country must learn at least one African language. Attitudes toward Africa languages need to be changed through awareness campaigns and advocacy work. Implementation of language policies needs to be monitored and there should be sanctions for non-implementation and rewards for implementation. Political will is needed. Language implementation needs to be heavily funded. Language matters need to be integrated into the national planning agenda and language needs to be viewed as an economic and empowerment resource. The role and the value of African languages in formal economy needs to be researched and established. We also need to establish cooperative linkages and partnerships with bodies and companies involved with similar or related work of cultural and linguistic kind.

When all this is done, there will be a light at the end of the tunnel for development and use of African languages in various fields and on implementation of clauses of language legislation that speak to African languages development. With development

and use of African languages, inequalities in the country, unequal economic and educational development and unequal social opportunities will be reduced.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGES according to Census 2011		
Language	**Number of speakers**	**% of total**
IsiZulu	11 587 374	22.7%
IsiXhosa	8 154 258	16%
Afrikaans	6 855 082	13.5%
English	4 892 623	9.6%
Sepedi	4 618 576	9.1%
Sesotho	3 849 563	7.6%
Setswana	4 067 248	8%
Xitsonga	2 277 148	4.5%
SiSwati	1 297 046	2.5%
Tshivenda	1 209 388	2.4%
IsiNdebele	1 090 223	2.1%
Sign language	234 655	0.5%
Other	828 258	1.6%
TOTAL	50 961 443**	100%

APPENDIX 2

Call For Proposals Human Language Technology Projects

Proposals are hereby requested for projects in Human Language Technologies (HLT) for the official South African languages

Funding is available for projects over a period of two to three years. It is foreseen that two to three projects can be funded from this budget. As a general guideline, a project can receive between R1 million and R2,5 million per annum. Proposals that address some of the following will be evaluated positively:

- *Projects that are complimentary to the Use of Official Languages Act (Act 12 of 2012).*
- *Projects to develop applications with the potential to make a considerable impact, e.g. in a government context. We are also interested in applications for mobile devices.*
- *Projects that develop resources that contribute to the Basic Language Resource Kits (BLaRKs) for South African languages. 50% of the available funding will be earmarked for language resource development projects…*

APPENDIX 3

Questions on Development of African Languages sent to various current and former language practitioners working or who worked at State Language Agencies

1. How do we develop our African languages in such a manner that they can be used nationally and internationally in all fields and sectors such as legal, economic, technology, medical, academic, scientific fields and so on?

2. In your opinion, why is there no full-force/full-blown development of African languages?

3. Why is there no similar commitment from our government as was shown during development of Afrikaans?

4. With all languages policies passed, what are obstacles to implementation? Or are these policies not enforceable? What actually hinders implementation and enforcement of language policies?

5. What is it that currently needs to be done to develop African languages and who should do so?

6. How do we collate language development initiatives in various institutions in our country in such a manner that we know what is being done where, or what has been done so that we grow from there, so that we support and encourage each other, and for awareness's sake and so as to avoid duplication? Who should do that?

APPENDIX 4

Role played by National Language Service in the development of African languages from 1994 to date

QUESTIONS TO National Language Service

Following on my email and telephonic request, can you provide me with the following information:

1) Organogram of National Language Service

2) Sections and total staff complement

3) Overall Budget of NLS – and how much of it goes to operations and how much of it goes to remuneration of staff (percentages)

4) Staff complement per section

5) Focus areas of sections

6) Programmes and projects

7) Effectiveness of each section

8) Success and failures or constraints

9) Collaboration with PanSALB

10) Future Plans towards development of African Languages

APPENDIX 5

INTERVIEW WITH PROF S NGUBANE, HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL and a former Chaiperson of PanSALB with researcher Ncebakazi Faith Saliwa-Mogale in 2018 in Durban

Prof Sihawukele Ngubane is the Deputy Dean of Undergraduate Studies in the Faculty of Humanities, Development & Social Sciences, Howard College Campus. He is involved in a number of external language and culture organisations. He is recognised as an authority on language, cultural and indigenous knowledge subjects. In February 2008 he was appointed by the South African Ministry of Arts and Culture as Chairperson to the Pan South African Language Board. He is the Chairperson of Academic & Non-Fiction Authors Association of South Africa (ANFASA) and a Chairperson of Usiba Writers' Guild that develops IsiZulu Literature. He is a Commissioner and KZN Convenor of the Commission for the Promotion & Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious & Linguistic Communities

Me : I would like to find out about language development initiatives and projects that are run to develop isiZulu as a language. I know, for example, that Usiba run language development programmes. Does Usiba Writers Guild still exist and what is its role in nurturing and developing isiZulu?

