

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

**Expanding Notions of 'Standard' English:
The South African Parliament as a Case Study**

Liesel Hibbert

Thesis presented for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Linguistics
University of Cape Town

August 2000

Supervisor:

Prof. R. Mesthrie

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----------|
| LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS | v |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | vi |
| ABSTRACT | vii |
| KEYWORDS | viii |
| ETHICS APPRAISAL | ix |
| | |
| 1. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 1.1 PROJECT RATIONALE AND OVERVIEW | 1 |
| 1.2 THE SOUTH AFRICAN LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT | 5 |
| 1.3 CHANGING LANGUAGE POLICY AND PRACTICE IN PARLIAMENT | 10 |
| 2. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY | 18 |
| 2.1 INTRODUCTION | 18 |
| 2.2 GLOBALIZATION AND LINGUISTIC MARKETS | 19 |
| 2.3 THE AFRICAN RENAISSANCE | 31 |
| 2.4 ENGLISHES IN SOUTH AFRICA | 37 |
| 2.5 THE RECOGNITION AND DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH | 46 |
| 2.6 BSAfE IN RELATION TO OTHER AFRICAN ENGLISHES | 54 |
| 2.7 CONCLUSION | 60 |
| 3. DEFINING AN APPROACH | 62 |
| 3.1 INTRODUCTION | 62 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| 3.2 LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGY _____ | 63 |
| 3.3 APPROACHES TO DISCOURSE _____ | 73 |
| 3.4 ANALYSING INSTITUTIONALIZED POLITICAL RHETORIC _____ | 77 |
| 3.5 RELEVANT FEATURES OF THE AFRICAN ORAL TRADITION _____ | 82 |
| 3.6 CONCLUSION _____ | 88 |
| 4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY _____ | 90 |
| 4.1 INTRODUCTION _____ | 90 |
| 4.2 THE CASE STUDY METHOD _____ | 90 |
| 4.3 THE CONTEXT _____ | 92 |
| 4.5 THE PARTICIPANTS _____ | 99 |
| 4.6 THE DATA _____ | 103 |
| 4.7 THE PILOT WORK AND PRELIMINARY FINDINGS _____ | 105 |
| 4.8 LINGUISTIC SAMPLING _____ | 113 |
| 4.9 CONCLUSION _____ | 120 |
| 5. DATA AND ANALYSIS _____ | 122 |
| 5.1 INTRODUCTION _____ | 122 |
| 5.2 CURRENT EDITORIAL PRACTICE _____ | 123 |
| 5.2.1 PREPOSITIONS _____ | 124 |
| 5.2.2 CONJUNCTIONS _____ | 128 |
| 5.2.3 THE ARTICLE _____ | 130 |
| 5.2.4 THE PRESENT CONTINUOUS TENSE _____ | 132 |
| 5.2.5 THE DELETION OF DIRECT SPEECH AND OF PERSONALIZATION _____ | 135 |
| 5.2.6 CREATIVE USES AND ADAPTATIONS OF NORMATIVE ENGLISH CONSTRUCTIONS _____ | 138 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| 5.2.7 THE EDITING OUT OF BSAfE | 142 |
| 5.2.8 CONCLUSION | 145 |
| 5.3 NARRATIVE STRATEGIES AND DEVICES | 146 |
| 5.3.1 REPETITION | 147 |
| 5.3.2 CONVERSATIONAL CUES | 152 |
| 5.3.3 QUESTIONS | 154 |
| 5.3.4 DEVICES USED FOR EMPHASIS | 155 |
| 5.3.5 SATIRE | 156 |
| 5.3.6 ANIMAL IMAGERY | 160 |
| 5.3.7 PERSONIFICATION | 162 |
| 5.3.8 OTHER ANALOGIES | 164 |
| 5.3.9 THE NAMING TRADITION | 167 |
| 5.3.10 WHERE MODERN POLITICAL RHETORIC AND THE ORAL TRADITION MEET | 169 |
| 5.4 HISTORICAL INFLUENCES AND DISCOURSE RESOURCE-BASES | 170 |
| 5.4.1 THE APARTHEID EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM | 171 |
| 5.4.2 THE IMPACT OF THE MEDIA | 183 |
| 5.4.3 THE CURRENT NATIONAL SOCIO-CULTURAL ETHOS | 185 |
| 6. CONCLUSIONS | 191 |
| 6.1 THE NATURE AND STATUS OF BSAfE REVISITED | 191 |
| 6.2 EXPANDED NOTIONS OF 'ACCEPTABILITY' IN HANSARD | 194 |
| 6.3 LINGUISTIC HYBRIDITY AND A NEW SOUTH AFRICAN IDENTITY | 199 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 204 |

APPENDICES

Appendix A: A graphic representation of Fairclough's approach as adapted by Lockett and Chick. (Source: *South African Journal of Linguistics* 1998,16 (3))

Appendix B: Sample extracts from original Hansard transcripts of debates of the National Assembly, 24 April 1998, pp. 63-67 and pp. 81-83

Appendix C: Sample extracts from Government Publication, debates of the National Assembly, 24 April 1998, column nr 1517-1528

Appendix D: Sample analysis of the Hansard transcripts of the Debates of the National Assembly. 24 April 1998 (Table 3.2, pp. 4+5 of the analysis document)

Appendix E: Sample analysis of Debates of the National Assembly, Government Publications, 24 April 1998 (table 4.2, pp. 10-12 of the analysis document)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------------------|---|
| AAVE | African American Vernacular English |
| AE | African Englishes |
| AmE | American English |
| ANC | African National Congress |
| BrE | British English |
| BSAfE | Black South African English |
| DP | Democratic Party |
| DSAE | Dictionary of South African English |
| EU | European Union |
| ICE | International Corpus of English |
| L1 | First Language |
| L2 | Second Language |
| MEC | Member of the Executive Council (Provincial) |
| MP's | Members of Parliament |
| NA | National Assembly |
| NCOP | National Council of Provinces |
| NG church | Nederlandse Gereformeerde Kerk |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| NP | National Party |
| OAU | Organization of African Unity |
| PanSalb | Pan South African Language Board |
| PEC | Plain English Campaign |
| SA | South Africa |
| SAfE | South African English |

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am gratefully indebted to my supervisor, Prof. Raj Mesthrie, for the excellent example he sets as a scholar of integrity and rigour. Both his insightful and challenging responses to my writing as well as the inspiration gained from his own writing, are highly valued.

The financial assistance of the National Research Foundation towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed in this work, or conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the National Research Foundation.

I would also like to thank Paul Wise from Hansard for providing me with data and information on a continuous basis and for responding so generously to all my queries.

ABSTRACT

This project falls broadly into the field of New Englishes. The focus is on emerging notions of 'acceptability' of English in a multilingual country using the South African parliament as a case study. I describe some of the characteristics of Black South African English (BSAfE) as used in parliament in 1989. English as used in an official realm such as parliament may set new trends and have an impact on expanded parameters of 'acceptability' in terms of South African English in all kinds of fields, particularly education, the media and the legal system. I am in favour of a more accommodating notion of official English. Njabulo Ndebele (1987) predicted that a new kind of English would emerge and become the dominant one in Southern Africa, which would be a strongly Africanized version of South African English. Descriptions of consistent trends in expression, turn of phrase and grammatical constructions in this project, contribute to the evidence that parameters of BSAfE exist.

Furthermore, the project feeds into some of the concerns of translation and editing practitioners, particularly with reference to notions of what is regarded as prototypical in the use of modern English in South Africa today. My focus is on both overt and covert 'policy' with regard to 'acceptable' English and on the linguistic features of original speeches and final transcriptions of parliamentary debates.

The method used may be described as anthropological sociolinguistics. Firstly, the development of BSAfE is traced historically in relation to socio-political changes. This is related to language policy issues over a number of decades, arriving at a description of the current socio-political and linguistic environment in South Africa in the late 90's. Secondly, changing language practice in parliament, current editorial practice and features of the text are described. The text is approached by means of a predominantly qualitative overview of three groups of features which are grammar, narrative strategies and discourse resource-bases of the English used. A critical discourse analysis approach is used. The findings are then

contextualized in the broader spectrum of location, time and the prevailing political conditions in South Africa. A breakdown of a large variety of usages of function words (grammar) and content words (idiom, vocabulary) found in the database, is presented. The findings are interpreted in the light of the ANC's historically based mode of resistance, quest for liberation from past practices and formation of a new national identity.

The thesis argues that the features of the African oral tradition and modern Western rhetoric have more similarities than differences. It also argues that a policy of multiple voicing need to be accompanied by an accommodation of linguistic variation in terms of style and grammar to live up to its reputation of being able to 'democratise' society in any way. This thesis further provides an eclectic framework for looking at the phenomenon of New Englishes in a South African setting while drawing on existing frameworks developed elsewhere. The thesis demonstrates how the suggested framework has dealt with the linguistic data. Finally, the framework adds to the theory of approaches to discourse analysis in high status, cross-cultural formal, institutionalised political settings where English serves as the primary lingua franca.

I argue in favour of relaxed boundaries and norms and an inclusive notion of BSAfE which reflects a uniquely South African cultural identification process. Therefore the use of BSAfE in parliament will be presented as a case study of corpus enhancement. I argue in favour of innovation and the importance of the role of dialect in social and public life. My argument is based on the belief that economic prosperity and language policy are closely linked and together shape and are shaped by each other, in turn shaping living conditions in society.

KEYWORDS

Globalization, dehegemonization of language standards, linguistic variation, intercultural language contact, language status, discourse analysis, World Englishes, linguistic human rights, South African English, Black South African English, the Africanization of English,

narrative strategies, discourse studies, the African oral tradition, institutionalized rhetoric, corpus description, anthropological sociolinguistics

ETHICS APPRAISAL

Documents and interviews are treated with confidentiality and used exclusively for the purposes of linguistic analysis. No confidential documents or documents which were not voluntarily forwarded, will be used to inform the study. As much as possible the study is aimed at simply tracing, describing and contextualizing trends.

University of Cape Town

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 PROJECT RATIONALE AND OVERVIEW

This project falls broadly into the field of New Englishes. It describes the characteristics of Black South African English (BSAfE) in an official sphere of usage. I will argue that the possibility exists that English as used in an official realm such as parliament may set new trends and have an impact on expanded parameters of 'acceptability' in terms of South African English in all kinds of fields, particularly education, the media and the legal system. The argument put forward is in favour of a more accommodating notion of official English. Njabulo Ndebele (1987) predicted as a strong possibility that a new kind of English is emerging and becoming the dominant one in Southern Africa, a version which would be a strongly Africanized version of South African English:

South African English must be open to the possibility of its becoming a new language. This may happen not only at the level of vocabulary but also with regard to grammatical adjustments that may result from the proximity of English to indigenous languages (Ndebele 1987:13).

Descriptions of consistent trends in expression, turn of phrase and grammatical construction in a thesis such as this one and others in the field, should eventually provide enough evidence that parameters of BSAfE exist. An accumulative picture of a variety of different microstudies in different contexts may positively influence the attitudes of the users of the variety to the variety, and in turn the attitude of the general public. This in turn may result in its official acceptance and usage by public and private economic and political statutory bodies.

The focus of this thesis is on emerging notions of 'acceptability' of English in a multilingual country using the South African parliament as a case study. The field of study draws from

social theory, anthropological linguistics, sociolinguistics and discourse analysis. Due to socio-political changes in the country with the coming into power of the interim ANC (African National Congress) government in 1994, many laws and policies regarding official language practice have changed. Much work is currently being done in, for instance, language education policy and language curriculum development in line with the NQF. The eleven languages policy has prompted a spate of speculative writing on what the role of English and African languages in general would play, mainly in education in the future. Some work has also been done on translation practices in court (e.g. Kaschula 1995 and others). My study proposes to examine changing language practices and usage in parliament in relation to the new policy developments. Parliament as a research site demands attention due to its pivotal role in current national political transformation, in the development of the South African economy and in the reconnection of the economy with international markets. The cultural and geographical distribution and linguistic composition of parliament in South Africa has changed. The changes in implementation of language rights, usage and priority has brought about changes in transcription and editing policies. My project studies some of the concerns and questions raised in the translation and editing unit in Hansard, for instance new notions of 'correctness' and the nature of training needed for translators and editors. My focus is on both overt and covert policy with regard to 'acceptable' English. The data consists of original speeches and transcriptions of ANC speeches. The thesis seeks to address the following questions:

- How can the corpus of BSAfE currently in use in parliament be recorded and described?
- What type of English is regarded as 'acceptable' in the Hansard unit of parliament?
- What are the overt and covert policies in relation to standard English in parliament?
- In what way have notions of 'acceptable' South African English been expanded in parliament and why?
- What does this particular case study reflect about the nature and status of BSAfE and its future?

- What contribution does this study make to theoretical models of sociolinguistic variation studies in Southern Africa?

The 'variation ideology' 'valorizes linguistic (and ethnic) diversity as a social good in itself' (Neustupny cited in Cameron 1995:28), and condones the accommodation of diversity because it is said to enable minority participation in public discourse. It favours innovation and acknowledges the importance of the role of dialect in social and public life. Officially extended boundaries of language usage, however, do not make the task of educators/users any easier or the responsibility of language educators, editors, translators and transcribers any lighter. On the contrary, they amplify the conflict between two fundamental concepts of linguistic democracy, one being that linguistic varieties should be encouraged, and the other that every individual in society has the right of access to fluent 'Standard English' and that it is the duty of the schools not to withhold this right. If, furthermore, linguists, educationalists and policy-makers resolve to work within the OAU (Organization of African Unity) Language Plan for Action for Africa, this might entail subscribing to a resolution such as the one taken at the PRAESA (Project for Alternative Education in South Africa) Conference in July 1996 at the University of Cape Town. At this International Seminar on language, education and ideology on the African continent, the resolution taken reads as follows:

Our promotion of L1 education goes hand-in-hand with our understanding that the people of Africa should be multilingual citizens in multilingual societies. For this reason, we believe that learners should be encouraged to acquire other relevant languages including languages of international communication and vehicular languages of cross-border, intra-African communication (PRAESA Conference Proceedings 1996, UCT: PRAESA).

In all contexts which are cross- and multilingual, access to educational institutions needs to include multilingual language ability as a criterion, rather than proficiency in L1 (first language), L2 (second language), L3 (third language) or proficiency in the medium of instruction. The other question is how 'intercultural competence' can be defined. Presumably it would mean

understanding cultural practices associated with other languages or dialects of the same language in the environment. In the interests of democratic principles, hybridity, culturally and linguistically, needs to be validated.

To counteract hybridity actively would be to apply nineteenth century norms to 21st century texts in 21st Century contexts. The idea of cultural or racial hybridity was labelled as degenerative and immoral in the literary traditions of the nineteenth century. This explains how in racial formulations of 'hybridity', notions about degeneracy, taint and impurity are also connected to stereotypes about the cultural and moral imperfections of the hybrid. Popular mythologies have often articulated this as innate hybrid culturelessness. 'It is therefore not surprising that assertions of "being cultured", of being civil and respectable, surface continually in a range of popular, literary and theoretical expressions of self among those defined as racial hybrids in South Africa.' Lewis (1999:12) alludes to the reference of hybrid characters created in the texts by South African authors, Richard Rive and Zoe Wicomb in particular. He generally formulates the argument that the view of hybrid selves is generally in the process of transforming itself in the post-modern world. But, contrary to common belief and knowledge, it was at work in South African literatures as early as the early eighties. This was due to the dominating apartheid ideology.

In literary studies, depictions of characters representing hybridized identities are no longer viewed as static in post-structuralist transformational cultural agendas. Transformation agendas view identity as embodied in a process, the process of identification (Hall 1996:130). Identity in this sense, involves the dialectic between dominant discourses and marginal positions as well as the performative, provisional and also always unfinished motion of identification. In the light of this, one needs to remain suspicious of wholesale collective identities such as 'being African' today. One also needs to be suspicious of the powerful agendas of economics and self-gratification at play globally which affect South Africa and which may result in increasing economic insecurity for less powerful nations and groups.

Questions need to be raised in regard to the question of Englishness or what it means to be an 'English speaker' in Africa and South Africa today. To hook into currently dominant class-related standard practices would be to disregard the dialectic potential, identification potential and performative potential of language and personhood. An alternative to linguistic purism is expressed by Kamwangamalu (1992:173). He argues in favour of a positive view of code mixing employed as a mark of elitism, modernization and in-group identification. Kamwangamalu (1992:178) with reference to domains of usage, also raises the interesting distinction between the 'we-code' and the 'they-code' (Gumperz 1989:66). The we-code is the code used by speakers in their communities and social environment among each other, whereas the they-code is the code the same speakers use when communicating with outsiders. In the parliamentary domain this distinction is somewhat blurred. This is because parliament is commonly regarded as a formal domain, although many typical utterances cannot be classified as formal due to the, at times, highly emotional content and tone of the discourse. Two dynamics are at play. There is some degree of in-group identification in the quest for elitism and distinction as well as a large degree of persuasive cross-cultural strategizing, which necessitates the simultaneous usage of both codes.

If one accepts for the sake of argument that English has or will have a dominant status in South Africa, a closer analysis of situations and micro-contexts in which English is clearly dominant, needs to be made. In this project I describe some prominent features of BSAfE and their usage in parliament while also aligning myself with the view that corpus expansion is unavoidable and desirable. I will defend this view with reference to the database used for this project.

Ultimately I argue in favour of relaxed boundaries and norms and an inclusive notion of BSAfE which reflects a uniquely South African cultural identification process. This is done in the interests of its users due to the still currently under-recognized status of BSAfE. Therefore the

use of BSAfE in parliament will be presented as a positive development in the light of my argument in favour of corpus extension. This study aims to contribute to the body of existing theory on variation and change in English in Southern Africa. In doing this, while arguing for the officialization of BSAfE, characteristics of BSAfE are nevertheless compared to their suitability regarding 'standard' equivalents (South African English and African English). The intention is not to use these as a judgmental 'yardstick', but merely as the most convenient way of describing the characteristics of the variety. This project points out, among other things, how existing parliamentary discourses are changed into BSAfE forms and how they are used by parliamentarians of the ANC party in terms of ANC ideology. Their aim is nation-building and credibility-building for persuasive voter appeal. Kandiah points out that in the linguistic world, 'the only way is for participants to enter the discourses of power and to take control of the weapons it offers them, for the purpose both of surviving within it and of resisting, and eventually transforming it to make it effectively serve their own purposes (Kandiah in Parakrama 1995:xxxiii).' How this is done by ANC speakers is also, to some degree, demonstrated in the analysis.

An overview of factors impacting on the socio-economic and political environment in sub-Saharan Africa complements the linguistic analysis to show how English is used for political ends in parliament in South Africa at a certain point in history. It is argued that the existing frameworks which are developed in other countries, are not directly transferable due to the unique and complex conditions which exist in South Africa. This thesis will seek to demonstrate how the suggested eclectic framework could deal with the linguistic data. Finally, this study could add to the theory of approaches to discourse analysis in high status cross-cultural political contexts where English serves as a primary *lingua franca*.

1.2 THE SOUTH AFRICAN LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT

The linguistic complexities of South Africa's multilingual society, and the consequences of handling these complexities in terms of social engineering used to divide people along ethnic lines in the past has compelled linguists, locally and elsewhere, to focus on local situations and micro-contexts as starting points for research. Corson (1997:168/9) lists a number of prominent linguists who have expressed the view that the concerns and interests of Western linguistics are only of minimal value in dealing with the language difficulties of Third World countries. In this regard he refers to Pennycook (1990) who 'notes that the universalizing tendencies of North American research (in particular) coupled with its base in prestigious universities and its faith in the rigour of positivist methods, leads to the export of its findings as a form of universal truth for the rest of the world to grasp.' This leads to exclusive, rather essentialist theorising. Locally, Makoni (1997:14) criticises the economic motivation behind the export of English from America and England to elsewhere in the name of methodological and ideological democratization of its receivers. Thus, in order to make any statements as to what is or is not regarded as 'acceptable' by different social discourse communities in terms of English usage, one has to focus on actual samples of communication and utterance in local micro 'real life' contexts. One also needs to examine the attitudes and political agendas of those defining 'acceptability'. In doing this one may gain insights into the mindsets of specific groups of people and how these mindsets reflect social structures and belief systems about those structures and in turn about what is and isn't acceptable linguistically to the parties concerned and why and how this is verifiable. British linguistics, who's work is underpinned by such democratic inclusive approaches, are, for instance, Cameron et al (1992) and Rampton (1995). Their respective methodological approaches have been influential in this project and will be alluded to in the methodology chapter.