Prof: Usiba Writers Guild still exists and I am the Chairperson. It promotes language and literature. It promotes writing skills. It runs competitions for different literature genres and gives awards to good writers. Main activity is to run workshops. Every year we run four workshops on any topic relating to language development. It recognises development in various fields such as technology. In 2018 we held a workshop on writing for films, realising that people are now into technology. It is trying to diversify because most people write poetry and short stories. In all these activities, Usiba is promoting language. I see Usiba as a tool to promote isiZulu.

Me : Who runs the workshops?

Prof : We invite specialists. When we workshop writers on short stories for example, we invite those who specialise in writing short stories, eg DBZ Ntuli. We seek people who are talented in a special field.

Me : How do people become members of Usiba?

Prof: They join voluntarily. Membership fee is R100. Then we have an AGM every year in November.

The other wing of Usiba is offering of Grade 12 language lessons, Paper 1 and Paper 2. We run those lessons in the whole province and in Mpumalanga. We prepare students on how to approach exam questions. This is also a flagship for Usiba. The schools we have visited do very well in exams. When we are about to visit a particular school, schools inform each other and when we get there, we find lots of schools waiting for these lessons, especially the teachers. Some of the tutors that we use are examiners. The current challenge we have now is the one-book policy introduced by government, meaning we have to run workshops on one book every year and people get bored with hearing the same thing over and over again. There is one book for example now that has been prescribed for six years and even examiners are now fed up because they feel they have exhausted all the questions they could ask on the content of that book. This policy does not encourage writers to write because schools will not order them as they do not stand a chance to be prescribed in schools. Prescribed books boost writers financially.

Me : How did you get Usiba to continue to exist for so many years and how do you retain people's interest to remain members?

Prof: Well, we come up with creative activities. For example, we have now just introduced a concept of *Phumela eShashalazeni* where authors tell about their writing journey, how they started, how many books have they published and challenges they have faced. That encourages people to attend and come and listen to the authors.

Me : From your experience as a PanSALB chairperson, what do you think needs to be done to develop African languages?

Prof: From my PanSALB experience, let me start by saying that the passing of 2012 Use of Official Languages Act was a breakthrough. The core of the business of developing languages is to use them. Languages are meant to be used and we are not using them. They are hardly used even in parliamentary debates and Parliament is full of interpreters that are not used optimally yet they get paid monthly. That Act stipulates that, all departments must have language units that would employ language practitioners who would translate documents and all other material in at least three or four languages. That would mean that our languages are used and they are getting developed. It would also result in language practitioners getting jobs. Employing a language practitioner to translate a document into a particular language makes that language accessible.

We have been saying here that we want to promote isiZulu as an academic language of teaching and learning. That cannot happen if the teaching material is not translated into isiZulu. I thought this Act was going to be implemented. You find that the mother tongue speakers think that translation and interpreting is a waste of time. It is worse with consecutive interpreting where you have to wait for someone to speak and then interpret. That makes some people think that interpreting drags meetings and they

take longer than they would usually run. Civil servants are the ones who are supposed to be pushing for the use of our languages. Why should we develop them if they will not be used? Even our children these days speak English and some people ask, what is the benefit of developing these languages? I think if the 2012 Act can be reinforced, our languages could be developed.

We also need to standardise orthography and spelling of each language. You find that different provinces use different words for the same item because people are influenced by other languages of areas that they live in. If orthographies are harmonised, then languages will also develop. Spelling must also not complicated so that it is easily accessible to everyone.

Me : Practically and on a regular basis, what do you think needs to be done to develop our languages?

Prof: We need to speak them and to use them, starting from our homes. When you are fluent in your home language, it makes it easier for you to learn other foreign languages as you grow.

Me : There is a perception from parents that there is no value in learning African languages and there are no jobs for people who are studying African languages and that English is an international language and opens doors for their children to find jobs.