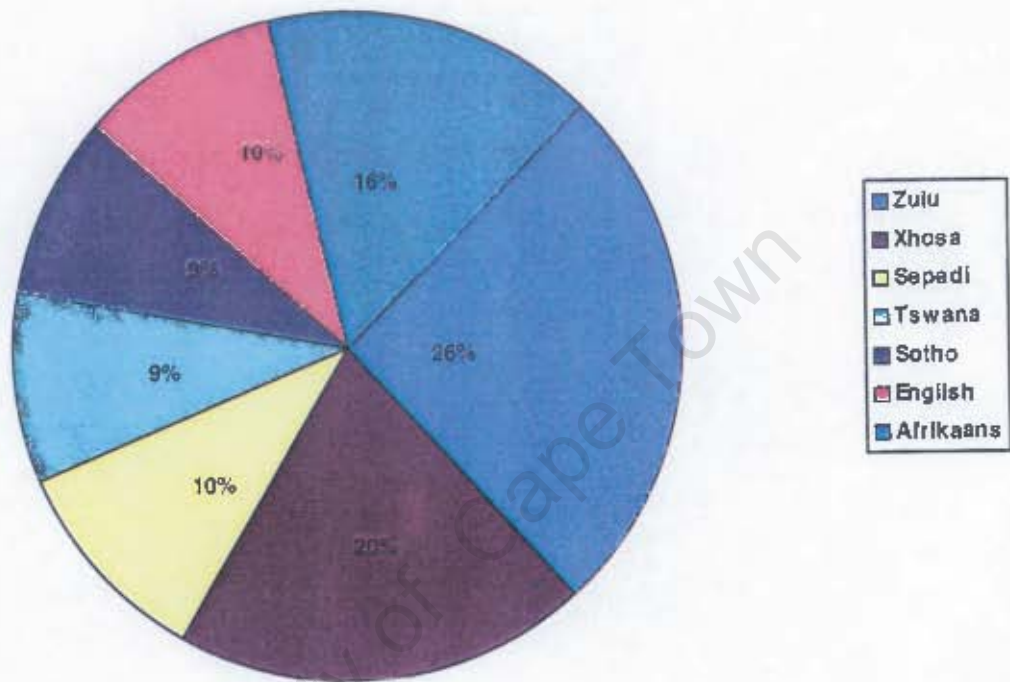
The following section explains why linguistic descriptions of micro-contexts in South Africa are particularly called for at present. Since the early 90's, the energy of many South African

linguists has been taken up by educational and national language policy-making respectively, as well as the link between the two, as quite understandably, the political changes demand. Secondly, the demographic fluidity resulting from the change in government policy has made data collection and generalization extremely difficult. Population shifts since 1992 are a consequence of the lifting of influx control laws (which in the past, prevented people in the artificially created rural 'homelands' from moving to highly urbanized areas in search of employment). Another reason for population shifts on a more micro level is the introduction of a new schooling system and policies which allow for some degree of multilingualism. Thirdly, an additional layer of multilingual complexity is added to our society in the form of refugees from other parts of Africa, such as Mozambique, legally and illegally entering the country and moving about reasonably freely from place to place. In summary then, sociolinguistic shifts have been brought about by the removal of the Group Areas Act, the removal of the homeland policy, constitutionally enshrined multilingualism yet to be substantially implemented (11 official languages), mobility of some of the previously disenfranchised sector of the population into ex-Model C schools (previously 'White schools'), increased access to tertiary education for all and the lifting of the international cultural and economic boycotts, bringing about, in addition to links with other continents, new links with the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa and Africa as a whole.

In South Africa, not only does the above situation make for complexity of data gathering, but also the number of languages spoken. African languages and their number of first language speakers, according to the Central Statistical Services (Stats SA) census, 1996 (reworked in to a graphical presentation reflected below):

- Zulu speakers in the country take 1st place with 9 200 144 (22,67% of the population)
- Xhosa speakers in the country take 2nd place with 7 196 118 (17,73% of the population)
- Sepedi speakers in the country take 4th place with 3 695 846 (9,10% of the population)
- Tswana speakers in the country take 6th place with 3 301 774 (8,14% of the population)

- Sotho speakers in the country take 7th place with 3 104 197 million (7,65% of the population)
- English speakers take 5th place with 3 457 467 (8,52% of the population).
- Afrikaans speakers take 3rd place with 5 811 547 (14,31% of the population)



The proportional distribution of home languages in each province indicated is: (the first 8 in descending order):

Zulu: dominant in Kwa-Zulu Natal (97,10 % of the provincial population) and dominant in Gauteng (21,22%)

Xhosa: dominant in the Eastern Cape (83,30% of the provincial population)

Sepedi: dominant in the Northern Province (52,18% of the provincial population)

Afrikaans: dominant in the Western Cape (58,47% of the provincial population)

Tswana: dominant in the North West Province (66,76% of the provincial population)

Sotho: dominant in the Free State (61,74% of the provincial population)

These statistics indicate firstly, that English is still conspicuously not dominant in terms of numbers of 1st language speakers (rating 4th in the second table and 6th in the first in 1994, with a significant upswing and increase in numbers in 1996). My assessment of what is reflected in these statistics is that a parliamentary language policy would need to take particularly seriously the six language groupings listed above, while simultaneously catering for all minority language rights. The significant upswing in the general use of English calls for research which describes the current state and status of the language and its varieties, dialects and purposes and contexts of usage. This research gives a description of the English used by ANC parliamentarians and how it is handled by Hansard (both the parliamentary translation and the editing unit), which provides historically relevant data for further studies, particularly studies of a chronological comparative nature.

1.3 CHANGING LANGUAGE POLICY AND PRACTICE IN PARLIAMENT

1.3.1 INTRODUCTION

A parliamentary language policy in South Africa needs to take into account the national 11 official languages policy which is designed to assert African language rights. For comparative data in the rest of Africa, one may look at Tanzania, Senegal and particularly Zimbabwe, where multiple languages in the parliamentary contexts co-exist and are put to use practically in procedures and recording. It may also be useful to take into account how African countries which are endoglossic, like Tanzania, Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan and Guinea (extensively discussed by Heine 1992:24), and are committed to developing their indigenous languages as national languages, deal with such a situations in practice. At the same time the South African economy is strategically redesigning itself for maximum engagement with current international political trends in the interest of global economic advantage. A viable language policy would

have to fulfil both aims, alignment and engagement with the African continent, as well as productive international participation. For parliamentarians and Hansard participants to come up jointly with a policy would presuppose a number of information and education workshops on language policy issues. This would need to be followed by a pilot feasibility study to test the strategic and practical viability of the policy. Considerations of these processes are currently underway.

According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (1986), 51 out of 83 countries have only one language in parliament. 57 out of 82 countries have only one language of documentation in parliament. In Congo, Fiji, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, Vanuatu and Zimbabwe any of three languages may be used. China, USSR and Yugoslavia are the only countries where more than four languages are in use in parliament (1986:579). It is perhaps most useful to look at figures from other African countries. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union document cited above, in Congo in 1986, French, Lingala and Munukutuba were the official languages of parliament. No simultaneous translation existed and the language of documentation was French. In Egypt, only Arabic was used and simultaneous translation only for the benefit of foreign delegates. In Gabon and the Ivory Coast, French only was used. In Malawi, Zambia and Uganda, English only was used. In Tanzania, Swahili and English were used. Proceedings were being produced only in the language in which they were performed. In Rwanda, French and Kinyarwanda were used in 1986, in Senegal, French and English, in Somalia, Somali and Arabic (as in South Africa up until 1994 only English and Afrikaans were used). In Zaire, mainly French is used, but any of the 4 national languages are also used. Proceedings are only in French. In Zimbabwe, English, Shona and Ndebele were used, but debates were printed in English.

In summary then, in 1986, in the 15 African countries mentioned, 6 countries used one language only in parliament, 4 used two languages, 3 used more than languages and 2 used five or more languages. At present the South African parliament fits into the last category. The

national 11 official languages policy does make the task of transforming past policies of exclusion in an inclusive system a complex one. The initiatives embarked on in parliament in the past two years are all designed to meet the challenges of linguistic transformation in the governmental and political sectors, and will be discussed in detail.

At present one of the main issues of political transformation in parliament is the language policy issue, i.e. which languages to use for documentation and which for oral communication, in order to represent all 11 official languages in some or other way which may be regarded as equitable by the different language groupings. It is in the interest of the ANC to favour multilingual over monolingual processes, due to the legacy of political injustice which the ANC needs to be seen to address.

The simultaneous translation options were, either, all languages into English only, or, all languages into English and language of the month (Wise, P. 1998:4). In January 1999 there were two proposals in this regard. Firstly, what is termed the 'Language of the month' option: Every month on a rotational basis a language would be chosen for written documentation. In that month all documentation/debate transcripts would appear in the original language in which they were spoken and in an English translation. The language of the month would also be included.

The second option proposed was that all documentation would appear in two official languages plus two other languages (probably a Sotho and a Nguni language). Hansard's deputy editor is of the opinion that there is sense in making viable practical, strategic decisions rather than using political motivations for policy decisions. He maintains that some speakers speak better in their own language, therefore a simultaneous translation unit is needed, but he thinks not into all languages. Policies in this regard will probably not come into effect until after the research processes, research proposals and decision-making processes have run their full course. At January 2000, none of these processes had yet got off the drawing board.

There are two significant historical dates during which linguistic changes in the parliamentary setting occurred. Firstly, in 1983, with inception of the Tricameral Parliament, the language profiles of parliamentarians changed significantly. On another level however, that is in Hansard, the practitioner profile stayed more or less the same as before. Speech patterns have probably changed, but transcription, editing and publishing policy and the profiles of participants were much the same as before. Recording procedures were done in 'standard' SAfE and in 'standard' Afrikaans, as before. Since 1994, in terms of the Constitution Section 3, provision is made for 11 official languages. Since then too, the kind of English used in parliament has been under focus. This is due to the dominant party's constituency of a large number of African language speakers. The Speaker's response to the launch of the new Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles (a dictionary which deliberately validates local forms of speech), was given in her speech titled 'Transforming the language of parliament. 'She said: 'Just as we relaxed the dress code, we should also not force MPs into verbal suits and ties, or gloves and hats, which would be out of character. Hansard should reflect the character of our debates, with the full range of South African idiom, and languages' (Ginwala 1996:1). She adds: 'With the help of this dictionary, we should be able to add our own linguistic umngqusho or bobotie.' (Ginwala 1996:3). By the use of these two words she is publicly validating African and Eastern influences on local culture and languages.

The 1994 a change in participant profiles was accompanied by another significant political change. This is the change from a Nationalist Party dominated government to an ANC dominant government with the New Constitution as legitimating tool of empowerment. There is pressure on the ANC to wish to comply with and apply affirmative action policies as rapidly as possible. Due to this, as well as due to urgent practical needs to have African language speakers involved in the translation, editing and transcriptions procedures, the participant profile in the Hansard unit has also changed.

A national identity crisis in terms of forming a configuration of nationhood has resulted from the ANC coming into power. Particularly the ANC itself has to reconstrue its notion of its role and mission:

Popular organizations are beset by a crisis of role and identity. With the ANC in government, their former oppositional character has been declared an anachronism and they have been urged to move 'from resistance to reconstruction.' This implies abandoning mobilization and overt political activities in favour of 'delivering' development, a process that requires reorienting organizational objectives towards projected development and implementation, and participation in policy-making. It demands new skills, organizational systems, forms of interaction with constituencies and the state, even a new ethos. It also calls into question the sheer relevance of some organizations when the state is seen to be better equipped to perform their tasks (Marais 1998:209).

Although the coming of this new political order should have signalled the end of resistance politics, the analysis of this project shows that this has not happened. While a new political order lends opportunities for 'home-grown' policies and practices, South Africa seems to be, as Makoni (1997) has pointed out, still largely dependent on imported models. The involvement of the Plain Language Movement (PLM) in parliament is one example of this. The PLM draws its models from Europe, Australia and Canada. In contrast to this, the Pan South African Language Board (PanSalb) purports to be more African orientated.

1.3.2 THE PLAIN LANGUAGE INITIATIVE

The Plain Language Movement, which is a world-wide active organization, was involved in helping the ANC formulate the new Constitution during 1995. The Plain Language Movement is an international body advocating the use of plain language in business, government and legal dealings with the general public. Its success rate may be measured by the fact that in the UK, government forms have been substantially revised between 1979 and 1985 as a result of pressure from the Plain English Campaign. It has had an ongoing impact in South Africa, according to a report published on it in *English Today* January 1996. By 1996 the Labour

Relations Act and the Mine Health and Safety Bill had already been drafted in Plain English (Ginwala 1996:2). In 1999 The Speakers' Forum and the European Union implemented a 'language plaining' project in parliament. The Parliamentary Support Programme was established to support the role and the functions of the national and provincial legislature. An advertisement appeared in the *Mail & Guardian* (3-9 September 1999 edition) calling for a team of plain language experts who would advise and assist the Parliamentary Plain Language Task Team in the formulation and implementation of the Plain Language Project for Parliament. The work would include research, formulation of policy, procurement of resources, training, monitoring and evaluation. The definition of Plain Language given in the terms of reference is: writing for the reader, arranging ideas logically and clearly, communicating points simply, using short concise sentences, using clear language and designing documents which are user-friendly. (Task Team on Plain Language: Terms of Reference, 1999:2). It is further stated that all participants in the proposal formulation process agreed that the use of plain language would improve communication between parliament and its clients, increase participation in the legislative process, increase access to information, make parliament more user-friendly and save time and money (7 September 1999:3).

This project is to be implemented over a 12 month period throughout the duration of 2000 by means of various phases of workshopping, research and training. The success rate of this project would depend on the amount of money made available by the EU, the familiarity of the outside consultants with parliamentary procedures, needs and wants and on the degree of co-operation of parliamentary staff with the outside task team, which depends largely on their identification with it in terms of personal needs and aspirations within the context of the project. As already mentioned, workplace transformation is always painful, stressful and threatening to an individual. Psychological barriers related to these issues may be more powerful than linguistic ones and also need to be addressed alongside linguistic factors.

There have been several changes. A noteworthy trend is that standards of English in the media since the early 90's have also changed. From 1994 onwards, there was a swing towards an 'anything goes' language attitude in terms of pronunciation and expression. Since then this policy seemed to have swung back from more or less standard SAfE norms to broader norms on and off. Currently (1998 and 1999) it seems that the American and British accented applicants are favoured on television for advertisements, news reading and announcements for the hosting of entertainment and music shows. Although language policies in the media and decisions made in broadcasting and the entertainment and information worlds are not discussed here, the trends over time in these contexts compared to trends in parliament, are nevertheless noteworthy and may offer interesting comparative observations.

1.3.3 A LANGUAGE POLICY PROPOSAL FOR PARLIAMENT

The issue of representation of 11 official languages and the implementation of the national multilingual language policy is currently being addressed by PanSalb (Pan South African Language Board) who were mandated by parliament to commission research resulting in a policy proposal for parliament. PanSalb is a statutory body, established in terms of the PanSalb Act no. 59 of 1995 (amended as PanSalb Amendment Act, 1999) in order to develop South Africa's previously marginalised languages and promote multilingualism in South Africa. In terms of section 8(5) of the PanSalb Amendment Act of 1999, PanSalb 'shall initiate or investigate legislation, policy and practice dealing directly or indirectly with language in general and provisions of the Constitution dealing directly or indirectly with language at any level of government, or cause it to be investigated, and may submit recommendations thereon to any legislature or organ of state.' Arising from this mandate an advertisement placed by PanSalb appeared in the *Mail & Guardian* in June 1999, inviting interested persons or organizations to apply for three proposed research projects, one being 'to conduct a study on possible language policies for Parliament and their implementation.' The Chief Executive Officer of PanSalb, Mr Mabelebele explained, in a telephonic conversation relating to an enquiry about the

advertisement, that PanSalb were envisioning a process in which primarily parliamentarians would be consulted as to what they regard as viable. He further explained that a consultative decision would be regarded as most acceptable to PanSalb and the public in general but that the decision would not be based on a rigid and literally interpreted '11 languages policy'. It would be based on an 'in principle decision' regarding what is and isn't viable in that specific context. In my view, the questions of language choice and application in parliament need to be informed by initial questions such as:

- How does this policy compare with those in other African countries?
- How are multiple national languages handled in parliament in other parts of Africa?
- What about the cost of translation and transcription?
- Which languages should be recorded and which published in the debate proceedings?
- Who reads the proceedings and to whom should they be available and accessible?
- What about languages which are not 'official'? Are they going to be disallowed?
- What is the most fair and at the same time economically feasible democratic solution to the issue?

It is significant to observe how trends in language in South Africa interact with usage, policy and practice elsewhere in the world. It is interesting to note that PanSalb chooses to draw its theoretical models from Africa only. While it is not clear whether any of these African language policy models are either internationally economically viable or internally empowering of their respective populations, one needs to focus on the interface of linguistic and economic agendas. In order to create a philosophical framework with which to approach linguistic data, one needs to gain an understanding of how economic and linguistic markets converge and relate to each other. This is addressed, to some extent, in the next chapter.

2. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the connection between economic and linguistic trends is explained. The motivation for this is that South Africa's recent political transformation has called for increasing attention to questions of ethnicity and nationalism, 'fields in which politics, power and ideology converge with issues of language, culture and identity (Blommaert 1997:4).' Blommaert further motivates for an approach which 'combined close ethnographic observations with macro-societal or more general political developments, and inserted a *duree* perspective into the analysis. The outcome is an insightful picture of how social power relations as well as general political and ideological preferences are transmitted through various institutions, and finally influence or control everyday communicative behavior 'on the ground (1997:4).'

What is highlighted is how a cultural trend such as the call for an African Renaissance, becomes economically as well as linguistically influential. This has repercussions in the quest for new political, cultural and linguistic identity formations in the 'New South Africa'. Background knowledge about the cultural and political identification processes speakers are engaged in, is a crucial part of the meaningful linguistic interpretation of speeches:

Studies of language use are called for which concentrate on what Hymes calls *the means of speaking*.

This includes information on the local linguistic repertoire, the totality of distinct language varieties, dialects and styles employed in a community (Gumperz 1982:155).

The role which BSAfE (Black South African English) plays in this national re-identification, is of primary concern in this project and is discussed against the backdrop of socio-political issues. Silverstein points out:

Languages and their locally recognized variants become emblems (iconically essentialized indexes) of their users' positions in a shifting field of identities. So, studying the distribution and dynamics of such emblems (tokens of words and expressions in particular languages) in discursive deployment is an important kind of evidence about what is happening in the larger societal matrix (1998:411).

Similarities and differences between BSAfE and AAVE (African American Vernacular English) are analysed in order to demonstrate that the chances of a projected future official status for BSAfE far exceeds that of AAVE. In order to lend depth to this argument, a historical overview of the consistent development of BSAfE is given. This development took place against the background of political disenfranchisement, but also as a result of political disenfranchisement of its speakers. The result is what is called a 'syncretic project, in which linguistic elements from all parts of grammars of both [in this case many] languages are combined and recombined, producing texts marked by Bakhtinian heteroglossia (Gal 1989:359).'

BSAfE is also compared to, what is generally termed, African English in order to highlight similarities and differences. All the above-mentioned aspects help to assess the marketability of an official notion of BSAfE and its future role in South African public and private life.

2.2 GLOBALIZATION AND LINGUISTIC MARKETS

Processes such as colonization, state and class formations, the expansion of capitalism, and transnational labor migration, have linguistic consequences:

Local languages are abandoned or subordinated to "world languages" in diaglossic relations; newly adopted standards become differentiated into class-stratified varieties and ways of speaking; world languages develop divergent forms among the elites of former colonies. Indeed, entirely new languages - pidgins, creoles, or other syncretic codes - are

fomed and often stigmatized, as speakers of different languages interacts and form new classes in various colonial and neocolonial urban centers and institutions (Gal 1989:356).

Kachru (1983:49) states that the intelligibility factor of a language variety is influenced by situation and effectiveness and needs to be defined in regional, national and international terms. Intelligibility is best determined by setting up a framework for analysis which can accommodate varied notions of situatedness and appropriacy. It is useful to draw comparisons between different African Englishes in this regard because such comparisons confirm a sense of cross-continental continuity as well as explaining and confirming regional uniqueness.

The term globalization is used to describe the increase in cross-border economic interdependence and integration. This has resulted from the opportunity afforded by technology for greater mobility of ideas, information, production and goods and services throughout the world. Telecommunication facilitates interaction between parties from different countries. Through the spread of technology, especially common usage of the Internet and e-mail, people from different countries are practically next door neighbours:

The cornerstone of Giddens's theorizing (1991:84) is the claim that the contemporary experience of life and of selfhood, in what he calls 'late' or high modernity, is profoundly different from the 'traditional' or 'pre-modern' experience. His argument runs that the electronic media have altered the 'situational geography of modern life to the extent that our experiences of social life are more fluid, uncertain, and complex than in pre-mass-mediated life. (Coupland, Nussbaum and Grossman (1993: xvi).

Institutions in the past, such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the World Trade Organization (WTO), regulate the relationships between trading countries. They regulate export tariffs and import duties to create and ensure a free-market. At the same time, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) influence government policies regarding trade.

Countries and organizations are not only affected by WTO, but also promote and extend it through their activities. The economies of individual countries are now, post-1994, more integrated with one another than during the time of the international economic and cultural boycotts during the apartheid era. Where and how raw materials are found and distributed have also changed in South Africa (SA) since the lifting of the boycotts.

The new globalization trend is not confined to business but includes cultural, political, legal, economic and social practices. A greater crossing of cultural boundaries has been facilitated by globalization. Products ranging from cola-beverages to blue denim jeans are consumed throughout the world. This is commonly referred to as the McDonaldization of culture. Similarly cultural artefacts and products, including languages, are marketed in the global economy. It follows that linguistic capital attached to certain languages shapes and is shaped by the people who employ it as a resource. The notion of linguistic capital is thus linked to the concept of human capital. The development of a country's human capital requires investment in the education and training of individuals. Education is a sound basis for an investment in human capital, particularly where literacy development is seen to be linked to increased economic productivity. How literacy development is applied, inadvertently effects the positive or negative linguistic capital of different languages. The consideration in each choice and decision as to what language is to be used, or which variety or dialect, is always based on economics. Labour trained in a specific language is said to boost economic growth, productivity and ultimately employment. If, and only if, a country invests in its linguistic capital 'successfully', can its human capital be realized. The linguistic capital of a language increases with the degree of economic power held by a nation. 'This may be military or cultural or economic - or in the case of the US, arbiter of world English, all of the above' (Geary 1997:53). It is predicted that 'English could fragment into mutually unintelligible spoken forms, the way Latin fragmented into French, Spanish and other languages some 1,500 years ago' and that a likely scenario 'is the emergence of a regionally neutral conversational English for international use, with each country retaining its own national variation' (Geary 1997: 53). While I agree with these

statements to some degree, the concept of 'neutrality' is problematic, because, if language is seen as socially and culturally constituted and constituting, no utterance can ever be neutral. Nevertheless, the notion of two broadly defined normative uses of English, regional local norms and a currently emerging international one, is widely accepted. Both norms serve their specific purposes, nor is one subjugated to the other in any way. Both therefore possess a kind of marketability in their own right.

Bourdieu (1991) suggests that language/'linguistic products' are offered on a 'market' like any other product. He maintains that linguistic products have value only if there is a market for them. Their value fluctuates according to the market on which they are presented and the demand on that market for such a product. The analogy is that of product vs consumer. The market plays a part in shaping not only the symbolic value but also the meaning of discourse:

The linguistic product is only completely realized as a message if it is treated as such, that is to say, if it is decoded, and the associated fact that the schemes of interpretation used by those receiving the message in their creative appropriation of the product offered may diverge, to a greater or lesser extent, from those which guided its production (Bourdieu 1991:38)

It is not language as such which circulates on the market which constitutes 'the product', but a range of stylistically distinct discourses 'marked both in their production, in so far as each speaker fashions an idiolect from the common language, and in their reception, in so far as each recipient helps to produce the message which he perceives and appreciates by bringing to it everything that makes up his singular and collective experience' (Bourdieu 1991:39). He points out that communication between classes (or ethnic or cultural groups) is always the most charged, because words then carry all their social connotations with them and are open to a range of interpretations. 'Each word, each expression, threatens to take on two antagonistic senses, reflecting the way in which it is perceived by sender and receiver' (Bourdieu 1991:40). This means that utterances are interpreted differently from the way they

were intended. At the same time participants frame events and negotiate the interpersonal relationships that constitute those events. All this requires proficiency in the language and culture of the situation. As a result, communicators from different cultures may have difficulty understanding all that is going on and getting across their own meanings. For instance, ANC parliamentarians 'market' their party and its policy by persuasive means such as they would in good advertising. Good advertising was set in motion by Saachi and Saachi who 'marketed' the ANC party for the 1994 elections. Parliamentary genre and style of debate may thus adhere to consumer culture. Bhatia (1997:363) alludes to the notion of consumer culture in terms of style and genre. In parliament there is a concerted effort to promote a positive image for the ANC and its representative members. Elements of promotion are inherent in all institutionalized genres, whether social, professional or academic. The South African parliament and its conventions frame the schemas of parliamentary debates. A wide range of conventions is used because of the cross-cultural mix of participants involved.

The question which arises is, how does 'the market' advantage certain language users above others? Language use perpetuates disadvantagedness in certain ways. Bernstein's distinction between restricted and elaborated codes is useful as a framework for understanding how disadvantagedness is created and perpetuated linguistically by social class. An elaborate code is a formal code which is characterized by 'accurate grammatical order and syntax to regulate what is said; the use of complex sentences that employ a range of devices for conjunction and subordination; the demonstration of frequent use of prepositions to show relationships of both a temporal and logical nature; the demonstration of frequent use of the pronoun *I*; the use of a carefully selected range of adjectives and adverbs; allows for remarks to be qualified'; and , according to Bernstein (1971:169), an elaborate code 'is a language use which points to the possibilities inherent in a complex conceptual hierarchy for the organizing of experience' (Wardhaugh 1990: 328). By a restricted code he means a public code which :

employs short grammatically simple, and often unfinished sentences of poor syntactic form; uses a few conjunctions simply and repetitively; employs little subordination; tends toward a dislocated presentation of information; is rigid and limited in the use of adjectives and adverbs; makes infrequent use of impersonal pronoun subjects; confounds reason and conclusions; makes frequent appeals to 'sympathetic circularity', e.g. *You know?*; uses idioms frequently, and is 'a language of implicit meaning (Wardhaugh 1990:328).

Not all social classes have access to elaborated codes, particularly lower working-class people and their children, because an elaborated code is the medium of instruction in most schooling for the economically privileged but not the economically disenfranchised. 'When schools attempt to develop in children the ability to manipulate elaborated code, they are really involved in trying to change cultural patterns, and such involvement may have profound social and psychological consequences for all engaged in the task. Educational failure is likely to be the result.' (Wardhaugh 1990:329). In South Africa it has been demonstrated that educational failure is inevitably the result. Bernstein's argument is that members of the lower working-class most frequently use a restricted code, which limits access to the potential intellectual horizons of its speakers. Opposing views on this have been expressed but will not be discussed here. However, the relevance of Bernstein's theory to the South African situation is as follows. It has been proposed that a policy of additive bilingualism in the schooling system would greatly boost the development of elaborated codes, thereby enhancing literacy and human resource development. This is based on the fact that the majority of school children in South Africa attended Department of Education and Training (DET) schools (schools reserved for black pupils only) pre-1994. In this system the development of the mother tongue as a language of learning was severely restricted by legislation. The use of African languages for public and economic purposes was also suppressed. In order to counteract this deficit of intellectual activity in the African mother tongues, a bilingual system of education seeks to validate and hopefully extend African languages into the realm of learning, therefore assisting the development of elaborated codes in both languages. Because of the absence of large scale staff re-training and in the absence of large budget allocations for the publication of suitable

teaching materials, additive bilingualism has not yet been implemented or assessed on a large scale. Consequently the proposed eradication of non-literacy which is top of the agenda in the Education ministry, is progressing extremely slowly.

Far from the common beliefs that African languages, and varieties of English will become disenfranchised by globalization, I would argue that sub-Saharan Africa as a region, and Africa as a continental entity, are forming sub-cultural and economic networks in which multilingualism is gaining more official credibility. Here it also needs to be emphasised that alternative markets for, for instance, varieties of English have been in existence for a long time. Steadman (1984:138) points out that alternative theatre in Johannesburg, South Africa has thrived during the apartheid era, albeit under severely restricting conditions.

Valid questions are being asked about, firstly the status and role of African languages. What is the role of English in a pan- African economic environment? Does the African Renaissance need continual reliance on the English language to make itself marketable, credible and powerful in the eyes of the global market? The last question highlights one of the most important questions that may be asked about the African Renaissance movement and its 'identification' processes at present.

Human history has demonstrated that what leads a people and a language to power is either a technological or scientific advantage. For instance, it may be said that what gave the British the advantage over the Spanish or Portuguese seafarers in the process of colonisation was the invention of the seaclock by which it was possible to measure longitude. This seaclock was invented by John Harrison over a period of 40 years, being in its final version in 1770. It was commissioned by the Board of Longitude, the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, London (Sobel 1998). The seaclock enabled the British to sail and explore safely and successfully, and consequently to conquer the oceans, and in the process spread their language across the globe.

Globalization then has various linguistic consequences. On the one hand, it could bring about language change, the loss or even 'death' of the language of the colonized and minority peoples and the economically disempowered. On the other hand the question arises as to whether global commonalities of style and acceptability of English, rather than local ones, have to be adopted in order to secure a stable position in the world economic market. But a question remains: What claim can the local languages have in the global market?

Globalization increases the number of potential markets for certain languages. This is particularly the case with the English language. Globalization results in exposure and access to the latest trends and technologies. In linguistic terms this would be either access to dominant world-trade languages such as Japanese and German, or to International English, for which several corpuses exist. While the focus in this study is on English, some background is necessary in order to place this study in the context of work done so far. What follows is an overview of a number of comprehensive sources regarding Englishes around the World. The series *Varieties of English Around the World* edited by Görlach, is a collection of volumes of papers incorporating sociolinguistic descriptions of Englishes around the globe. It is representational of the trend for language dictionaries, lexicons and ways of thinking about standard written forms to assume a descriptive rather than prescriptive function.

The Fourth International Conference on World Englishes sparked an ongoing argument between various prominent sociolinguists on what is known as the 'Inner', 'Outer' and 'Expanding Circles' of English. By 'inner' is meant American English and British English, 'outer' is the rest of Europe, while 'expanding' includes South Africa, Asia and other third world/developing world contexts. The lively debate between Brutt-Griffler (1998:381-392) and Widdowson (1998:379-401) sums up the issues. Brutt-Griffler responds to Widdowson's article titled 'EIL, ESL and EFL' ('English as an International Language, English as a Second Language and English as a Foreign Language'): She accuses Widdowson of arguing that the

Englishes on the periphery should have different names from 'English or Englishes' because they are really 'something else' or will in any case soon be something so removed from English that they will be 'something else'. Brutt-Griffler is accused by Widdowson of arguing that English in the Inner Circle should be the custodian of EIL. Both seem to be defending themselves against accusations of imperial linguicism (linguistic exclusivity and prejudices), both being in the inner circle themselves, and regarding themselves as such. The argument centres around the notion of whether EIL and local dialects need to be kept separate and viewed as separate, which is what Widdowson seems to argue, or whether EIL and local dialects are conflatable, and should conflate, which is what Brutt-Griffler seems to point out. Brutt-Griffler, in summary, is in favour of training all speakers of English in international communication by which she means teaching non-native literatures, dialects and cross-cultural sensitivities and awarenesses. While this is somewhat altruistic, training in international communication in South Africa would perhaps go a long way towards making Black speakers of English in Southern Africa recognize that their dialects are part of World Englishes rather than non-standard, second languages, semi-appropriate forms of discourse, as they have been deliberately officially constructed by the education system in the past in order to disenfranchise the majority of people in the country.

The International Corpus of English organization (the ICE) states its mission as follows:

We expect the results of investigations in the ICE corpora to lead to an appraisal of the English that is taught and to decisions on what are to be accounted as errors in teaching and in examinations. The corpora can provide the data for scholarly dictionaries and grammars, from which pedagogical works will be derived. The institutionalization of indigenous varieties of English will influence the continuance of English in second-language countries. Greenbaum and Nelson (1996:13).

In addition, the ICE Project is set to facilitate comparative studies:

The co-existence of parallel corpora opens exciting possibilities for comparative and contrastive studies. We can envisage various groupings. To name just a few: first-language Englishes

versus second-language Englishes; British English and English influenced by it, versus American Englishes and those under American influence; African Englishes versus Asian Englishes: and the English of West Africa versus the English of East Africa. We should be able to seek answers to questions such as: What is common to the English in all countries where it is used for internal communication? What is common to the English in those countries where it is a second language and what can be ascribed to the influence of indigenous languages? (Greenbaum and Nelson 1996:12)

Research on normativity in terms of English usage is thus important for the provision of benchmarks for the kind of research work presented in this thesis. Using external benchmarks to view the data is important, if one assumes that it is desirable to include global perspectives in research on local language issues.

The political changes since 1994, as well as the direct consequence of this, namely SA's re-connectedness to the global economy, has put the South African business, public and private sectors under a lot of stress. In periods of change people are expected to do something different, which in effect is asking them to go on a painful journey towards personal transformation. The intranational and international changes discussed above have resulted in the questioning of cultural identification practices by South African citizens. These practices have more or less been forced, by means of national legislations, to stay static for a number of decades. The political and societal changes in South Africa in the 90's have been severely challenging to both those in power at present and those previously disempowered members of society. Those already economically empowered can buy technological change and acquire it easily. This still leaves the previously disenfranchised majority uninitiated and with no access to economic upliftment. The sector of the population which is likely to be technologically advantaged in 5-19 years time is the tertiary qualified sector, the ex-model C school graduates, with the ex-House of Representatives (HoR) schools (schools reserved for 'coloured' pupils only) and ex- DET school graduates (DET schools were those reserved for black pupils only) left largely unaffected by the changes. This is largely due to the lack of computers, and

computer-related education and a multitude of other techno-literacy-enhancing resources in the two latter cases. Therefore, the challenges which South African economists, politicians and the public face at present are to re-orientate organizational objectives towards delivery.

An illustration of how these re-orientation's are being put in place, is illustrated by a description of the initiatives currently underway in the country and the possible implications this might have for individuals, languages and Englishes. Rapid technological implementation has changed existing economic processes. This has required individuals to adapt to new skills and activities, to job re-descriptions and to new and different measures of success. Cost-containment 'downsizing' regulations have brought with them additional administrative burdens on employed retained staff in the corporate and private sectors. The introduction of customer-based, service-based and demand-side strategies has brought a new set of behaviours and new rules regarding acceptable linguistic competencies. This applies specifically to South Africa where cross-cultural work teams and management teams require expanded communicative and public relations skills repertoires. If individuals are required to adapt to the new global, national/regional and corporate, organizational cultural norms, what is in effect demanded is a change in the culture the individual subscribes to. Culture may be defined here as art, customs, history, beliefs and values and language. A change in culture in effect implies and requires a change in identity. This change in identity requires changes in language practice. This practice refers firstly, to the usages of different languages (English is still mainly used throughout), and secondly, to what is talked about and prioritized, how it is talked about, and how the utterances match the new contexts. It goes without saying that it takes considerable time for new norms to emerge when global and local pressure acts as catalyst and pressurize individuals to change who they are, what they think, and to adapt to new norms and to new dimensions of political correctness'. This may leave the individual feeling threatened and apparently resistant and unco-operative.

Often individuals in organizations don't understand the frame and hence the new contexts, in which the changes are required. Nor, being uninformed, do individuals understand the reasons for the required changes. Individuals may not be informed adequately by those in power implementing the changes as to what the changes are, why they are required and what is required and how the changes can be made this is because the people may exist outside the discourses of the 'corridors of power'. The required changes don't necessarily fit into their cultural schemes. There often is no visible incentive for meeting the challenges of change in terms of positive reward or gratification. This is because changes often advantage the already powerful. It is commonly understood in the theories cited in this chapter, that changes are implemented mainly for the purpose of advantage in the local and global powergame

The theory of change described in the previous paragraph relates to language issues as follows. In the process of identification modification, the initial/ 'primary discourses' (Gee 1990) and cultures, ethics and behaviours are often sacrificed in favour of 'dominant discourses'. By discourse is meant 'language as social practice determined by social structures (Fairclough 1989:41). While I don't subscribe to the total separation of primary and secondary discourses because of my belief that language is always hybrid and polydialectic, this distinction is useful in pointing out why African languages, as they have existed, have been seen to be threatened by technology and what Phillipson (1992) calls 'linguistic imperialism'. I, however, propose to invert this assertion that primary discourses always give way to dominant discourses by demonstrating how the primary discourses of speakers in this study act as powerful resource-bases and are mobilized within the dominant secondary discourses (in English) to the advantage of the speakers. This project focuses on the embeddedness of primary discourses within the discourse features of parliament. An analysis of the grammar and typical constructions used by speakers, as well as an analysis of some of the editorial practices, shows how the primary discourses in this case blend with and are integrated in the dominant discourses.

2.3 THE AFRICAN RENAISSANCE

The significance of a discussion of the African Renaissance in this project lies primarily in its potential role as counter-movement undermining the marketability of English in Africa. It is argued in this project that this does not seem to be the case. How an indigenization trend such as the African Renaissance interacts with the drive towards economic globalization, is an important consideration for language politics in any given region.

The relevance of the African Renaissance movement to this project is that it has set a tone and a definite direction into which identification politics are moving in South Africa. It has become the all-encompassing concept under the umbrella of which the post-apartheid power struggle for international economic inclusion of South Africa is being played out, especially under the leadership of President Thabo Mbeki.

One of the most significant effects of globalization is the awakening of new ethnic and regional affiliations. The current upsurge of the African Renaissance may be viewed against the background of mobilization of economic power via globalization. Secondly it may be seen against the background of new translocal interactions. The new trend towards global networks strengthens local identity. The African intelligentsia's response is to enter into a conversation about identity, as well as about the role of the languages of Africa as resources for economic and social progress. The African Renaissance movement presumably has the aim of continued use of African languages for economics, public life and education. While it is common in many African countries for African speakers to speak three to six African languages in addition to their own mother tongue, it is also common in Africa to receive schooling in English and to be at least conversationally competent in English as an additional or foreign language.

The term 'African Renaissance' has gained wide currency over time and is open to multiple perspectives of interpretation. Dr E. Maloka (1999:30), executive director of the African

Institute, traces the notion of an African Renaissance back to an essay written in 1905 by a South African, Pixley ka Isaka Seme, who advocated for 'The Regeneration of Africa'. Similarly the Nigerian, Nnandi Azikiwe published his 'Renascent Africa' in 1937. Cheikh anta Diop, a Senegalese, published an essay in 1948 titled 'When can we talk of an African Renaissance?' Following this was Basil Davidson's (1955) *The African Awakening* and the better known Leonard Barnes's *African Renaissance* in 1969. Maloka also observes that a weakness of the "first wave" renaissance movement was its failure to develop into a social movement, as it was confined to intellectuals and a political elite (1999:30). He holds out much hope for the current movement to display the capacity to handle intra- and inter-state conflict and the potential to change from an idea into a fully implemented strategic action.

The term was first used in connection with SA's African policy in late 1996. 'I am an African' was first said formally in public by Thabo Mbeki on May 8th 1996 in his opening address to the country's Constitutional Assembly, immediately prior to the adoption of South Africa's new Constitution. 'I am an African' opened up much speculation on what being an African means in the light of the current activities of the African Renaissance movement.

The quest for an African Renaissance partially parallels the African-American experience in which a Black Renaissance refers to the insertion of the voice of the African Diaspora in the changing international circumstances. In late 1996, the journal *Black Renaissance/Renaissance Noir* invites the 'Black genius to apply itself to the realities of the 21st Century with uncompromising, thoughtful, generous... commentary (Diawara 1996:6).' It was this same spirit which carried Black Consciousness in South Africa, the Caribbean and the United States. One fundamental difference is that Black Consciousness was deliberately rooted in and focused on the development, revival and nurturing of African oral traditions, language awarenesses, culture, song, poetry for the expression and assertion of intellectual, spiritual and ideological ideas. The cultural 'artifacts' served as voice and as vehicle for the propagation, expression and 'marketing' of pro-African ideas of unity, collaboration and liberation from

colonial chains and domination. What emerged in the Black Consciousness movement in the late seventies and early eighties is what Shava (1989:98) calls the 'literature of assertion'. This embodied a revolutionary didacticism and an associated experimentation with language form and style, particularly in poetry. It needs to be stressed that the Black Consciousness movement of the 60's and 70's in South Africa was relegated almost exclusively to the cultural arena because of its being barred from official political and public channels.