Prof: We do not say that people must stop learning English. We need it to communicate with people who speak a language that we do not speak, for example, between amaVenda and amaZulu. Secondly, as I said earlier, if the 2012 Act had been implemented, those who majored in languages at a tertiary institution would easily find jobs in government departments. Lack of implementation of that Act robs our children of language jobs. This is the same argument with linguistics, students ask us, what are we going to do with linguistics? However, if you have done linguistics, you find it very easily to decode other languages because linguistics is about formation of languages. You can easily navigate from one language to the other.

Another practical way of developing languages is to read books to our children in our languages.

In literature, we need to start writing content that appeals to the current youth issues. Our cover book designs need to be attractive. We are conscious about morals when we make book covers and other cultures are not worried about morals, they use covers that will appeal to audiences. We need to transform the content of our books so that they appeal to young people of today. We are driven by our culture that speak of morals and respect and that becomes disadvantageous at times.

Another problem we have is attitude to our languages. We praise those who speak English. We should have pride in our languages. Those of us who are professors, when we mention that we are professors of African languages, we immediately pick some disappointment when you mention that you are a professor of an African language. We need to encourage youth to have pride in their mother tongues, otherwise after this generation, our languages will die.

Me: I see that you still have lots of students that study isiZulu in this university. How are you able to attract them whereas in other universities, numbers of students studying African languages are dwindling?

Prof: Yes we have many students because we made isiZulu in this university compulsory. It does not matter which bachelor degree you are studying, you must have 16 credits of isiZulu in this university, whether you are doing law, medicine, Bsc, etc. You do not attain any bachelor degree without isiZulu. For starters, that has boosted us to have many students. Secondly, it boosts mother tongue. For first years, because all students have to do basic isiZulu, we get more than 600 students in the isiZulu department. Before this policy was passed, we used to have 20 or 30 students and now we are teaching 600 and more students. Students are now falling in love with the language whereas in the past it was just an elective to add to the points th.at a student needed.

Me: Wow!!! How did you achieve this?

Prof: It was part of the language policy of the university that states that we should have a dual medium of instruction and this is still phase 1 of implementation of this policy that says that all students must do isiZulu. In the next phase we will then enforce that other subject such as psychology must be taught in isiZulu. The university intentionally funds the roll-out of isiZulu. There is funding that comes through the vice-chancellor's office to ensure that we manage this huge number of students. They pay contract lecturers to ensure that we are able to cope with these huge numbers. We also have a language development unit that produces the material, it translates material and develops a vocabulary bank. We have a programme called Zulu lexicon (*and he shows it to me*) that is fed with new terms every day and these words are spell-checked. We have an isiZulu corpus App that one can download into a phone. We also have a translation app as well that translates words, terms and sentences from English to isiZulu. We seconded Prof Khumalo to run this programme and when it is fully functional, it will be a programme of the isiZulu department because we cannot teach other languages if we do not have a term bank.

At provincial level, if all provinces can set aside a budget for language development, languages would develop because there is always an excuse that there is no money or there are no resources. There is something else we are trialling now with the

PanSALB provincial manager. We are doing an Olympiad to award the learners who have performed well in isiZulu. That is another way of promoting a language.

A question I have is, if government is serious about promoting our languages, why do they not give out a tender for the implementation of the Language Act as they do with other policies and Acts? Why is there no tender to promote isiZulu?

Me: True. Rhodes for an example was funded by some overseas country for multilingualism programmes.

Prof: Yes. And they have various language programmes. Why do we have to go to other countries to source money to promote our South African languages? ANFASA for example is funded by Norway. All departments have huge budgets for implementation of programmes and policies and the same should happen for African languages. Development of our languages needs to be heavily funded by government for it to take off successfully.

APPENDIX 6

Response from Prof Kaschula of Rhodes University on questions sent to him:
Question posed by myself to Prof Kaschula:

Me : Why is there such slow progress in the development of African languages in South Africa despite having a great national language policy?
Prof Kaschula: I still think that what we need is a two-pronged approach:

a) buy-in from the politicians who make decisions and
b) buy-in from speakers of the languages who should take pride and ownership over these languages.

There is also the "market-link" or seeing language as a resource which has

c) not been properly promoted. In other words seeing the market/job value of our languages. I have written an article on this topic in Prof Ekkehard Wolff on language and development in Africa.