While the oral traditions of Black Consciousness are termed assertive, revolutionary and experimental, the oral conventions in parliament at the time of my data collections parallel the assertiveness and experimental nature, but may be termed simultaneously assertive and insertive rather than revolutionary. They are insertive because of the urgent quest of South Africans to reinsert themselves in the global economic marketplace in order to resist being appropriated as a resource-base for foreign economies.

The African Renaissance movement, while still focused on black genius, is also addressing itself to the realities of the 21st Century. The movement has launched a desperate economic appeal to Africa to 'wake up' and not be left behind by global technological progress. President Thabo Mbeki is riding the wave of President Mandela's world fame and high profile, and hoping thereby to gather credibility for South Africa to be recognized as an economic force and to be reinserted into the life of the African continent after decades of isolation. His goal is also to provide some kind of leadership in the rest of Africa, thereby securing the African continent as a recognized powerbase in the global markets of the future. Such a 'mission' would require a collaborative attempt at policy making and implementation which would secure tight cultural, intellectual and economic links for South Africa in the rest of Africa. Njabulo Ndebele, a leading South African intellectual, has however pointed out:

...the return to mythical roots ceases to be a compelling factor of mobilization in the face of the sheer weight of existing socio-cultural realities that demand to be addressed on their own

terms...the call for black roots has less effect than the provision of water and sanitation, electricity, telephones, house, clinics, transport, schools and jobs. (Ndebele 1997).

The question one asks, also raised by others; for instance Vale and Maseko (1998:285) is, how does the economic agenda set by Mbeki facilitate the tapping of productive energy of African literatures, languages, oral narratives, poetry, dance, music and visual arts? The term 'Renaissance', in its European traditional sense, connotes resurgence of cultural vitality and creativity. One wonders in what way this is being realized by the current globalist and competitive trade- driven version of the concept as used by Thabo Mbeki and the ANC? How do the African communities on the African continent share in this economic power game and how do they benefit? In what way are their languages and cultures being validated in the globalist and Africanist economic markets? In the specific terms of this project, in what way have African Englishes, and more specifically modes of BSAfE expression and metaphor, gained currency and status in South Africa due to their high rate of occurrence? What are the chances of BSAfE gaining mobility and official recognition as language of trade at least in the South African region?

Whether increased mother-tongue publication of literature and teaching material in African languages is going to happen in SA, is not yet clear. The educational publishing market is frozen at present. National financial deficits make any kind of 'new educational language policy' an almost impossible dream to realise. Furthermore, the idea of learning in African languages is not a popular one, neither among those who are well-informed of the pedagogical soundness of such practices, nor among the less-informed, who remain the economically disenfranchised majority, who are mainly in favour of English, as the NEPI (National Education Policy Investigation) reports of 1992 have demonstrated.

The question is, how far is SA being seen and accepted as truly 'African' by the inhabitants of the rest of Africa? This may be measured by the fact that in Cape Town's first bid for the

Olympic Games, in the first round of voting, African delegates failed to support South Africa (Mbeki 1977). South Africans need to reformulate what it means to be African. A multitude of perceptions on this exist. What the roles of the African languages in the African Renaissance are or are likely to be, also needs to become more overt. So far it seems that the ideological and formulatory discourses of the movement are held, conducted and recorded wholly in English. Could this mean that English is finally being owned and officially recognised as an African language? While this raises the issue of French as an African language, it is already widely known that the French themselves are gradually accepting the inevitable domination of the English language in economic and the public sphere internationally (Wright 2000:48).

The goals of the African Renaissance in the SA arena are formulated by one of Africa's leading authors/intellecuals, as follows:

If South Africa sustains its democracy, fights corruption and maintains its infrastructure and prosperity while fighting for the same in other African countries, it would not be too difficult to have a vision of a South African and African future where the ideals of an African Renaissance are achievable' (Omotoso 1998:81).

But are these goals of the African Renaissance achievable and what role does the English language play? As Kaschula (1999:69) points out, the Language Plan of Action for Africa itself, adopted at the OAU July 1987 meeting in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, has not been translated into any African language. Similarly, all articulations of intellectual discourses around the African Renaissance are conducted and published in what Thabo Mbeki, in a post-African Renaissance conference interview with the media termed 'the high-flown English language (Tsedu 1998:32).' He hastens to add the necessity to call another more representative conference 'to go to the masses and take the message there.' Does one assume the intent of conducting this follow-up conference in languages of the masses, namely in a multitude of African languages? While I do not wish to minimize the existence of other less 'official'

vernacular platforms for the propagation of African Renaissance ideas, it does seem justifiable to say that various versions of African Englishes are thereby firmly placed in a position of prominence. Also, as the pan-African lingua franca English features significantly as an African language among other prominent African languages. Prof. L. Mbigi argues as follows:

The Western genius in management lies in technical innovation, planning and control because its cultures are strong in rational analysis. The Asian genius in management lies in process improvement because Eastern cultures emphasise perfection. It can be argued that the African genius in management lies in people management because African cultures emphasise humanism. The challenge of global management thinking in this millennium is to integrate all these elements emerging in both management thinking and practices from different geographical regions of the world, into an integrated whole (Mbigi 2000:21).

This suggests that the African Renaissance movement is seen as a determining force in South Africa's future economic success. The issue of language choice is not mentioned. One can therefore say that it is inevitable that the black business elite in South Africa are intending to carry on conducting their business in BSAfE. It is therefore important to describe BSAfE accurately and thereby acknowledge it fully as a variety of English.

If an approach which favours description above prescription and advocacy, is used by language policy-makers, on what grounds, and according to what theoretical frame does one construct the 'montage' of a linguistic phenomenon? The frames used will determine the versions of reality reflected in the language. This means the nature of the questioning determines what part of the experience is regarded as valid or not valid, worth telling or not worth telling. The language in which 'the story' is told also determines how it is presented and received. With the official recognition of plurilingualism in South Africa and the acknowledgement of the existence of a heteroglossic, polyglossic society, comes the urge to deny difference. This urge to deny difference, as a natural reaction against the apartheid 'divide and rule' policy, culminates in the common usage of English. This means that histories,

stories, life narratives and national narratives remain dominated by a dominant language, English. Parliamentary proceedings today, as with the recording of African oral histories and theories around oral African traditions, remain dominated by English. Simultaneously English is often represented by BSAfE, particularly as a language of the public domain. BSAfE is no longer a language of 'the oppressed' as such, but is established as the lingua franca of the dominant and powerful, namely BSAfE speakers in South Africa today. It is with this in mind that the case study is approached.

2.4 ENGLISHES IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.4.1 INTRODUCTION

The issue of norms for English has become a world-wide concern because of the spread of English to new contexts and the emergence of large numbers of second language speakers.

Modiano divides the common core of English speakers of the world into five groups; 'speakers of AmE; speakers of BrE; speakers of other major varieties (that is to say, the other traditional native-speaking speech communities); speakers of local varieties (such as the English of India, for example; foreign language speakers (1999:11).'

In South Africa there are at least three sets of norms which could be regarded as 'central' English, the British Standard English norms, the traditional South African English norms, the emergent African English norms (within the realm of recognized New Englishes). Over and above these simplified divides, these sets are linked to different social and institutional contexts and have differing metaphorical links and differing 'core' vocabularies. Presently South African Englishes are categorized as 'conservative SAfE', 'respectable SAfE', and 'extreme SAfE.' (Lass 1995 citing Lanham's terms). I will mention the implications of the official recognition of BSAfE as a language of learning and public life. This is an important issue to address at the turn of the Millennium, where the prevalent view among the white, academic linguistically aware South Africans in relation to debates around 'standards' of English in the schooling system, is summed up as follows:

A notably different SAfE (South African English) would merely mean that two varieties of English would have to be taught and learned. The damage, once done, would be difficult to undo, and South Africa would have lost one of its vital resources, its chief source of knowledge (Titlestad in De Klerk 1996:169).

This expresses the notion of two clearly distinct varieties of English, a 'first language' variety versus a 'second language' variety. The argument seems to be in favour of the L1 variety for educational purposes, which is one of the arguments for which a counter-argument is presented in this project.

2.4.2 CORPUS EXTENSION AND A NEW SOUTH AFRICAN IDENTITY

It is not yet clear whether corpus extension will contribute to better communication and a positive 'New South African' identity. It is stated in the advertising pamphlet of *A Dictionary of South African English* (DSAE) that by systematically recording the changing use of words from the late 1500's to the present, and the changing ideas which they represent, the dictionary will make a significant contribution to the understanding of South African history and of political terms and concepts. This suggests that the DSAE (1996) edited by P. Silva is meant to act as a touchstone of perspectives on current cultural life in South Africa, and provide a new context to frame fractured societies and disruptive existences by legitimatizing diversity. The advertisements for the DSAE mention this as one of its aims. Varying views have been expressed about the usefulness of recording historical origins and understandings of local lexemes. Evidence has shown that African speakers of English have more commonalities than differences in the way in which Africanisms are incorporated into the English language. The present distribution of Southern Bantu languages (Herbert 1990 cited in Mesthrie 1995:52) shows that the Nguni (i.e. Zulu and Xhosa, Swati and Ndebele) and the Sotho languages (Northern and Southern Sotho and Tswana) are dominant in the Southern African region. This means that these two language groups are likely to have the highest impact on the English

emerging in the Southern African region as a whole. South Africa's neighbours, particularly Zimbabwe and Botswana, have had more standard dialect in their school systems over a number of decades and consequently not as many interlingual forms have emerged as in Black South African English.

Positive evidence of corpus enhancement can also be seen by looking at the performing arts and at literature. Writers of new South African multicultural texts which have become popular will probably have to subscribe to the definitions of the local words as prescribed. This raises a very important issue in regard to dictionary compilation. If lexical items for inclusion in this dictionary were last recorded in 1991, then what about the meanings of those words as they stand now? Significant political changes have resulted in substantial policy changes in, for instance, the media, politics and economics. The SABC is producing more locally flavoured advertisements and more local soap operas in an attempt to affirm and cater for African viewers and appeal to local music fans. Accent and pronunciation initially seemed to have become a side-issue in the media. The scale seems to have tipped from a high degree of correlation with British standard English, to a fairly free zone in popular culture over the last few years, with American English being the most influential, back to almost British English. A detailed descriptive explanation of this is not within the scope of this project. It is however necessary to note how rapidly policies change to suit viewers in the media, whereas in official spheres changes may be radical and dramatic in terms of policy, but slow in terms of acceptance and implementation.

2.4.3 THE CURRENT STATUS OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH

In this section, the current status of BSAfE will be discussed and why it has not yet become a legitimate institutionalized variety. The historical factors which have prevented this from happening, in what ways it is different and in what ways similar to African English in general

and its status relative to AAVE (African American Vernacular English), are highlighted. The motivation for inclusion of these discussions is as follows:

Historical studies of colonial linguistic contact have made comparable points about the construction of new and syncretic linguistic genres, especially in local political discourse. Indeed, current research is attempting to write the sociolinguistic history of colonial contact. Often the goal is to recover the kinds of social relations that gave rise to current languages or varieties: how much mutual intelligibility and bilingualism was demanded and what category of people became bilingual in given colonial situations (Gal 1989:358).

Lanham wrote: 'unless a writer or speaker knows that he controls [English English] any public display of African English is marked by hesitance and self-consciousness (1976:290)'. In 1984 BSAfE was still regarded as nothing more than an interference variety (Magura 1984:5). Its phonological features were described by Magura (1984:5) and by Lanham (1982:342). Mawasha states that, although at that stage BSAfE was not regarded as a high status variety, it was accepted as a group marker and therefore its speakers did not attempt to 'out-English the English in English (1984:16)'. The notion of BSAfE as a group marker underlines the argument in this project, because BSAfE carries with it many embedded tone and style features of resistance and power assertion.

Already in 1984, Magura writes that BSAfE is distinguishable from other Englishes because of area-bound, context-bound and language-bound features (Magura 1984:14-22). The features of the variety were said to be intelligible in in-group communication, but perhaps not in out-group. This has of course changed since 1992, since much of the context, area and language-contact boundaries have been removed. The high status variety of BSAfE was said to have had some overt prestige, whereas the variety least resembling 'white' SAfE, spoken by the most uneducated sector of the population, was most overtly stigmatized (Magura 1984:106-125).

The hierarchical system of classification of varieties of English in terms of distance from 'white' SAfE is no longer applicable. A new system of classification of varieties of English in Southern Africa will come into being according to the existing prestige, status and role of each specific variety in the current societal structures. My argument in this regard is that BSAfE has gained considerable status and wide usage in a multitude of high status domains, i.e. political, legislative, parliamentary, educational and the media. This means that it seems to be well on its way to becoming a dominant variety. Some have termed this variety 'Africanised English' which is a bit vague. African English as described by Kachru and Bokamba, does not overlap completely with BSAfE in terms of features, domain of usage or prestige. BSAfE is something unique, resulting in part from language contact and formations of linguistic identification processes in a very specific 'locality', under resistance to apartheid.

A study conducted by Smit (1996:184) in high schools in the Grahamstown area, Eastern Cape, has elicited certain information concerning attitudes towards 'white' SAfE and BSAfE (referred to by her as 'Africanised English'):

In response to the speaker-evaluation test - on an emotional and subconscious level - the majority of the informants preferred their own accents of English, which means that the biggest section of the test population evaluated the English spoken by Black South Africans more positively than the other varieties. On a more conscious level, in response to part 2, more than a third of all the informants, and half of the Black informants, supported the use of a new, standard Africanised English for educational purposes. In supporting presently non-standard varieties of English, the informants thus revealed their positive attitudes towards a different standard of English for the future.

The findings of Smit's study are relevant to this project in that they underline the widespread quest for a stronger African identity and demonstrate that there seems to be strong and widespread support for the officialization of BSAfE. This points to the likelihood of BSAfE being declared the national standard in the near future, of course preceded by a number of

studies like this one which provides evidence of codified norms and a positive attitude to it by the majority of its educated users. A prerequisite is that BSAfE needs to be seen as a possible way towards increased democratization and global economic power, while it is commonly accepted that an exonormative standard of 'international' English is necessary.

Chick and Wade (1997) conducted a study similar to the one by Smit. They took a large sample of school-leavers and first year university students in the province of Kwa-ZuluNatal, all of them Zulu mother tongue speakers, in order to ascertain the sociolinguistic status of English among them and evidence of their linguistic behaviours. These findings, like those of Vesely (1998) in her smaller Cape Town project, reveal that English is persistently valued highly above all other languages, even more so among rural than among urban students:

In a ranking exercise, 57.5% valued it first as a language of international contact: 29,78% first as the language of national unity: adverse evaluations were minimal. 81% saw themselves as using English as the primary language of their professional lives. 68% saw it as the primary language used in interaction with public servants. These are perhaps less surprising than that 46.9% saw it as the primary language of the area where they were going to live, and 19.7% as the first language of their home lives in future (Chick and Wade 1997:274). This represents a huge swing towards English apparently at the expense of Zulu. However, two interesting observations qualify this conclusion. First, Zulu pupils observed in a formally white school use code switching "to index an English identity while still retaining a Zulu identity" (Chick and Wade 1997:276). Secondly, "the linguistic vitality of Black South African English continues to improve relative to that of Standard South African English" (Chick and Wade 1997:281 cited in Ridge 1999:13).

These studies accumulatively seem to point to the fact that English in SA is moving more and more in the direction of dynamic hybridity, varying according to context, situation and time.

A sociolinguistic profile for English as occurring in typically multilingual black urban settings is presented by Calteaux (1996: 65-75). The profile of English in South Africa in 1996 as

compared to 1999 is as follows. According to Calteaux English was thought of mainly as a language of formal domains and had official status. It was used by middle class black interlocutors of the younger generation, especially by Nguni speakers. In terms of its function it was not a lingua franca in townships but rather a medium of wider communication (across township boundaries). It was regarded as a high status language and commonly known as a symbol of upward mobility. The situation in 1999 is somewhat different from what it was then. English enjoys increasingly high status and is increasingly regarded as a symbol of social and economic upward mobility. Presently English seems to be used in some form or another in virtually all formal, informal, official and unofficial domains by everyone in schools, social, commercial and official domains. It has become indisputably established as language of general communication in townships, on campuses and as a language of social communication in South Africa at large. This again confirms that its current status and its features need to be monitored in specific domains such as parliament, because its status is consistently increasing.

2.4.4 BSAfE VS AAVE (AFRICAN AMERICAN VERNACULAR ENGLISH): COMPARATIVE STATUS

Due to the historical links between African Americans and their counterparts on the African continent one is prompted to draw comparative links between the groups in terms of linguistic and social status. This comparison is relevant to my central argument because it demonstrates that BSAfE is as relevant in its own context as AAVE is.

My findings on this point of comparison are as follows. BSAfE, as this study reveals, is used by a highly literate educated majority in high status contexts, in the private sphere, in the public sphere, in cultural contexts and in education. AAVE in the US is still largely regarded as a dialect used by low status minority groups. AAVE is somewhat overshadowed by the global economic power of American English. While BSAfE speakers in South Africa consciously aspire to conform to what is perceived as 'standard' English, they simultaneously strive to

retain the cultural goods of the African languages by familiar turns of phrase and metaphor. AAVE speaker on the other hand, lost their languages during the slave era and have no other language which they share, other than English. AAVE, through consistently fighting its cause, has become acknowledged and is deemed acceptable in many genres, i.e. in certain 'tough guy' movie scenes and in contemporary rap music. It is also being marketed globally through the sitcom genre and is being mimicked and imitated and serves as a powerful identification tool for teenagers all over the world, and is certainly a most influential cultural force in the lives of South African teenagers today. The fact that AAVE is common in TV shows and movies, has not however totally eradicated its stigmatization. BSAfE is regarded by linguists and speakers in a political context as largely acceptable and understandable and at its worst, seen as roughly complying with prototypical international 'standard' English norms. AAVE in the United States is still battling to be recognized as a separate variety of English. The issue is being addressed as a general human rights issue and has recently enjoyed a lot of attention from activists and their constituencies in the educational sphere.

Recent studies on BSAfE, conducted by Chick and Wade among others, have shown that a prototypical consistent grammatical structure is recognizable and in the process of being stratified. Since 1998 at least three books on 'Ebonics' (as AAVE is often referred to), have appeared. They are by Baugh (2000), Mufwene et al (1998) and Perry and Delpit (1998). The position of AAVE at present is said to be as follows. According to the Linguistics Society of America Resolution on the Oakland 'Ebonics' issue, January 1997, Chicago, Illinois, (referred to by Mesthrie et al 2000:380/1), the following was decided: Ebonics is systematic and rule-governed. Studies over the past 30 years have scientifically shown that the grammar and pronunciation patterns are stable. The characterization of Ebonics as deviant is incorrect. Although it is not labelled a language or a dialect, its systematicity is officially acknowledged. It was agreed by the official investigating body that there are individual and group benefits to maintaining vernacular speech varieties and that there are scientific and human advantages to linguistic diversity as there are advantages to gaining access to 'standard' varieties. It was

decided by the investigating body that the recognition and utilization of AAVE in educational processes is linguistically and pedagogically sound. This decision was based on evidence from Sweden, US and other countries where the other varieties of the official lingua francas are employed in aiding the acquisition of a standard variety.

BSAfE and AAVE don't have their own Bible translations. BSAfE appears to some degree in the new emerging South African dialect literatures which were published in the 1990's and early 2000 by Buchu Books and Kwela Publishers among others. However these texts are largely translated into 'standard' English' or at least SAfE. BSAfE is only used by characters overtly representing the dialect in the direct speech or in thought representations. No body of literary texts in AAVE is mentioned in the relevant sources on AAVE.

Thus what BSAfE and AAVE have in common is that they are both largely deviational from standard English. Though there are several evolution hypotheses explaining how AAVE and BSAfE came into being, I strongly believe that in each of the two cases, certain distinctive features were used to deliberately signal a separate identity for the assertion of group values, rights and solidarity. Attempts at seeking difference for upward mobility via the educational system (in which the campaign for AAVE in the United States is largely lodged), have elicited ongoing policy debates. Debates around AAVE have become a high profile theme in the public, official and educational spheres. In South Africa, BSAfE is being used for cultural and political assertion of rights and identity and is to some degree employed in the capacity of a covert resistance tool to the old order of the colonizing powers in the official public sphere.

After due consideration, therefore, I argue that BSAfE has a strong case for being recognized as an official variety. The argument is strengthened by the fact that speakers of 'standard English' in South Africa are overwhelmingly outnumbered by speakers of local dialects, argots and interlingual versions of English. For elites however, BSAfE may not be passed on to their children, who learn mainly SAfE as spoken by 'white' children in the ex-Model C schools

(historically whites-only schools) which they go to. In the conclusion of his book titled 'Beyond Ebonics', John Baugh makes the following statement:

In addition to important efforts to help students master standard English (efforts that should be modified as necessary to serve students from diverse linguistic backgrounds), new efforts are necessary to broaden existing curricula to teach more Americans about their fascinating linguistic heritage. Indeed, an honest portrayal of the rich linguistic history of the United States has the potential to introduce American linguistic diversity to student in an enticing multicultural format that includes every person in the United States. The envisioned multicultural curriculum need not take on the dreaded form of politically correct dogmatic enlightenment but, rather, can be tailored to each school - and those schools can in turn be linked to their local school districts, ... (Baugh 2000:115).

Whether such a project is viable in the name of BSAfE in South Africa, is dependant on both the zeal of linguists to create a substantially funded project in the name of corpus studies of dialect studies and on the educational policies in future, and on the national educational agendas of the coming decade. It seems appropriate therefore, in the light of John Baugh's statement, to give a brief overview of the development of BSAfE in terms of the functions it has served in the face of a long history of racial oppression.

2.5 THE RECOGNITION AND DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH

A history of the literacy development of African language speakers of English and the history of black writing in English in South Africa, explains the general lack of 'standard' English among the majority of South Africans today. Although BSAfE has existed for many decades, it has never been officially recognized as much more than an interlingual phenomenon, a stigmatized form of codemixing, or at the very most, a poorly-mastered second language.

The recognition of BSAfE has been hindered by numerous superimposed historical and political factors related to apartheid policies. On the other hand, educated Black people are suspicious of being labelled as 'different' in their use of English. All these factors have prevented the official institutionalization of BSAfE and thus its development. Two of the main factors in this process are discussed here, publishing policy and access to library services.

2.5.1 THE ROLE OF PUBLISHING

Publishers and their owners are gatekeepers of knowledge and of language proficiency in the sense that those who are socially and economically in power determine what is available, what is not and in which languages books are published. Publishing is a commercial venture influenced by economic competition in the market, education policy, and censorship. While Black readership is constantly growing, publishing in South Africa is still dominated by white capital and expertise. Local literature still reflects dominantly Eurocentric values and cultures. Attempts made since 1994 to introduce black writing for black readerships have remained marginal.

Machet (1993:166-174) gives an excellent overview of the history of publishing for black readers in South Africa. It is important to take note of the history of emerging literacy in the South African region in order to understand the specificities of the ongoing literacy struggle and how it impacts on the local book market and readership at present. According to Machet, book publishing for black audiences in South Africa started in 1823 at Lovedale Press at Lovedale Mission station near Alice in the Transkei. Texts were primarily in Xhosa and in English. Zulu first came into print in 1887 at Marionhill, Durban. Both these publishing projects were non-commercially-based and published mainly church literature, school books and general adult fiction. The missionaries controlled the presses. Only those books acceptable to the owners/missionaries were published. This included folktales in African languages. By 1850 an elitist black literate population emerged and books were published for them. Despite good

intentions and results, the missionaries imposed their perspectives and cultures and initiated these readers to European culture. The African oral tradition was suppressed and reduced in what came into print, primarily in English, at the elitist centres of writing and reading, namely the colonial missionary and educational centres.

For 250 years South African publishing was in the hands of Oxford University Press and Longman and mainly English books were published. While it is true that literature was published mainly in English, Afrikaans literature flourished alongside it. The British Market Agreement compelled South Africa to buy both American and British books written in English exclusively from Britain, unless they did not exist in Britain at all. Today Britain still dominates the South Africa book market. Books published in English which were exclusively for the South African market, eventually appeared. They were first published by Heinemann in partnership with the ANC in the 70's. One of the major constraints was the severe censorship laws preventing books opposing or being critical of National Party policy from being produced. Even newspapers such as *The Sowetan* (Switzer and Switzer 1979) were under white ownership. However, white owned papers have become increasingly dependent on black readership from the 1960's. For instance, *The Sunday Times* had more black than white readers in 1990 (Symes 1990 cited in Mached 1993:167).

75%-80% of the book retail market in 1993 was still made up of educational books (Mached 1993:167). This has changed only marginally since then. The market has continued to be dominated by white nationalist Afrikaners, publishers and writers (Philip 1991 in Mached 1993:167). In 1991, 10 million children were at primary and secondary schools in South Africa, 8 million of whom were in DET schools (schools for African children), which included only black children. While R4 448.00 was spent on white pupils by the government in 1993, only R1 248.00 was spent on black pupils. That is a ratio of R3,59: R1, white to black respectively (South African Institute of Race Relations 1993:575 cited in Mached 1993:168).

The only books available in the vernacular during the apartheid years were schoolbooks, which were neither original nor interesting. e.g. in the 80's the Transvaal Education Department did not allow books of 'a liberal nature' published by alternative institutions such as Idasa and the Black Sash into the classrooms and libraries. According to the NEPI 1992 Library and Information Services Research Group (in Machel 1993:168) most books in libraries and schools were unsuitable for the market and were selected by whites only (Kantey 1990:xiii). Hence the name 'the black silence' given to the 1960's. During the 1970's, when mass meetings and public displays of anti-government material were banned, there was a resurgence of oral poetry. Theatre has flourished as a significant counter-hegemonic movement for the symbolic expression of a 'black voice' from 1930 onwards until the 1980's. The play *Woza Albert* for instance, was said to have 'created a sensation with its theatrical demystification of the realities of black experience in the 1980's (Steadman 1984:145). This shows that a market for BSAfE already existed a decade ago. The 1990's has seen a drive to publish vernacular literature by publishers such as Buchu Books, Open Door Publications, the Congress of South African Writers and Idasa. In theatre, media and arts generally, a local surge of Africanism is emerging. This is related to the trend to re-Africanize South Africa culturally and politically.

Some of the problems facing publishing in South Africa today are multilingualism, small markets, competition from foreign publishers, distribution and the legacy of 40 years of censorship. CNA (a national chain bookstore for popular literature) for example, tried to launch books for neo-literates in the early 90's, but the market was not yet big enough, besides which South African fiction is not very popular amongst the predominantly white readership. Leisure Hour Book Club, for instance, caters exclusively for white readers in rural areas (Machel 1993:172) while Buchu Books is still a small, experimental and alternative initiative, which means it does not necessarily cater for the needs of the general public.

The problem with children's books so far has been stereotyping (Machet, 1993:173). Black characters are normally saved by white benefactors. Furthermore, reading picture books is for black children equivalent to reading a foreign language because black characters are represented from a white perspective. The content is often out of touch with the realities of young black reader's lives. A Eurocentric philosophy overlooks the fact that black children have not had the privilege of accessing reading material purely for pleasure.

What is needed for black readerships in South Africa in the new millennium is popular literature, biography, black heroes, life histories and more black authors (Machet 1993). Of the 200 manuscripts submitted to Songololo Books in the period 1991-1992, only two were by black authors. (Machet 1993). This demonstrates that, in terms of literacy development, there is a lack of identification of the black public with authorship in English and possibly a lack of confidence in counteracting this trend. The development of a 'voice' is probably a generational issue and will take another two decades or so to come to fruition. The situation has changed somewhat in the last 10 years, but further details on recent literary developments will not be discussed here.

2.5.2 LIBRARY ACCESS

The overview which follows demonstrates how the potential development of literacy among the vast majority of the South African population was sabotaged by the lack of access to public amenities. Black readers were barred from public libraries until 1930 when the first public libraries were opened to urban African people (Makhubela 1997:4). Makhubela describes the slow process of access to libraries for African readers. Between 1937 and 1945 library service for Blacks was characterised by very slow development, partly because the South African Library Association had no political clout and partly because it was spearheaded by whites. Though the association continued making recommendations regarding library-services for Black readers, it was unable to take steps to enforce these recommendations. The Nationalist

Party government which came into power in 1948 crushed this initiative and disallowed the service. 'Consequently the victory of the struggle for libraries was short-lived' (Makhubela 1997:4). This situation only began to change significantly as a result of the rise of resource centres specifically started to counteract the 'short rationing' of information. Resource centres provided general knowledge, produced and published community knowledge and cultural knowledge and launched a range of historical projects and disseminated educational resources in the form of a wider range of media such as print, video, audio, pamphlets etc. (Makhubela, 1997:8). There is currently a great backlog when it comes to the right of access to information, as stipulated in Chapter Two of the Bill of Rights of the New Constitution in 1996. This backlog in information literacy is currently being addressed by means of the new Skills Development Act implemented on 1 April 2000. Furthermore, a crippled library and information sciences industry needs to be rehabilitated and funded.

This overview has illustrated the reasons for a literacy backlog in South Africa and the role English is to play in its development. The next section will outline positive developments in cultural and linguistic identification processes which took place despite the severe constraints.

2.5.3 TRIUMPHS OF RESISTANCE AND THE CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF BSAfE

It is ironic that the English language, from the advent of missionary imposition, remains the major tool and resource for upward mobility for blacks and whites and is increasingly the dominant language. During the long period of 'black silence' (commencing in the 60's and lasting through to the late 80's), not much black writing was visible. However, an acceptance of relaxed standards in relation to 'standard' BrE and a recognition of another emerging localized English already came into existence in the 1930's and 40's, particularly in the media. This was due to an, albeit short-lived, more widely spread literacy base among working class people: 'Newspapers began to write for the average English speaking person and relaxed the rigidity of

the English used' (Couzens 1984:72). This leads one to speculate whether BSAfE, as it is known today, was not already in existence in the printed media then.

Nat Nakasa, a prominent mainstream journalist wrote in, what would today be termed 'BSAfE'. For example, Nakasa told a joke in which he compares South African policemen to the British bobbies, pointing out how polite the latter are in comparison. Introducing the climax of the story, he uses the conversational cue 'the limit came this week' (Patel 1995:105):

If you make a noise in a police station, you are likely to be told, 'Shut up man- *hou jou bek jong!*' 'The limit came this week. One of the bobbies is reported to have told a magistrate that the man who tackled Jomo Kenyatta last week made 'inflammatory observations'.

'Inflammatory observations' here is characterized as a euphemism. 'The limit came this week' here means: The most comical incident that has ever occurred in this regard, took place during the current week. The expression is an equivalent of 'to crown it all...'. 'The limit came this week' is an example of a truncated sentence in which two trains of thought are condensed.

A second example of BSAfE is 'All the time the pattern is the same' instead of 'The pattern is the same all the time' (Patel 1995:26).

A third example of BSAfE usage is (Patel 1995:30):

There are also plenty 'private' taximan-guys without licenses who would like to put you out of business. All in all, it's one of the most dangerous occupations going, never knowing if it's going to be your turn.'

This use of the present continuous is one of the prominent features of African Englishes and also of BSAfE. I found numerous other examples of what we would regard as typical of BSAfE today, in renditions of Nat Nakasa's writings and speeches (Patel 1995). It was however the

oral footage in a SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation) documentary on Nat's life, in which interviews with him were screened, that I recognized his dialect as BSAfE.

Can Themba, like most writers of the Drum Era, was heavily influenced by African-American writers and poets of the Harlem tradition such as Langston Hughes. He and other black writers were also influenced by the American movies which had cult status in Sophiatown, Johannesburg, before its destruction following the official implementation of apartheid in 1948. One of the consequences of the forced removal of the entire population of Sophiatown to present day Soweto, is that black audiences were barred from access to international cultural exposure by the ghettoization of their cultural activities. The identification with African American culture by blacks of that time demonstrates that the American influence, now growing internationally, is not a new phenomenon.

Parallels may be drawn with the same period (1930's and 40's and 50's) in Hong Kong, China. The Dialect Literature Movement (DLM) in Hong Kong in the late 1940's was started by a movement of leftist writers who used vernacular writing to build support for the Communist Party (Snow 1993:134). Another major development in Cantonese literature, was the growth of Cantonese fiction in the newspaper industry in the late 1940's. An inexpensive four page 'little newspaper' as it was called, was intended to entertain more than inform (Snow 1993:136). Snow traces the increasing development of a Cantonese dialect literature. He argues that the development of a dialect literature is an especially sensitive and telling indicator of the strength of local culture and sense of identity (Snow 1993:144). Hong Kong Chinese people share a language and culture which is quite different and distinct from Chinese. Hong Kong Chinese is not intent on accommodating 'others'. Comparisons could also be drawn to the development of Afrikaans in the same period (30's to 50's) in South Africa. The parallel development of BSAfE (though this is not an L1) in the 1930's and 1940's, was suppressed by the apartheid government from 1948 onwards, but as is evident, has lived on:

The debate around oral literature in South Africa is a vibrant one. The new political order has introduced a renewed pride in what it is to be African - hence there has been a revival in the status and role of oral literature. This form of literature is taking its rightful place alongside written literature and is now being taught at schools and universities. Furthermore, it is also being used in an innovative way to teach people about AIDS, agriculture, family planning and so on. The didactic nature of this literature is perhaps ensuring its recognition in the new educational structures in South Africa (Kaschula 1999).

As in education, the oral tradition is alive and well, an ongoing influence manifesting itself linguistically in parliamentary discourse in South Africa today. In addition, a variety of discourses are adopted, appropriated and subverted and used as weapons to undermine and counteract the power held by the discourses seen as oppositional to those of the ANC. The merging of African with other historically entrenched models of parliamentary oratory practices results in an artful heteroglossic display with persuasive impact. This heteroglossic display is reflected in the data analysis section of this project.

2.6 BSAfE IN RELATION TO OTHER AFRICAN ENGLISHES

In the light of the discussion on global trends, the linguistic marketability of certain languages and the African Renaissance movement in Africa, BSAfE as a particular case cannot be discussed without reference to other African Englishes. While there are some of the same trends in Africa as a whole with regard to form and functions of English, each region is also an individual site of cultural production, which is what creates its distinctiveness.

A necessary paradigm shift from Eurocentric views would constitute viewing BSAfE's not in terms of BrE (measured against current British standards), but viewing it in relation to other African Englishes in Sub-Saharan Africa, and defining it as a modern African language. Another good reason for looking at English in Africa from this perspective would be to fall in line with the Linguistic Charter for Africa. In terms of the Charter, it is proposed: that the equal linguistic

right of every individual be recognized, together with the need to provide access to literacy in every living African language. It is further proposed that as many languages as possible in each African state, depending on the number of speakers, be given the status of *national languages*, with an established place in the national education system and in the media. That at least one African language in each state be given the status of *official language*, to replace or be used alongside any existing 'foreign' official language. The full version of the Language Plan of Action for Africa appears in Herbert (1994:157-162).

The perceived drive for Africa, and particularly South Africa to enter global economic markets, dictates trends which could be seen to disadvantage the corpus extension of African languages. Evidence to the contrary has already been discussed. The spread of Englishes seems to be enhanced by this trend especially in the light of the official acceptance of expanding and differing norms for different varieties of English 'officialized' across the globe. The question which arises is whether, and in what way, BSAfE is distinguishable from a variety of different African Englishes such as:

- East African English (Makerere/Uganda as centre, down to slightly Arabic-sounding coastal Tanzanian English)
- North-Eastern African English (Ethiopian, Somali, Sudanese merging into North Ugandan and North Kenyan)
- West African English (or Englishes) ranging from Gambian and Sierra Leonean through to coastal Nigerian English.

Characteristics which have been commonly found in 'other' Englishes (Kachru 1983:38) are firstly, an extended range of uses in the sociolinguistic context of a nation, secondly, an extended register style range, in form and in contextual terms, thirdly, a degree of nativization of the registers and styles (both in formal and in contextual terms) and fourthly, a body of nativized English literature has developed which has formal and contextual characteristics

which mark it as a localized literature. Non-native Englishes are said to start off as performance varieties, later becoming institutional varieties (characterized by length of use over time and extension of use), and the emotional attachment of L2 users to the variety, its functional importance and its sociolinguistic status.

African Englishes are broadly summarized by Bokamba (1983:82). Identificational features which mark a variation as acceptable are phonetics, grammar, lexis and cohesiveness. The focus is on setting up a relationship between common domains or contexts and their formal manifestations (Kachru 1983: 45). A variation is deemed acceptable if users demonstrate solidarity, identity and loyalty towards it. A variation is deemed acceptable if a large body of the variety's literature written by local creative writers is accepted as part of the native literary tradition (Kachru 1983:50). Another factor mentioned is that if its local users don't regard it as stigmatized and deficient, but rather as different and acceptable, then it gains recognition (Kachru 1983:50). If a variety is extended towards national use, as in South Africa, where it has recently become well-used in the public, private and corporate sectors, it may well become more officially recognized. The most obviously identifiable features of BSAfE found in the database of this project which coincide with those pointed out by Kachru as characteristics of African Englishes are as follows:

THE OMISSION AND INTERCHANGABILITY OF THE ARTICLE

Although the origin of omission/'misuse' and interchangeability of articles in African varieties of English is not clear, Bokamba believes that African languages play a critical role:

Most African languages do not have overt articles, so determination is achieved derivatively.

Another source is analogy from Standard English itself, particularly from certain idiomatic expressions such as 'going to hospital/church/school' (Bokamba 1983:81).

THE LACK OF DISTINCTION BETWEEN COUNTABLE NOUNS AND MASS NOUNS

The lack of distinction between countable nouns and mass nouns, transfers to English. One of the numerous examples cited is: *I lost all my furnitures.*

THE CREATION OF CERTAIN LEXICAL ITEMS

New lexical items in African English may be created in different ways, i.e. by semantic extension, semantic shift, semantic transfer, and coinage (Bokamba 1983:86). Most of the examples in this section are cited in Bokamba. Coined and derived lexical creations seem to be the most prominent. Word coinage may occur by prefixation, suffixation or a combination of both. The words created in this way do not occur in normative versions of English but are coined according to the English language system.

Innovative collocation (word combinations instantaneously/spontaneously coined or stabilized over time) are normally an adaptation of an English expression. Coinages which signal deliberate cultural cohesiveness are those which mark i.e. Indianness, Africaness, South Africaness etc. where the lexical and grammatical features distinguish the register and style of one non-native variety from another. Example of innovative collocation are:

The girls are facing a lot of hardcap, where *hardcap* means 'hardship', which may have been derived from 'hardship' combined with 'handicap'. An example of compounding is: *He doesn't use a chewing-stick to clean his teeth*. Some coinages are loan translations from African languages while others are derived analogically (Kachru 1983:89).

The second kind of coinage is compounding, e.g. *chewing stick* (refers to the Yoruba word 'kpaka', which is a herb used to clean the teeth), and *bone-to-flesh dance* (meaning a close dance), which is an example of a construction which occurs when verbs are derived from a combination of African and English morphology.

A third kind of coinage is formation of adverbs by reduplication e.g. walk *quick quick*. They are normally put down to L1 influences from African languages but are also common in Afrikaans, where they are said to have Malay origins. Some adverbs take on reduplicated forms, stressing intensity or rapidity, e.g. They are arriving *now now* (meaning 'soon').

Derivations are often independent developments based on the English rule systems. The characteristic patterns of the word are redefined within the semantic field so that the central field becomes marginal and vice versa e.g. *The most important point however is that already we are seven and a half million strong and quite a number of these cannot get jobs to do, so we should cut down on bringing forth*. This example is presumably derived from the Biblical quotation 'go forth and multiply.'

In semantic extensions a meaning is added to the existing meaning e.g. *He sent me some amount*, meaning *some money*. Also: *I had to carry blocks* meaning 'bricks'.

Other examples are: *destructured*, meaning *destroyed*, which is a neologism.

My granny is late, meaning 'My granny is dead.'