Extracts from his article:

Russell Kaschula: **Econo-Language Planning and transformation in South Africa: From Localisation to Globalisation**

1. We need a context driven, integrated language policies in order to ensure the maintenance of cultural identity, while creating economic prosperity for indigenous language speakers (Grin 1994; Vigouroux and Mufwene 2008).
2. Language policy planning and implementation should take place within, and contribute to, a dynamic economic environment.
3. Language planning in a globalised world, and particularly in South Africa, should be multi-dimensional, involving various role-players in local as well as national government and the economy. It should be a meaningfully engaged process with both a bottom-up and top-down approach in order to actualise the individual within the context of local and national economic growth (Alexander 1992; Docrat and Kaschula 2015).
4. English is spoken by only 9.6% percent of South Africans as a mother tongue, yet it tends to command center stage in the workplace, often subverting the indigenous languages and their speakers. The notion that in the face of globalisation the hegemony of English is appropriate needs to be challenged. Indeed, there is a belief that any focus on indigenous language development is axiomatically opposed to economic development and global trade, that it is problematic, expensive and clumsy.
5. With globalization, there is a the need for management policies that are culturally sensitive, context focused and driven to ensure that outcomes are efficient and effective and meet the demand of the triple bottom line (3BL). The dichotomy, global versus local, in sociolinguistic terms, implies choices of linguistic repertoire, i.e., between global languages and local languages

(indigenous mother tongue languages, or home languages in South African usage).

6. Grin observes, '[t]he 'economics of language', or 'language economics', as a field of research that plays a marginal role in academia, but an increasingly important one in practice' (ibid.). Grin (1994) argues for a greater focus on the interdisciplinarity between language policy and economics.
7. South Africa has been recognised as having a progressive and empowering language policy. Section 6 of the Constitution (1996) places all eleven languages on an equal footing, though it recognises the diminished status of the African languages and the need for 'parity of esteem' between all eleven languages. This contributes to status planning for all our officially recognised languages, but it does not necessarily contribute to market related opportunity language planning. Eastman (1992: 96) states that '[l]anguage planning refers to efforts in a socio-political situation to solve language problems, preferably on a long-term basis, by heeding the processes of social change. In relation to South Africa, this process began under colonial rule where Dutch and English were initially used as languages of economy. From this emerged Afrikaans, which under apartheid together with English became languages of trade from 1948.
8. Econo-language planning: This points to a need to integrate language, identity and economic realities into a coherent language planning process that takes cognisance of localisation (indigenous language and culture) in the face of globalisation. For this reason, language planners and language planning initiatives need to be overt in suggesting the need for an economic identity as part of language planning.
9. Different linguistic and socio-economic needs and conditions should therefore dictate the policy. Language planners need to have the best interests of the society in mind.
10. Official languages, which hold the key to economic power and otherwise. Official languages are used in formal public transactions such as the workplace and in education. However, in South Africa, there seems to have developed a quadraglossic model (building on Kamwangamalu's 2000 triglossic model) where English is at the top, followed by Afrikaans, then isiZulu and isiXhosa in third place, with the rest of the languages trailing behind in fourth place. Indigenous languages therefore remain on the fringes of economic use and are largely relegated to the informal economy. This excludes the majority of South Africans from the mainstream economy. Furthermore, the inevitable creation of a three-tiered economy emerges, with fluent English-speakers controlling the first economy, functional English speakers operating in the second economy where they can get by with their functional English proficiency, and those with no English proficiency relegated to the third economy or informal sector.
11. Research: Testing of benefits of monolingualism versus multilingualism and choice of working language - The particular contribution of linguistics to such interdisciplinary research is to avail complementary methodological

approaches to the study of communicative patterns in the workplaces, such as, firstly, linguistic and sociolinguistic approaches addressing both mono- versus multilingual options for language policies in the workplace and the relevant issue of language proficiency and competencies. Secondly, cultural and ethnolinguistic approaches addressing both aspects of plurality and diversity of value systems and differences in terms of the actual use of patterns of communicative behaviour ('ethnography of speaking'). Thirdly, combined interdisciplinary approaches addressing the interface of language, mind, and culture under cautious revisiting of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis and 'linguistic determinism' in the narrow context of workplace communication.

12. It is the economic usefulness of a language that determines its future
13. We need a for a contextualised language planning initiative. There is a need for more coherent and contextually driven planning tools which ensure economic growth to benefit the masses. This formalisation will support the lobbying of governments to embrace the value and potential of languages beyond the quaint historical consideration and link with cultural identity, though an important one too
14. Policies passed after 1994 speak to poverty eradication, reducing inequality, job creation and improving the quality of life for all and promotion of economic and social transformation. . The irony is that none of these 'policy' documents make any reference to providing access to information in languages that the populace understand best, a fundamental error within the planning process. The poor have been left in a linguistic lacuna, largely uneducated and unable to navigate the world through English. These policy documents fail to address econo-language issues. Makgoba (1999: xi) sums up this conundrum as follows: 'Can African people champion their renaissance through the medium of foreign languages? This is perhaps one of the greatest cultural challenges to African people… Through language we carry science and technology, education, political systems and economic development. Those who have access to English are then the elite, controlling the first economy as well as access to global trade. It is important therefore to create economic functions for African languages so that they can be used in the mainstream, whether it be in a loan application process, or for the purposes of trading.
15. National Development Plan: The NDP is a plan to unite South Africans, unleash the energies of its citizens, grow an inclusive economy, build capabilities, and enhance the capability of the state and leaders working together to solve complex problems. Although the NDP recognises the complexities that face South Africa, it in no way explores how language can contribute to social cohesion, specifically mentioned in the plan, or to economic inclusivity. Arguably, of the four thematic areas mentioned in the plan i.e. rural economy, social protection and community safety, the role of African languages should be unquestionable and of paramount importance in these three thematic areas. More specifically, in relation to the NDP, how does South Africa provide 'quality basic education' through a language that many pupils do not understand i.e.

through the sudden switch to English as medium of instruction in Grade 4? How are we to create 'long and healthy lives for all South Africans', or a South Africa where everyone feels safe when there is no mention of the role of language? Finally, how do we create 'decent employment through inclusive economic growth' or a 'skilled and capable workforce to support an inclusive growth path' when the majority of the workforce does not have access to the present working language, namely English? There can be no progress unless a policy of localisation (which includes the use of local languages alongside English) is encouraged within the global environment. NDP is that it encourages a renewal in terms of agriculture and farming. While this sector is seen as an important one in creating employment and food security in the future, it is doubtful that a small-scale farmer from a rural area would ever be able to access a loan from the Land Bank though the medium of English. How would they even obtain access to the bank – would it be through internet technology, which is often non-existent in rural areas, or would they have to undertake a costly trip to an urban area? If the NDP is serious about boosting agricultural production then access to any information regarding this plan should be facilitated through languages that people on the ground understand best. No-one should be disadvantaged in this sector, whether it be in relation to markets or financial access on the basis of language.

16. Technology and language planning into the future : technology would allow people to move fluidly between languages with the assistance of technology (speech to text and so on as well as translation apps). Policy makers must engage with language planning issues, particularly opportunity planning, from a multidimensional perspective: from language as a tool for cultural identity through to language as a tool for economic empowerment, to language embracing the potential of technology. There is a need for language planning tools that are integrated with the economic aspirations at a local and national level, while drawing on technological advancements, for example multilingual banking though ATMs as well as other language planning activities driven by both the market needs, technology, as well as through government policy.
17. Implementing a national language policy is a process and not an event – it should be a carefully considered process which requires long term commitment and energy on behalf of both public and private institutions in Africa.
18. The use and development of African languages should be incentivised as part of a market-driven process. Fluency in African languages should be rewarded in the workplace, which would ensure representation of all. Kamwangamalu states that a language is marketable if it has the potential to serve as a tool by means of which its users can meet their material needs
19. Recognition of African languages in the workplace such as in judiciary (eg, judges). Language can also facilitate or hinder effective distribution of information in the workplace, thus affecting the productive use of workers' knowledge and skills, the effective delivery of services to the public, etc

20. The successful teaching and use of African languages ironically also holds the key to success in acquiring English in many instances, and thereby it also holds the key to economic advancement and participation, both locally and globally.
21. Job creation: If, for example government were to employ language practitioners within all Departments (as required by PanSALB and the Constitution) then thousands of employment opportunities would be created. Hopefully this is now in the process of taking place, as can be seen by the proliferation of language practitioners within parliament. Likewise such positions are being created within the private sector, for example banking and cell phone companies, where language is being recognised as a resource that can contribute to profits and in the process create employment.
22. In order to facilitate the use of African languages in the high status domain of economics, we need a consolidated plan that includes politicians, economists, linguists, NGOs and any other party that views the inclusivity of language usage as fundamental to economic growth and the sustainability of nations.