Semantic shift occurs where the English word is used but the meaning of the word is totally changed. This is very commonly found in all L2 speakers in South Africa. The following are examples of 'clippings': *I asked her to dance but she cut me*. Here 'cut me' is a clipping of '...she cut me out'). *To my surprise I found him [the driver] resting on the steer and fell asleep*. Here 'steer' means 'steering wheel'.

In the nativization of new varieties of English, creative artists, teachers, journalists, policy makers and second language speakers are said to play a role (Moag 1983:277). International literary prizes are currently going to writers who are cross-culturally disposed e.g. Booker Prize and Nobel Prize winners. This means that the dominant linguistic and rhetorical modes of the outer circle of Englishes world-wide are being validated in international literary circles. It is

pointed out by Bokamba (1983:93) that an important dimension of the Africanization of English in Africa is the deliberate attempt by African writers, especially novelists, to preserve and communicate African culture in their writing. Sometimes these writers consciously impose the structure of an African language on English in an attempt to preserve an African thought. One example of such a writer is Achebe.

It is primarily the national uses of the institutionalized varieties which contribute towards the nativization of the varieties (Kachru 1983:5). This has been happening in SA in the 90's to BSAfE. This variety has long been in the process of developing and performing valuable functions, but was previously largely a communicative variety rather than an institutional or extended code. It is increasingly being used in institutionalized settings, one such domain of extension being parliament.

Wade (1998) discusses five main grammatical features regarded as typical of an BSAfE. They are the following:

1. non-standard use of progressives e.g. *I am having a problem....* instead of *I have....*

e.g. *This is surprising me.* instead of *This surprises me...*

2. use of had in non-perfect (simple past) contexts: e.g. *All these changes had occurred in 1983.* instead of *All these changes occurred...*

The next three examples are common only in oral texts and therefore are not found in parliamentary texts:

3. verb complementation with to, e.g. *What makes them to stop* and e.g. *That makes the meaning to be different.*

4. embedded questions with the same word order as the main clause: e.g. *She asked me why didn't I tell her I'm busy.*

5. pronoun copying e.g. ...*the lady who...*, *she...*

e.g. *The boys, they left. My daughter she is attending the University of Nairobi. The book which I bought it is lost. The guests whom I invited them have arrived.* An additional example: *The tea it is ready.*

Some of the above are discussed in more detail in the analysis.

The features described by Wade appear mainly in oral conversational texts. They therefore compliment my discussion to some degree. Although some of these features do appear in my database in the unedited transcriptions, even these transcripts are not based on oral texts, but on written texts prepared for oral presentation. A fair number of 'written features' thus appears in the oral renditions of parliamentary speeches. The speeches are stratified in advance and based on responses to previously distributed material and largely on decisions already thrashed out, discussed and crystallised in subcommittees. A vote still needs to be taken, but basically by the time the 'issue' at hand appears in oral performance, the issue is already 90% on its way to closure. Only in isolated incidences, at the beginning or end of a speech for example a speaker might deviate from the written text. This added 'spontaneous' part of the rendition is mainly to do with thanking, welcoming or with other contextualization of additional emotionally-flavoured 'personal opinions'. A discussion of the disjuncture or blending of this part of the text with the actual speech, is not within the scope of this project.

2.7 CONCLUSION

This project aims to add to the existing description, codification and stratification of BSAfE. This is done by keeping features found in other databases in mind, but also by pointing out

additional features not yet listed. Due to the differing nature and purposes of the texts from which data is drawn, one does not assume that the same, or even similar kinds of features will be found in a cross-section of contexts. I argue that BSAfE owes many of its features to the influences of African languages and cultures and to the way in which resistance to political oppression took place. Both these issues are discussed in more detail in the analysis part of this thesis. Silverstein highlights the importance of ideological aspects impacting on language usage:

...in each one of the cases of transformation of local language structures, and of the transformation of discursive practices, the ideological aspect of analysis is central and key to understanding how people experience the cultural continuities and interruptions in the particular case (1998:420).

I have argued in this chapter that the data analysis in this project needs to incorporate information about the socio-political context within which the debates takes place. The way in which this information is given, as well as its content, reveals the ideological underpinnings of the project as a whole. The key issues selected for discussion in this chapter i.e. globalization, the linguistic marketplace, the African Renaissance movement and other Englishes in Africa, are crucial, not only as background information, but for 'thick interpretation' of the data.

3. DEFINING AN APPROACH

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In trying to find a locally-rooted, appropriate approach to the database, I have chosen a method of investigation which may be termed ideological rather than autonomous. In this method, different layers of meaning and different perspectives are taken into account and socio-political situatedness are considered as major factors in the analysis:

What is called dominant discourse is itself rarely monolithic, but rather a field of competition for power among elites. Studies framed in these terms draw on theories of rhetoric and on semiotic tools from literary analysis and folklore. Several recent studies have analysed national political events. For example, they have linked the rhetorical structure of talk about nationalism, or the construction of public controversies to the political and economic context of the historical moment that the rhetoric both constructs and changes (Gal: 1989:361).

The eclectic approach resulting from a choice of elements of social and cultural theory, the new literacy studies, historical approaches, stylistics, discourse analysis and literary criticism, affords a multifaceted analysis of the data. 'Ethnographers of communication have collected new highly valuable descriptive information documenting the enormous range of signalling resources available in various cultures, as well as many culturally specific ways that rules of speaking vary with context' (Gumperz 1989:155). Due to dramatic political changes in 1994, the current communicative conditions in parliament have only been in existence for a few years. In this relatively new situation it is important to initially experiment with different approaches. This study will hopefully contribute towards the search for appropriate analytical models for parliamentary debates and similar discourses in South Africa.

It is not yet clear which perspective or method may finally be deemed the most suitable. Furthermore, due to the fact that this corpus could be stigmatized in several ways, it is important to describe in the very first instance, how language is being used and what the roots of the new tradition are. A broad analysis of the social, educational and contextual societal features, show that many traditions are at play. Where 'tradition' and 'modernity' meet, it is said that 'shifting competence in public talk on the part of would-be participants as a consequence of plurilingualism in speech communities is itself changing the terms of performance and adding new sociopolitical contingencies to the outcomes of such events' (Silverstein 1998:411).

Frameworks for critical discourse analysis need to be based on a rhetorical model that takes into account the social meaning and the intertextuality of texts because they derive their meaning from social contexts and from other texts in the tradition. Many different linguistic structures and rhetorical modes are entrenched in language. It would therefore be relevant in future studies to cross-check occurrences of linguistic features found in specific contexts, such as parliament, with the equivalents found in literary texts in a similar timeframe.

3.2 LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGY

Duranti (1997:98) expresses the two-fold vision of the linguistic anthropologist as follows: Linguistic anthropology is interested in 'revealing local verbal practices as well as local conceptualisations of such practices and their place in the social organisation of the community.' In addition dialogical anthropology (Duranti 1997:87) 'articulates the contribution of linguistic anthropological methods to the study of culture.' Through this process investigators make explicit the sources from which they derive their understanding of a given cultural phenomenon. This is important because the view taken when defining a speech 'community' and describing it in a certain perspective, is dependent on the paradigm used to describe that community. One of the important points he makes is that a speech 'community' needs to be described in terms of identifiable patterns, which exist despite actors' differences.

Interdisciplinary approaches which include variables other than language, though that be the central object of investigation, are indispensable in defining a culture and 'community' of speakers/actors.

The approach I have chosen in this project is an adaptation of the ethnographic one which, according to Bauman and Sherzer (1989:xvi) is now very popular in ethnographic sociolinguistic studies. The elements of the approach relevant here are reliance on *direct* observation, analysis of human *interactions* themselves, and discovery of the *structure* (and function) of these communicative events. The language data itself suggests units of analysis; there is a reliance on *performance* data, the *perspective* of the *subjects* is taken into account and referential and inferential meaning is *constructed* from a *variety of perspectives*. Furthermore, Bauman and Sherzer (1989:xix) allude to the notion of relying on performance data as a central organizing concept in ethnographic speech analysis. This is useful because it advocates a sensitive approach to literacy practices in whatever context, rather than reductionist, norm evaluative approaches. Effectiveness of expression then becomes the focus of attention. In this sense any oral performance (albeit sometimes based on a written text) may be viewed as artful and poetic. This kind of analysis implies a broad description of utterance-in-context. Societal organizational structures, conceptual systems, political structures and economic processes are also considered. Approaches to language as communication in the process of unfolding are outlined in the next section. Theoretical underpinnings and how they are meant to transfer into practice, are also described.

3.2.1 DISCOURSE FUNCTIONS IN ADDITION TO DISCOURSE STRUCTURE

Besides the anthropological linguistics approach, in order to understand relationships 'across' rather than 'within' utterances, it is useful, in the analysis of public debates such as those in parliament, to focus on discourse functions in addition to discourse structure. Taking this a step further, by focusing on the functional alternatives which the language user can choose

from in the interaction, one looks at the rules of production and interpretation in the given context. This is done in order to meaningfully assess how speakers situate themselves in the context and why they make the changes they make in that specific instance. While a tremendous variety of different forms may serve any given interactional function (Schiffrin 1994:349), how this is put into action of particular interest in this project. Some form of representation of the 'emic view' of reality becomes important:

Emic refers to culturally- based perspectives, interpretations, and categories used by members of the group under study to conceptualize and encode knowledge and to guide their own behaviour. (Johnson 1992:142)

In adopting an *emic* rather than *etic* approach (*etic* referring to superimposed 'expert'-outsiders views and presupposed knowledges) to functional analysis 'one would begin from observing and describing an utterance itself. One would then try to infer from analysis of that utterance and its context, which functions are being served for the users. It is important to note that such inferences are not totally *ad hoc*: rather, that they can be firmly grounded in principled schema as to what functions are available. But they do differ from more *etic* approaches because 'they are not as wed to the notion of systems and because they are more open to the discourse of unanticipated uses of language' (Schiffrin 1994:33). It is these repeated, systematized clusters of 'unanticipated' uses of BSAfE which are of interest in the process of attempting to describe the features of BSAfE in the parliamentary context.

Schiffrin (1994:358) argues for a discourse approach rather than a speech act utterance analysis as follows:

Instead of constitutive and mapping rules, interactional sociolinguistics speaks of norms of conduct (Goffman 1959, 1963), strategies (Brown and Levison 1987 and Gumperz 1982a) and principles (Tannen 1981). When interactional sociolinguists do speak of rules (e.g. Goffman 1963, 'traffic rules') the focus is not the patterns of conduct created by norms, and the social meaning of conforming to (or deviating from) such norms. Furthermore, instead of fixed

knowledge states (constitutive rules) assumed to underlie speakers' meanings, the interactional view of speakers' meaning is that they are situated, inherently flexible and multifaceted. Instead of hearers' mapping from text /context to constitutive rules, the interactional view of hearers' inferences relies upon many different aspects of an utterance, including the situated meanings of implications of acts.

Interactional sociolinguistics assumes that interlocutors' knowledge is situated and based on principles and strategies which cannot be conventionally labelled, rather than on rules (Schiffrin 1994:359). Hearers are assumed to make inferences by relying on many different aspects of an utterance, including the situated meanings and implications of acts and the contextualized cues that may signal those meanings. For the purpose of this study, unit grammatical analysis will be sublimated to the functional goals of discourse analysis, as this is the umbrella paradigm of the investigation. The grammatical unit analysis serves the functional analysis in this case. Combining facets of both types of analysis, structural and functional, expands the capacity for thick description and interpretation, and in turn the capacity for maximum validity.

The design features of a linguistic code provide language with its sense-making capacity. Sender intention and receiver interpretation are not constant in the process of intersubjective meaning-making. Furthermore, the status of the recipient is particular and relative in each instance: 'the communicative status of approaching footsteps, or the setting of the sun, is entirely a question of their construal by the receiver' (Hymes 1974:13). Giddens (1991) makes a similar distinction between unconscious knowledge, discursive knowledge (which one can reflect on) and tacit knowledge (which one cannot access in terms of propositions). He defines agency as action in terms of doing. This doing is always related to changing notions of identity which is discussed in the next section.

3.2.2 COMMUNICATION AS IDENTIFICATION PROCESS

Coupland et al (1993:xx) point out that social relationships and social interaction are the breeding grounds for versions of self. The most powerful explanation for distribution of patterns of dialect is to be found in the symbolic and indexical social identifying properties of these varieties (Coupland et al. 1993:xxi). The desire on the part of individuals to mark their own or their group's uniqueness, can result in the strategy of "divergence" from the interlocutor, for example reducing speech or other communicative similarities. This is what to a large degree accounts for BSAfE as markedly divergent from other varieties of SAfE. It is common to interpret social actors as responding to three broadly characterized constellations of goals: instrumental, relational and identity goals. Again, all three goals are applicable to parliamentary discourse in South Africa. Goffman's (1981) focus on 'public presentations of self' has made a significant contribution to the understanding of identifying and categorization practices in ongoing interaction. In this context Hall (1996:130) refers to 'identification' rather than 'identity':

Identity, although it has to be spoken by the subject - collective or individual - who is being positioned, is not a question of what the inside wants only. And it's not a question of how the outside, or the external dominating systems, placed you symbolically: but it is precisely in the process - never complete, never whole - of identification.

By drawing attention to process, rather than to product as an essentialist concept, Hall shows that identity involves the dialectic between dominant discourses and marginal positions as well as the performative, provisional and always unfinished motions of identification. He further defines identities as hybrid, not determined by social location, but by performance and practice. Identity construction is a negotiation of available fictions, even if they appear and are marketed in the form of 'natural' truths.

As already mentioned in Chapter 2, Pierre Bourdieu's approach to language stresses that language constitutes a form of symbolic capital. Communicative resources are part of an individual's social and symbolic capital which help gain personal and social control. In the

present globally connected and competitive environment, linguistic capital is inextricably linked to, and plays a major role in, access to individual, community and national economic capital. Linguistic capital is a direct result of literacy practices. Bourdieu (1991:170) explains that symbolic power is a power constituting the given through utterances, enabling people to see and believe, of confirming or transforming the vision of the world and, thereby, action on the world, and thus the world itself. It is a power which enables one to obtain the equivalent of what is obtained through force (whether physical or economic), by virtue of the specific effect of mobilization. It is power that can be exercised only if it is unrecognized.

It thus follows that in literate societies literacy practices determine the degree of symbolic power of individuals and groups. Within a particular setting, the speaker has to assess what social identities and relationships are at play among those present. These factors determine to a large extent what is said and how it is said. If we focus on the intent of the speech act i.e. how intent is interpreted by listeners in the social context, the question then is what the speaker wants to achieve, i.e. persuasion, getting information etc. This again points to the fact that communication is, in all cases, fundamentally formative social practice in action.

3.2.3 COMMUNICATION AS SOCIAL PRACTICE

Communicative tasks are realized as social practices in culturally distinct ways. Firstly, this variation in cultural practice is a result of different cultural assumptions about the situation and about appropriate behaviour and intentions within it. In addition, different assumptions result in different ways of structuring information or an argument in a conversation, as do different sets of unconscious linguistic conventions (e.g. contextualization cues). What influences the subconscious construction of the utterance is a combination of 'community resources', 'community' ground rules, events and situations. It is wrong to think of languages as abstract systems which are the unitary property of nations or ethnic groups. Bakhtin argues that the norms of a common unitary language do not constitute an abstract imperative. They are rather:

the generative forces of linguistic life, forces that struggle to overcome the heteroglossia of language, forces that unite and centralize verbal-ideological thought, creating within a heteroglot national language the firm, stable nucleus of an officially recognized literary language, or else defending an already formed language from the pressure of growing heteroglossia...we are taking language not as a study of abstract grammatical categories, but rather language conceived as ideologically saturated, language as a world-view, even as a concrete opinion, ensuring a maximum of understanding in all spheres of ideological life (Bakhtin: 1981:270-271).

Bakhtin thus sees national and other unitary languages as expressing 'the historical processes of linguistic unification and centralization, an expression of the centripetal forces of language'. It is in turning to look at the centrifugal forces in language, the forces that resist efforts to unify, centralize and systematize, that Bakhtin introduces this concept of *social languages*. The centripetal forces in his view:

operate in the midst of heteroglossia. At any moment of its evolution, language is stratified not only into linguistic dialects in the strict sense of the word (according to formal linguistic markers, especially phonetics), but also, and for us this is the essential point - into languages that are socio-ideological: languages of social groups, 'professional' and 'generic' languages, languages of generations, and so forth (Bakhtin 1981:271-272).

A distinction is made between centripetal and centrifugal forces of language: 'Centripetal forces include the political and institutional forces that try to impose one variety or code over others.....' Duranti (1997:76). Centripetal forces try to force speakers towards adopting a unified linguistic identity. This used to be the case with Afrikaner Nationalism in the post 1994 era. 'Centrifugal forces push speakers away from a common centre and towards differentiation. These are the forces that tend to be represented by the people (geographically, numerically, economically, and metaphorically) at the periphery of the social system' (Duranti 1997:76).

By being polydialectic, people keep parallel social and ethnic identities going. This would partially explain why, in certain contexts and situations, speakers prefer to retain, and deliberately choose to maintain the use of forms of style and grammar from the source or donor languages. Alternatively, as in the case of Ebonics, where the source languages were lost, creolized forms of style and grammar arose from the adopted language and from the source languages.

The tension induced by the existence of pressure on the speaker by the centripetal as well as centrifugal forces simultaneously and in an ongoing way, is what forces the speaker into a process of parallel, mostly subconscious processes of identification. An awareness of the tension between centripetal and centrifugal forces adds interesting perspectives of the nature of parliamentary speech in South Africa today.

3.2.4 SPEAKER STRATEGY AND STYLE DIMENSIONS

To ensure successful intercultural communication, speakers need to adapt their strategies to their audiences in production and reception. This requires an awareness of difference in communicative strategies used by different discourse communities. The awareness of strategy differences is often subconscious rather than conscious and results in convergence: 'Speakers show a fine-grained ability to design their style for a range of different addressees and to a lesser degree, for other audience members.' (Saville-Troike in Coupland and Jaworski, 1997:240).

Furthermore, 'Style shifts according to topic or setting derive their meaning and direction of shift from the underlying association of topics or settings of the typical audience members (Saville-Troike in Coupland and Jaworski 1997:246).' The style change initiates a change in the situation rather than resulting from such a change. 'Initiative style shifts are in essence 'referee

design' by which the linguistic features associated with that group can be used to express identification with that group (Saville-Troike in Coupland and Jaworski 1997: 248).'

Variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from and echoes the variation which exists between speakers on the 'social dimension'. This is not easily quantifiable in SA and other multilingual and multicultural countries where the 'social dimension' is extremely complex. In order to agree on a frame for a particular interaction, the speakers need to do some negotiating. e.g. Speaker A opens in a certain mode, Speaker B indicates agreement or disagreement with that mode. Then a conversational rhythm is established by the speakers working together. This co-ordination is known as interactive synchrony and can be distinguished from asynchrony where one person dominates and blocks the other, or both speakers speak at once or there are several uneasy pauses because neither speaker wants to lead. All these occur in intercultural interactions due to different cultural norms regarding turn-taking, length of pause etc. In addition, they are being caused by the power struggle inherent in public interaction generally.

Here it is useful to distinguish between frameworks of interpretation and schemas which are chunks of knowledge structures about, or perceptions of, aspects of the world. If two interactive participants do not share the same schema, and they do not switch frames to accommodate this difference, miscommunication arises. Crosstalk occurs when participants of different cultural backgrounds encounter difficulties when negotiating a conversational context as there may be a mismatch of frames and expectations of the direction and nature of the communication. As a result intercultural encounters are frequently asynchronous i.e. participants interpret the interaction in different ways and are often left with negative impressions of each other. The reasons may be that they are unaware of a cultural gap, that they do not think it is their role to switch or that they conclude that the other participant is rude, uncooperative or ignorant, or a combination of some of these factors.

If the basis for the analysis of conversation is discourse, the characteristics of unplanned conversations which need to be taken account of are the interactive intent of the utterance and the organizing strategies of exchange structures. An utterance focus is preferred to a sentence focus. The utterance is viewed as highly context-dependent and feedback-dependent. Oral 'punctuations' (such as interjections and direct emotive expressions) organize, initiate, maintain and terminate exchanges. Patterns in clause structures such as inversions, false starts and minor sentence types are significant in the analysis of face-to-face interactions. The focus of the analysis then is on meaning, or the meaning potential of the utterance. Very important to take note of is Berendt's overall finding that: 'English conversations are not mainly interactional in purpose but 50% of utterances are related to the management and organizing of the interactions.' (Berendt 1997:415). The message itself is conveyed through modes of couching by elements such as cues, introductions, contextualization conventions, textual space and time. This is also the case with gestures and intonation which are a larger part of the communication that one realizes.

3.2.5 CONVENTIONS AND THEIR SUBVERSIONS

A rhetorical-responsive version of social constructivism (Shotter 1993:12) is useful in this kind of analysis in that it points out in what way and how every argumentative 'move' is a response to a previous 'move'. About a responsive account of understanding and meaning (of which referential accounts are a special case within it), Bakhtin says:

...when the listener perceives and understands the meaning of speech, he simultaneously takes an active, responsive attitude toward it. He either agrees or disagrees with it (completely or partially), augments it, applies it, prepares for its execution, and so on. And the listener adopts this responsive attitude for the entire duration of the process of listening and understanding (1986:68).

Kathpalia reiterates: 'Only proficient users of the genre dare to break away from conventions in order to be innovative and unique in the preference of the standardized rhetorical structure of

blurbs (meaning advertisements) but also in the constrained use of language found in local blurbs' (Kathpalia cited by Berendt 1997:417). Other factors are also circumstantial and situational, making the genre used particular to that country. Kathpalia confirms that culturally-differential Englishes originate from innovation, a degree of confidence and proficiency.

3.3 APPROACHES TO DISCOURSE

A 'living ideology' is a set of institutionalized ways of talking, thinking, perceiving, and acting which sustain social lives to the benefit of some members of groups over others. This idea links well with Bernstein's distinction between elaborated and restricted codes. A living ideology is the equivalent of what Bakhtin calls 'genre', also defined by Morson and Emerson (1990:282) as follows:

understood as a way of seeing, is best described neither as a "form" (in the usual sense) nor as an ideology (which could be phrased as a set of tenets) but as a "form-shaping ideology"- a special kind of creative activity embodying a specific sense of experience.' The contrary themes made available within a living ideology are 'the seeds, not the flowers of arguments' (Shotter 1993:13), which explains very well the inherent ideological positioning of actions and utterances.

A study of New Englishes in Botswana conducted by Merkestein (1998:171-185) demonstrates the point that it is advisable to enter into linguistic enquiry with carefully chosen appropriate frameworks. She argues that those instruments normally applied to the analysis of discourse, and which originate in the Western traditions of analysing language, Biber's 1988 model in this case, are often inapplicable. This is based on the following findings:

When the norm-providing variety, British English, was gradually replaced by the norm-developing variety, Batswana English, the institutional discourse of the government, as part of the new variety, was also affected by the change of norm. This resulted in a text-type of circulars from a strictly genre-driven style to a much freer register in which there was place for the explicit maintenance of relationship (Merkestein 1998:181).

To maintain social ties and relationships within community groups is a paramount goal in Batswana social life and culture. The Batswana choose to maintain their identity as a group through the instantiation of their social reality in English as one tool of the Batswana linguistic repertoire. Merkestein (1998:182) points out that 'care must be taken, that the definition of linguistic features considered to be functional variables is based upon the perceptions of both users and researchers.' She suggests that a new variety needs to be explained from the point of view of the speech community of the speakers as well as from that of researchers. This would result in a more data-based, user-centric analysis which she sees as less manipulable by outsider-expert researchers and therefore preferable. While this seems a valid point, it may not be practically feasible to determine who the exact 'community of speakers' includes. It is also an open question who the legitimate spokespeople for communities of speakers are and in what terms they might describe language, and what variety, style, type of dialect they subscribe to.

Merkestein's point is valid in that it emphasises the importance of data and context, especially if it constitutes something which is culturally removed from the researcher's own life experience and discourse repertoire. The data therefore dictates the method to some degree, before a theoretical model is made to merge itself with the data.

Approaching specialist genres entails firstly, knowledge of the code (i.e. the language, although perfection is not needed), secondly genre knowledge (known as 'situated cognition') (Bhatia 1997:314). This means knowing the communicative goals and the purposes associated with specific genres to achieve those goals. It further entails knowing text types and the particular processes of production, distribution and consumption of texts. It also entails sensitivity to cognitive structuring (genres are discipline-specific and -shaped by social practice) and knowledge of genre ownership (knowing how to interpret, use and exploit genres well). 'Good professionals practise genre-mixing and genre embedding to achieve 'private

intentions' within the context of 'socially recognized communicative purposes (Bhatia 1997:314).' Examples of this will be given in the data analysis section of this project.

New Rhetoric studies draw on post-structuralist social and literary theories of Bakhtin, Foucault, Vygotsky (developmental psychology) and Bourdieu. (Yunick 1997: 322). New Rhetoric focuses on social purposes while genre analysis focuses on discourse structure. 'Bhatia, Swales and Johns all argue explicitly for analysis that is thoroughly grounded in knowledge of the relevant social purposes within which a text is embedded' (Yunick 1997: 325). This is the method I prefer because it focuses on dialectics and not 'givens' or determinant presupposition. Varieties of English in the Outer Circle will have their own nativized theoretical organization (Kachru 1997: 340). This has been demonstrated by the studies of Strevens, Thumboo and, as already mentioned, Merkestein. This means that for each specific study a method has to be created which uses previously tried and tested models from similar contexts. In the following sections a few useful theoretical models, some local and some international models are cited. They represent the kind of models from which I drew elements in the construction of my methodological approach.

AN EXAMPLE OF A LOCAL STUDY

In a local study conducted by Lockett and Chick (1998:82) a form of critical discourse analysis is applied to a political speech given in 1912, presented by an African scholar who was educated in America. The analysis was conducted in three phases. Firstly, a socio-historical analysis including interpretations of an everyday, ordinary reading of the text was done. Secondly a formal and discursive analysis of the text was done and thirdly, a re-interpretation of the text closely following the chosen discourse analysis framework.

Phase One is important for situating the text as well as the reader perspective and defining it in terms of the production-consumption network and dynamics. An initial response, without

preconceived notions of what the text might deliver, alerts the reader to features which are perhaps not visible or fall by the wayside and appear invalid when an analytical framework or grid is applied. In the study conducted by Lockett and Chick, the formal and discursive textual analysis phase focuses on field, tenor and mode of discourse according to a Hallidayan framework.

Fairclough (1992 cited in Lockett and Chick 1998:83) explains that analysts need to relate the detailed properties of the texts to the social, political and ideological effects of the text as a discursive event. They then need to re-visit the hypothesis generated initially on the basis of the socio-historical analysis, and ascertain the extent to which this has been confirmed by the formal and discourse analysis. If the formal/discursive analyses have thrown up any surprises, these need to be examined and explained. It is at this stage that they also need to enquire about how ideology is working through texts. They need to ask questions such as: 'What relations of power and domination are the authors constructing, reproducing or eroding?', 'What discourses and particular configurations of discourses are they articulating?' and 'In whose interest are those discourses being employed' (Halliday cited in Lockett and Chick 1998:84). Lockett and Chick's study is useful as a model for the development of my discourse analysis framework. This has two reasons. Firstly, it is an example of how the New Literacy Studies of Fairclough, has lent studies of texts more depth and meaning than a pure linguistic approach would have had. A graphic representation (see Appendix 3) shows how the different stages of the Faircloughian version of text in context-type analysis, complement each other for the purposes of thick-description.

My study displays the discursive strategies and linguistic devices used to uncover and describe elements of identity formation and public image formation of the ANC party. The ANC party's rise to majority rule is one of the major events in South African history. It is interesting to observe how representatives of the ANC forge a positive national image of inclusion in order to

gain credibility with as wide a population as possible, thereby casting the net for voters as wide as possible.

Fairclough's (1992) discourse analysis framework is also used in a study by Rickards (1995). Her analysis of parliamentary language in South Africa focuses on the question: In what way is ideology encoded? How do people use language to vie for power? In addition, she identifies linguistic features which encode ideology by using Halliday's functional analysis of linguistic features (i.e. ideational, interpersonal and textual). She identifies the following linguistic devices used in parliamentary texts: metaphor (zoological and other), intertextuality, narrative, humour and insult, passivity, syntactic choices and manipulations for foregrounding, language switching, code-switching, translation and scare-quotes. What is noteworthy here is that a number of the devices identified in this study coincide with characteristics commonly found in oral literatures i.e. humour and insult (normally discussed under satire in the literature on the oral tradition), syntactic choices and manipulations for foregrounding (e.g. in discussions on oral literature the example she gave highlighted the deliberately incorrect use of concord for effectiveness), and zoological metaphors which were plentiful in oral literatures. Although I did not use a Hallidayan framework, I too applied a multi-tiered method of analysis as did Merkerstein, Lockett and Chick, and Rickards. Besides the local examples described, I have drawn on international studies which focus on the discursive construction of institutionalized rhetoric, some of which are discussed in the next section.

3.4 ANALYSING INSTITUTIONALIZED POLITICAL RHETORIC

Institutionalized political rhetoric is that which characterizes political rhetoric used in formal official domains by high status representatives of the public, as opposed to the rhetoric used by the public in the unofficial, popular, social domain. Political rhetorical devices used in official domains differ from those in the public domain in many aspects. In this project I focus only on

parliamentary rhetoric in my own database. Comparison to political rhetoric in the social domain, for instance, is not in the ambit of this project.

Rhetorical devices are analysed in current descriptive approaches by referring to phonology (e.g. alliteration, assonance, rhyme), syntax (e.g. agent-less passives), lexis (e.g. neologisms, word collocations), semantics (e.g. shifts), pragmatics and textual levels of description i.e. modes of argumentation (Chilton 1994:321). These studies highlight the relationship between verbal and non-verbal components of delivery in order to find out which techniques are most effective for persuasive impact. The mental predispositions of the political decision-makers are embodied in the discourses used by them. It is thus important to identify the themes and devices used by politicians. Variants in this kind of content analysis are usually 'operational coding' (behaviours according to certain belief systems and a set of practical policy rules) and 'cognitive mapping' (mental networks that speakers have of causal links between events, actions and entities in the national and international domain).

Critical approaches to political rhetoric assume connections between the 'macro' structures of state institutions and the 'micro' structures of everyday, person-to-person relationships and interactions. Over and above this, if language is seen as a form of social action, the receiver and speaker are seen as equally important in the construction of the utterance, whether spontaneous or not. Code switching, code mixing and dialect switches in political rhetoric in parliamentary settings might have more to do with catering for a particular constituency of voters or for persuading opposition parties, than with what may have been labelled 'lapses into informality'. An additional observation is that the language becomes less and less standard as the debate progresses. This is due to the prepared nature of the initial speech, followed by a discussion for which respondents need to formulate more or less impromptu statements. Emotional factors come into play as debates progress and degrees of disagreement increase.

Example 1:

De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak (1999:149-174) establish which topics, discursive strategies and linguistic devices are employed in constructing national sameness and uniqueness on the one hand, and difference to other national collectives on the other. Their study was conducted in Austria, with Austrian identity as the focus. They point out that their study is groundbreaking in that it focuses particularly on discursive constructions of sameness, rather than on difference, which is what the purpose of this kind of study usually is. Their study reveals discursive strategies of assimilation (aiming at the construction of intranational sameness) and the description of a number of context-determined national identity narratives.

De Cillia et al. collected data from different social contexts, official, semi-official and quasi-private discourse in order to grasp the tensions in interdiscursive relationships with and between these discourses, thereby complementing the study of elite discourses with ethnographic research (De Cillia et al. 1999:170). They argue that the images of national identity offered by political elites differ from those offered in the media or by the public in their 'everyday discourses'. While I acknowledge that this is true, my study focuses exclusively on parliamentary discourse, i.e. the discourse of political elites. I believe that the images of national identity perpetuated in a high status context such as parliament, and the discursive practices in which they are couched, are highly influential. They are reproduced in the media and address the concerns of the constituency, as it is perceived by its representatives. My focus therefore is on the institutionalized discourses of parliament, their roots of formation and their linguistic manifestations.

The investigation of discursive formations of national identity reveals the common ideas, concepts or perception schemes, related emotional attitudes intersubjectively shared within specific groups and accompanying behavioural dispositions (De Cillia et al 1999:153). Emotional attitudes manifest themselves in communication with the national out-group and the national in-group. Behavioural dispositions include both dispositions towards solidarity with one's own national group as well as the readiness to exclude the 'others' from this constructed

collective and to debase them. This is demonstrated in the discourse analysis phase of this project.

The contradiction in terms arises from the fact that national identity construction always runs hand in hand with construction of difference, distinctiveness and uniqueness (de Cillia et al 1999: 153). The observation made is that as soon as it is elevated to an imaginary collective level, both the construction of sameness and the construction of difference violate pluralistic and democratic variety and multiplicity by group-internal homogenization (of in-groups as well as of out-groups). All that can really be done then is to monitor how national identification processes are constructed.

A national culture is a discourse, a way to construct meanings which influence and organize both our actions and our perceptions of ourselves. National cultures construct identities by creating meanings of 'the nation', with which we can identify; these are contained in stories that are told about the nation, in memories which link its present to its past in the perceptions of it that are constructed (Hall 1996:201).

It is through this reliance on collective memory and reconstruction of collective memory that the ANC builds its image. This is why, central to this study, the impact of historical oral forms and discursive traditional practices are examined:

Through classificational systems (especially according to sex and age) inscribed in law, through bureaucratic procedures, educational structures and social rituals (particularly salient in the case of Japan and England), the state moulds *mental structures* and imposes common principles of vision and division ... and it thereby contributes to the construction of what is commonly designated as national identity (or, in a more traditional language, national character) (Bourdieu 1994:7).

De Cillia et al (1999:157-166) make a number of observations about political speeches which are as valid to the narrative characteristics of parliamentary discourse in South Africa as to the context in which their research is based. In their categories for discourse analysis they

distinguish between topics, strategies and linguistic means and forms of realization. The dominant topics found in their study are emotional attachment to the country (e.g. what it means to be 'an Austrian'), relationship to collective political history, common culture (e.g. religion, art), collective present and future, the national body (e.g. landscape, natural resources, boundaries). The dominant strategies found are constructive strategies (e.g. discursive constructions of perpetuation and justification), transformation strategies and destructive strategies (e.g. dismantling nations and national identities). The linguistic means and forms of realization are lexical units, argumentation schemes and syntactical means (e.g. expressions of unity, sameness, difference, singularity, continuity, change etc.). Many of these topics, strategies and linguistic forms and means of realization overlap with the ones found in parliamentary rhetoric in this study and are mentioned in the analysis.

Example 2:

Iedema and Wodak (1999) provide a model for the analysis of organizational discourse and practices. Underpinning the model is the belief that globalism and pluralism necessitate the use of interdisciplinarity in social and linguistic studies (Iedema and Wodak 1999:6). Issues of ideology and power are not seen as free floating in people's minds, but as inherent in social and linguistic practices:

For a discourse-analytical study, an approach lends itself best which conceptualises organisations as cultures in order to examine the way in which organisations members engage in the creation of institutional reality. Such research generally takes organisational symbolism- myths, stories, legends, jokes, rites, logos- as the most clearly visible articulation of organisational reality (Mumby 1988:3 in Iedema and Wodak 1999:7).

The key characteristics of this kind of approach (the discourse-historical approach) are described as follows:

The setting and context are to be described in detail, because discourses can only be described, understood and interpreted in their specific contexts. The content of the utterance is to be viewed in the light of historical events and fact and intertextuality, i.e. referenced accounts. The

texts need to be examined by other insider-experts (in Sociology, Psychology and History). Interdisciplinarity is implicit at each stage of the investigation. The texts need to be described as accurately as possible on all textual-linguistic levels. (Wodak and Menz 1990:57, translated from German):

The cyclic method is the same as Lockett and Chick's in that the initial analysis is followed by generalizations. These are then followed by a more in-depth textual analysis in order to verify those generalizations. In addition, ledema et al analyse large data corpora both from inside and surrounding the sites under investigation, in an attempt to explain the intertextuality and inter-discursivity that are obtained among genre and other dimensions of organizations (ledema et al 1999:9). Primarily then, they argue:

Organizational research, we suggest, should therefore aim to describe the recontextualizing processes through which meanings and materialities are construed as having and achieving a broader social relevance and material presence, as well as consider the decontextualizing processes through which these enhanced relevance and presences are politicised and contested (ledema 1999:14).

The linguistic analysis in this project, influenced by those discussed above, is threefold. Firstly, I used the discourse-historical approach to discuss the macro- contextual background and the original sources in which the discursive 'events' are embedded. Secondly, at the micro-contextual level, the institution i.e. parliament in this case, is described with its current practices and procedures e.g. editorial policies and how they compare to those used in the past. Thirdly, analysis at the text level is applied in order to reveal recurring forms and strategies of discourse. This constitutes three different levels, namely the discourse, sentence and world level. This leads to some conclusions about which features of the text are generally regarded as 'acceptable'.

3.5 RELEVANT FEATURES OF THE AFRICAN ORAL TRADITION

3.5.1 INTRODUCTION

While it is true that a lot of features of the African oral tradition are shared with other oral traditions world-wide, what I am concentrating on in this project is the nuances of tone, metaphor and turn of phrase linked to African linguistic roots. The ethnographic approach has prompted me to link the linguistic features under discussion to the historical cultural heritage from which they have been passed down. Finnegan (1976) and Ong (1982) maintain that in the African oral traditions, the tools and resources available to African people during colonization were used to resist, consolidate and to maintain cultural value. These tools originate from a merging of traditional African oral practices with those acquired by contact with other nations. As Couzens (1975:2) points out, many of the first black writers drew on both African as well as Western literary traditions. This marriage of cultures has been evident right from the very start (Mzamane 1984:147). The work of the first black person to compose a written piece in South Africa demonstrates this. Ntsikana was one of the earliest converts to Christianity and wrote hymns in Xhosa. His 'Great Hymn' is about Christianity (a Western concept at that time in history), yet expressed in the traditional mode of praise poetry, so using the old form for the new content.

The two main cultural and literary influences on early black writing were, as has already been stated, the mission schools and journalism. These two main strands of influence gave rise to the development of institutional conventions strongly adhered to by the writers, as the agendas of these institutional forms were in the hands of the colonizers and therefore not particularly negotiable. For example, the newspaper *Imvo* was started in 1884 and its first editor was John Tengo. It is difficult to be sure about the properties and features of the English of the original contributors as in the first edition it is said that 'many Natives also ...can write but are rough diamonds whose communications must be summarized for English readers.' The editors clearly thought of 'good English' as standard written British English. All writing of this time shows a strong adherence to the high standards of the exonormative variety. The degree of success of black journalists in managing to adhere to these norms is confirmed by a letter from

a 'Gospel Minister' which was published in the newspaper on 29 December 1884 (Peile 1989:8):

I write a line to say that my copies of Native Opinion have duly reached me, and also to say that the articles and get up are good. I can only speak of the English part and I am bound to say that I think it very creditable. What is written is in good English.

The newspaper was to provide many important models for its readers. In its layout and in its aims a newspaper obviously places certain constraints on what kinds and forms of writing it is able to produce. 'What it did encourage were forms of literature such as the short story, the lecture, letters to the editor, the short biography and obituaries (Couzins 1984:72).' As a newspaper it had to appeal to the public mind and also had to construct a readership for itself, therefore most of the writing was on public issues such as education, politics and religion. These models are also plentiful in early copies of *Imvo*. In terms of public concerns and themes, this seems to be not much different from current parliamentary concerns where speakers too present themselves as spokespersons for their constituencies, although these are two distinct modes, writing for information and entertainment of the general public and writing for listeners as well as readers in a specialized formal political context. Thus journalism in those days fulfilled much the same function as the international and national media today. To take this notion further, parliamentary oratory is not as different in terms of function of the African oral tradition in the past. The data analysis in this project explores this idea further.

3.5.2 MAJOR TROPES

The major underlying tropes in African oral literature as well as in parliamentary discussions today, are resistance and the quest for liberation, a sense of belonging, nationhood and identity. Groenewald and Makopo (1991:84-88) point out that the message of Black literature has always been one message, namely liberation and the creation of a new society. In parliamentary discourse it may be said that the oral traditions have been in gradual transition

since 1983, but have changed radically since 1994. This is due to the change in themes, participant composition and different power dynamics, due to the ANC now enjoying majority representation in parliament. Although the topics of discussion are more or less 'prescribed' a more open-minded acknowledgement of cross-cultural reality has provided scope for linguistic experimentation and innovation. It is useful to look at the traditional themes of political songs for a clue to cultural allusions which appear in parliamentary discourse.