Appendix 7 : *Newspaper Extract of a computer project to enhance African Languages that can be followed on to develop African languages in South Africa*

New African Languages for PCs (23 Feb 2009)

Computer users from across Africa will now enjoy the experience in their local languages thanks to the initiative of ANloc. (Image: digitaldividend.org)

Khanyi Magubane

A new initiative driven by African language and computer experts to enable users to utilise computers in over 100 African languages is set to get underway.
The start of the project will coincide with the celebration of International Mother Language Day on 21 February, which aims to raise awareness of the importance of continuing to use vernacular languages. The initiative will see the number of locales available for African languages increased over the next 12 months.
A locale is a master file that can be used across all the computer's applications to help it adapt to the local language and country. Data include language information, such as how to express dates, and Unicode font support, as well as country information such as currency names and symbols. When a locale is implemented properly, a computer will be able to have features including search options and spell checking. African language computer users will also be able to enjoy the finding and indexing of African language documents.

According to the African Network for Localisation (ANloc), only 36 of Africa's approximately 2 000 languages have their own locale. The organisation's goals are to create another 100 by the end of this year. The work of ANloc, which is a pan-African network, is rooted in eliminating technological barriers that prevent computers from being used by mother tongue speakers. Three criteria will be used by ANloc to identify languages to be targeted for localisation. Firstly the language has to be one of the official languages of a particular country; secondly, it must be spoken by at least 500 000 people; and thirdly, there have to be linguistic resources or volunteers available to facilitate the process of localisation.
So far, about 200 African languages have been identified which meet at least one of the criteria set above.

Celebrating the diversity of languages

Unesco's General Conference in November 1999 declared the establishment of International Mother Language Day.
At this conference, a language policy for the world was adopted for all member states of the United Nations. Member states were asked to:

- Recognise the need to improve understanding and communication among people [using their mother tongues].
- Recognise the great importance of safeguarding the linguistic and cultural heritage of humanity and of extending the influence of each of the cultures and languages of which that heritage is composed.
- Consider the current threat to linguistic diversity posed by the globalisation of communication and the tendency to use a single language.
- Consider that substantial progress has been made in the last few decades by the language sciences, but that insufficient attention has been paid to the extraordinary ability of children to reproduce sounds at key periods of their development.
- Ensure that young children learn to acquire competence at an early age in real communication, both passive and active, in at least two languages.

The event has been observed every year since February 2000 to promote the uniqueness of the different languages. Almost 6 000 languages will be celebrated on International Mother Language Day. Among the objectives of this day, as set out by Unesco, is raising awareness of languages that are under threat. According to recent estimates from studies conducted into languages, half of today's languages have fewer than 10 000 speakers and a quarter have fewer than 1 000. Koichiro Matsuura, Unesco's Director-General, says it is imperative to raise the issue of multilingualism around the world. "Languages are at the heart of humanity's intangible heritage. They are born, they evolve and, sometimes, they are doomed to die.
"Yet, it behoves us to do all in our power to safeguard them so as to preserve the world's invaluable cultural diversity."

Unesco has taken it upon itself to drive the issue of language preservation. The organisation believes that all initiatives to promote the dissemination of mother tongues will serve not only to encourage linguistic diversity and multilingual education, but will also build understanding, tolerance and dialogue. Unesco also believes that it is essential to ensure that marginalised languages continue in use, alongside the major international languages of communication.

Encouraging Africans to go online

As the bid to have the most popular African languages available for users online continues, so does the number of users from the African continue to grow.
According to IT news website itnewsafrica, as of December 2008, Internet usage in South Africa has hit an all-time high.

The website says according to a study titled “Internet Access in South Africa 2008”, internet users have increased to 4,4 million in a country of more than 40 million people. This represents a 12,5 % increase from 2001.

“The increase comes on the eve of the biggest shake-up in South African Internet access we’ve seen since the dawn of the commercial Internet in 1994. It is only the beginning of a dramatic turnaround, and is occurring despite numerous obstacles in the way of growth,” researcher Arthur Goldstuck told the website.