Groenewald and Makopo (1991:85-88) mention as major tropes in oral literature, militarism, reference to political personalities, race and religiosity. Praises are used to criticize or praise the position of the ruler or of a moral tradition. Praise poetry used to revolve around the issue of power, political statements/warnings and messages, for instance, to ruling whites. Even today, the role of the imbongi (praise singer) is to criticise the chief or the councillors, thereby simultaneously acknowledging and bestowing importance and intelligence on the chief (Vail and White 1991:77). 'Though animal metaphors are the most common, heroes are also compared to natural phenomena like lightning, wind, or storm, or to other objects like a shield, a rock, flames of fire' (Finnegan 1976:133). The hero may also be compared to a whole series of different objects. Economically expressed, vivid, figurative and allusive descriptions create a series of pictures of the person or action conveyed to the listener (Finnegan 1976:135). There is also a fair amount of criticism of the opponents which often appears in the form of animal imagery, which is discussed in more detail in the analysis.

Makgamatha (1991:324) mentions three overriding themes in the Northern Sotho prose narrative, namely security, food and marriage and fertility. These themes recur consistently in parliamentary oratory. While the first two may be recognized as dominant in underdeveloped countries, the last two are universal. Examples of these appear in the database and are discussed in the analysis.

3.5.3 THE ORATOR'S ROLE

The orator's traditional role and function was that of performer and social critic. The storyteller in African society was the 'voice' of the people, as an embodiment of traditional values, when talking of performance in the sense of oral tradition. The audience was, and remains, of paramount importance. The contexts and audience were commonly thought of as being fixed, static and largely predictable in their response. Gunner however disputes this. She argues that the praise poem is as relevant today as it was in the 19th century and characterizes it as dynamic cross-cultural performance:

In this way, a contemporary praise poet is not directing his (rarely her) poem to the past as history 'but to the present in which elements of the past are embedded and can be reactivated' (Barber 1989, quoted in Tonkin 1992:89). Conceived of in this way, memory is a part of modernity and the modern nation. The pulling together of formerly distinct 'national' figures produces the possibility of a more hybrid history far more suited to the many 'nations' present in the new South Africa in terms of language and remembered histories and traditions.

There is a way in which, even when it has appeared to be unitary and to be operating in the service of what could be called a smaller national group, a nation within a nation, praise poetry has kept its hybrid nature and has given the sense of being an amalgam of discrete units, of many parts, and of people who have come from different places. The way in which different peoples, groups and places are marked in praise poetry can be seen actually to hold memories of the history of state buildings in the nineteenth century - for instance the movement north from south-east Africa during Shaka's reign (Gunner 1999: 54).

The same can be said of the effects of interwoven oral forms in the parliamentary speeches in this data base, as will be shown in the analysis.

The role of the poet/writer as a social critic and as political voice of protest during the apartheid struggle years (Hodgson 1981:5) has left its mark on the features of traditional oral prose and poetry. As will be demonstrated in the analysis, some of these features appear in modern

parliamentary discourse. While this is the case, parliamentarians are faced with the complex task of structuring their discourse to cross-cultural audiences. Therefore the culturally-based in-group talk and allusions to the oral tradition, needs to be constantly reformulated, repackaged for comprehension by the opposition parties, a process which, as the situation dictates, presupposes a high degree of skill. It is therefore clear that black writing has never been a mere imitation of Western literate culture, but has had consistent, unique 'tropes' throughout decades. What this project hopes to demonstrate to some degree is that BSAfE speech and grammar in parliament today is not a 'bad' imitation or interlingual version of SAfE, but something distinct with its own quantifiable characteristics.

The very substance of oral literature are formulaic expressions and formulaic clusters in order to convey content and knowledge. The embodied pattern of narrative and imagery is the essence of the text and should not be seen merely as a creative device. This patterning preserves cultural values and interprets present events. The formulae, it is stated, are not there to aid the orator in his composition, but are the very substance of his performance (Ong and Goody in Vail and White 1991:23). This will be explored further in the analysis. Furthermore, narrative strategies and devices used in parliament which coincide with those of the African oral tradition are discussed in more detail in the analysis. There are other features of note such as the extensive use of praise names and the use of animal analogies, which are discussed in the analysis in conjunction with various examples found in the database.

In discussing oral forms which recur and persist in a highly technologized environment, one needs to reframe the discursive perspective 'In order to fully understand oral literary forms, 'we have to ask questions not just about "the story", or "the song" (invoking a model of some "basic" text) but also about the dynamics of the actual occasion, the role of audiences, the perhaps-multiple performers, and the various verbal and non-verbal media used' (Finnegan 1992:41). Generic conventions can and are exploited in a number of different ways which in themselves can be the subject of research (Finnegan 1992:45). She strongly suggests that

both literary and social scientific methodologies are needed in researching oral forms of expression. Finnegan (1992:46) makes three observations about the existence of oral forms and how they are currently being viewed. She suggests firstly that essentially what has changed in our view of oral forms is that we are now more aware of their political nature (as of the political nature of all forms of human interactions), secondly that we are more aware now of the multi-layered nature of human action and expression and thirdly that there is generally a process orientation rather than a focus on product in current research. These observations have been useful in constructing a research framework for analysing oral forms in parliament.

3.6 CONCLUSION

Hymes discusses two ways of going about linguistic analysis which complement each other:

one can characterize whatever features go together to identify a style of speech in terms of *rules of co-occurrence* among them, and can characterize choice among styles in terms of *rules of alternation*. The first concept gives systematic status to the ways of selecting and grouping together of linguistic means that actually obtainable in a community. The second concept frees the resulting styles from mechanical connection with a particular defining situation. Persons are recognized to choose among styles themselves, and the choices to have social meaning (1989:435).

In order to define an approach which consists of a combination of stylistic and grammatical data, he says: 'the notion of style is not just an alternative to the notion of grammar, but has application to grammar itself, as something socially constituted (Hymes 1989:435).' In summary then, the methodological approach which emerged is one which combines the discussion of grammatical and stylistic features. The references to historical, anthropological, and rhetorical factors impacting on the data analysis outlined in this chapter are not meant to be 'additional', but rather determining of the way in which the grammatical constructions are to be viewed. The anthropological underpinnings of the research approach thus constructs a descriptive framework for the data and analysis presented in Chapter 5.

University of Cape Town

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter moves away from the macro factors of linguistic, historical and anthropological production to the micro context in question, namely parliament. Again it does not suffice to approach the linguistic sampling procedure without a description of the participants, the conditions of production and reception and a description of the route travelled towards arriving at the given sampling method. When dealing with a linguistic variation site such as parliament, focussing on 'core' features alone, is not enough. In post-modern studies dealing with 'styling' in interactions of unhomogeneous groups, 'there is a surge of interest in the flows of people, knowledge, texts and objects across social and geographic space, in boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, and in fragmentation, indeterminacy and ambivalence (Rampton 1999:424).'

4.2 THE CASE STUDY METHOD

Yin (1994:13) defines a case study as 'an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.' I chose this method because it places the study of a language within a discussion of the contextual conditions in which it is embedded. The national and international contextual conditions in which English in South Africa today occurs are particularly crucial. Overall the research design of this thesis is eclectic because at each stage and at each layer of analysis, a range of different methods is used. What follows is an overview of the theoretical constructs drawn on and a description of the research process.

The case study enquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points (Yin 1994:3). Firstly, it relies on multiple sources of evidence, and secondly it benefits from the prior development of theoretical

propositions to guide data collection and analysis. This means that the actual textual analysis on its own, does not suffice as evidence. At the same time the vast number of variables involved cannot be monitored. This project can therefore, at the most, point to a number of factors acting as variables, naming some, mapping the field of the most visible variables and discussing a few in detail. The prior development of theoretical propositions adds value to what is termed 'thick description' (Patton 1990:375). 'Thick description' is much used in ethnographic methodologies, sociological studies, in action research and is in fact a feature of qualitative research in general. Thick description is defined as follows by Denzin (1989:83 in Patton 1990:430) :

A thick description does more than record what a person is doing. It goes beyond mere fact and surface appearances. It presents detail, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships that join persons to one another. Thick description evokes emotionality and self-feelings. It inserts history into experience. It establishes the significance of an experience, or the sequence of events, for the person or persons in question. In thick description, the voices, feelings, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals are heard.

Thick description makes possible 'thick interpretation' which allows for a variety of interdisciplinary ways of viewing the data. 'It connects the individual cases to larger public issues and to the programs that serve the linkage between individual actions and public concerns' (Patton 1990:430).

In the analysis it is important to focus on the human actors concerned, adding to the thick description of data. In this regard I have taken note of what Corson (1997:173) terms 'critical realism' in his argument relating to an emancipatory philosophy and approach to applied linguistics. This may be summarized as follows. Critical realism is not a theory of knowledge (epistemology), but a theory of being (ontology). It concerns itself with the theory of social practices. Human motives and accounts are basic social scientific data. The data reveals the values, beliefs, interests, ideologies and material entities that create important structural influences in the lives of actors. The data also provides evidence of what people believe about

their beliefs. With all this information one can identify the things that human actors value and also what oppresses them. He also points out that a moral response to this kind of data would be action to sustain wanted structures and action towards removing unwanted/non-beneficiary structures in the interest of the actors concerned. It therefore has been necessary to describe and map out new developments regarding English in parliament and in South Africa, as well as world trends. Enhanced credibility for BSAfE is established by means of the description and monitoring of its features and some of its general historical and metaphorical bases. Critical realism is useful, in that it argues that discourse and content analysis go hand in hand. This study seeks to add to existing theory around variation and change in English in SA. While doing this I focus specifically on characteristics of BSAfE as used in parliament.

This study may be classified as an embedded single-case study (Yin 1994:39) using various units of analysis. In my study I use four data sets as sources of evidence. Each set of data adds its own layer of meaning to the overall view taken. My approach is neither linear or chronological, because it involves an embedded single study design with multiple units of analysis in which data sets converge. This kind of study requires looking at it from different angles, resulting in the presentation of an integrated view. The remaining part of this chapter describes the research process in more detail.

4.3 THE CONTEXT

4.3.1 PARLIAMENTARY STRUCTURES IN SOUTH AFRICA

The structure of the Bicameral Parliament can be compared to the House of Lords and House of Commons in England. It consists of the National Assembly (NA) and the National Council of Provinces (NCOP). This is also comparable to an equivalent in the USA, the Senate and the House of Representatives, which together make up the Congress. The NA consists of elected members whereas the NCOP consists of 90 permanent and rotating delegates, 10 per

province, including MEC's and other delegates elected by the legislatures of the provinces. Decisions related to debates are deferred to a voting day, unless they are uncontentious, in which case they go through straight away. In labour issues for instance, a wide range of languages is used, the debates are stylized and prepared with not much spontaneous talk. In a debate such as the contentious land redistribution debate, there would probably be more unprepared talk of an emotive style.

As at 5 September 1986 the number of members per party in the National Assembly were: National Party (NP) 121, PFP 26, NRP three, CP 17 and HNP one with the house now known as the NCOP having a similar proportionate number of party members. All parliamentary proceedings were originally presented in Afrikaans or English, the Afrikaans being translated into English as well for publication. This means that all transcripts are available in English. English translations of the Afrikaans originals are all marked by an asterisk next to the name of the speaker, which makes them easy to identify for the purpose of keeping in mind that they are translations and not as originally performed.

In terms of the 1994 elections the African National Congress (ANC) held 252 seats in the National Assembly, the National Party (NP) 82, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) 43, the Freedom Front (FF) nine, Democratic Party (DP) seven, The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) five, and the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), two. In the NCOP the ANC has 60 seats, the NP 17, the IFP five, the FF five and the DP three (South African Survey 1997/8:507). This has changed since the 1999 elections, but the figures themselves are not particularly relevant to the data collected in 1998 for this study.

In South Africa at present there is a National Assembly (400 people including the speaker, Frene Ginwala) and the NCOP with 90 people (with Patrick Lekota in the chair), 10 per province consisting of permanent staff and members of the legislature. They review legislature but they cannot appropriate money. Both chairpersons need to verify all decisions. One of the

main issues adopted by Frene Ginwala for urgent and consistent address, is to lend representation to the multiplicity of languages in parliament since 1994 in a strategized way. Things have been ad hoc since then and in the interim, no transcriptions have been done so far other than in the language of deliverance. This will be the policy until an official policy is put in place. Most of the language research around parliament has been focused on language policy issues, particularly the practical application of the 11 official languages policy. The cost of spontaneous translation, transcript translation, editing etc. of these languages has raised much speculation, as has the long term practical viability of such a policy. The cost of freelance translators is considerable, which indicated that budgetary constraints are a main consideration in language policy-making in parliament today, considering the national poverty margin.

4.3.2 HANSARD'S CHANGING APPROACH TO REPORTING IN ENGLISH

As a result of societal and national political contextual changes since the 1994 change of government much has changed in Hansard in terms of policy. In South Africa, Hansard has taken its model of recording and transcription from the British. Hansard, the official report of debates in the House, is defined by Lidderdale (1976) as follows: 'It is a full report, in the first person, of all speakers alike, a full report being defined as one which though not strictly verbatim, is substantially the verbatim report, with repetitions and redundancies omitted and with obvious mistakes corrected, but which on the other hand leaves out nothing that adds to the meaning of the speech or illustrates the argument' (Select Committee on parliamentary debates in 1907). 'Hansard was the first printer, and later the publisher, of the official series of parliamentary debates covering both Houses, inaugurated by William Cobbett in 1803.' (Lidderdale 1976:253).

Hansard has two sections, of which, at the time of my data collection (April -May 1998) S. Zotwana was head of translating and Charl Cilliers head of reporting. The two functions of Hansard are publishing and transcription of speeches, editing and translating of all proceedings

into English (and whatever language the delivery was in). It is noteworthy that before 1994 all proceedings were translated into English as well as Afrikaans and African languages were disallowed. There are approximately 40 people in the Hansard reporting unit at present, one editor, two sub-editors, four assistant editors and a number of reporters and senior reporters.

Since the appearance of the DSAE in 1995 and Frene Ginwala's positively supportive speech in response to it, reporting procedures have changed: 'Slip of the tongue, mistakes of language and idiom, inaccurate references and misquotations are normally corrected automatically where they do not affect the debate, but reporters are not permitted to alter the original words and style of the speaker gratuitously' (Ginwala 1996:1). Wise (1996a:1) states:

There is no single variety of South African English. Hansard's approach is to accommodate the full range of styles and idioms, changing a member's words only where there is obvious awkwardness.' and 'Possibly the most distinctive characteristic of South African English is the free movement between it and other South African languages, and Hansard's treatment of this has become much less formalized...

Hansard's approach has been more to de-formalize and de-restrict the way in which the English spoken by members is written down. This approach naturally leads to a more distinctively South African idiom, as local variations of a standard language tend to occur first, and most richly, in spoken informal contexts. Hansard is now more vigilant than ever against letting the reporting and editing process result in a uniform, formal written style.

Furthermore:

A more flexible approach does not make the Hansard reporter's job any easier. Very few reporters, if any, are familiar with the full range of styles, lexicons and accents encountered in parliamentary debate - and the range is truly vast. An unfamiliar word or idiom tends to be misheard, or taken for an error and then "corrected". Contrary to what some people may believe,

Hansard editors spend more of their time restoring members' original words than changing them. (Wise 1996b:2).

Some examples of these are listed under uncontrollable variables. I am not addressing pronunciation or misheard words edited in and out, mistakes or interjections in this study. I am focusing primarily on a high rate of occurrence of those features which make the text uniquely and typically Sub-Saharan and South African when compared to Englishes elsewhere.

Hansard's frame of reference regarding normativity includes South African views, African views and British views (Wise 1996c). It is worth noting that in Ginwala's speech the references listed only reflect South African writers' views on widening circles of 'acceptability'. Much information and hard data is currently available on this debate in the East and in Europe for instance. These two observations indicate a shift in frame of reference from Western to African and local South African perspectives which links with a new emotive and ideological paradigm shift to Pan-Africanism represented by the African Renaissance movement: 'Hansard should reflect the character of our debates, with the full range of South African idiom, and languages' (Ginwala 1996:1). The restatement and echo of this emphasis and insistence on taking into account the local idiom and the local languages is noteworthy. How this translates into practice is one of the research questions.

4.3.3 CHANGING TRANSCRIPTION PROCESSES

The current policy on transcription is as follows. Transcripts are sent to the members of parliament within two days for correction and editing. Members of the Assembly are able to ask for alterations in the texts delivered by them. The transcripts are promptly returned to the translators and back to the editors for production of the final version. Since 1996 the fact that more flexible versions of English are used in parliament has had a significant impact on the linguistic context and on editing procedures. Uniformity guidelines are circulated at regular

intervals, with the edition I worked with being the 1998 version. These consist of words constructed mainly where uniformity of spelling is difficult to determine by a group of editors. The lists are useful in noting some of the lexemes which are new, due to political and social changes. Secondly, they indicate the underlying prevailing cultural national tropes. This is discussed in more detail in the analysis.

Transcripts do not need to be absolutely verbatim. Tape recordings are used to clarify accurately what was said. Intonation and pronunciation vary widely and need to be verified via the audio recording. If the written text is not quite clear to the transcriber or doesn't initially make sense, the transcriber has an obligation to try and keep the idiom as close to the original as possible and to do it justice by backtracking to the original speech, the presenter or/and the audio-transcript. Transcribers, if asked to comment could probably cite a multitude of examples of these and related problems they encounter and solve on a daily basis.

It is emphasized in the Draft White Paper on Language Policy (1997:13) that language should not only be seen as a resource, but more specifically as a functional resource 'harnessing of all collective knowledge and expertise to the socio-economic advantage of our diverse society.' In summary then, since 1996 onwards, there is a conscious drive to validate authentic voices, the metaphor and cultural heritage of the speakers. This may be termed an anti-prescriptivist approach. There is an awareness in Hansard of a new kind of English being used, but the problem is defining its parameters and describing it accurately. At present it is difficult to define the parameters of South African English, let alone BSAfE.

Practical issues which impact on editing processes in parliament are mainly centred around skills availability, space for simultaneous translation booths and cost of translators. In 1994 a decision was taken that African languages could be used in parliament and are simultaneously translated, if notice is given in advance. The fact that in practice Afrikaans and English translators were on tap at all times caused some unhappiness among African language

speakers who had to give notice in advance when wanting to speak in the language of their choice. This has complicated matters for the Hansard unit as the linguistic resource base needs to be significantly extended to include a wider range of expertise, human resources and finance. In the data analysis it has become clear that code switching and mixing take place spontaneously in most cases which means that translators would not have been requested to be present in advance. This is one of the facets of oral texts which puts African languages at a disadvantage, because not all parliamentarians have a working knowledge of them.

My ongoing involvement and close liaison with Hansard have been essential to this project and extremely beneficial as it has provided perspectives on the problems of editing in a multilingual context which are not attainable through textual analysis alone.

4.4 THE HANSARD UNIFORMITY GUIDE

The Hansard Uniformity Guide (HUG) which is distributed to editors every year, acts as a filter through which utterances are filtered for appropriate spellings. The HUG is drawn up on the basis of lists of words which editors discuss at meetings to check on uniformity in spelling. Changes in the economic and political environment lead to lexical changes. Hansard Guidelines are distributed to staff on an annual basis. The new words on the list are marked by an asterisk. The lists are used to agree on and standardize spelling in meetings held by Hansard staff. I have listed some of the new words here in conjunction with the context of origin in order to highlight the resource-bases from which they are drawn. Words which are new on the list, appear on the list mainly due to societal transformation and events. In this case, in 1998, South Africa's economic changes and changes in the current socio-cultural ethos are reflected in the list, therefore it is a good semiotic indicator of political and cultural markedness. Most of these words are receiving attention due to the fact they appear more frequently than before. This does not mean that they are new words.

Changes due to the high rate of crime and lack of security in SA are marked, among others, by the following entries: *gang rape(d)* , *awaiting- trial prisoners*, *citizen force*, *crime wave*, *day parole* and *force (as in police force)*.

Changes toward inclusivity and free market economics in the South African business environment: *supply-side strategy*, *demand-side strategy*, *contingency- fee arrangement*, *DTI (Department of Trade and Industry)*, *fast-tracking*, *free trade agreement*, *fully costed business plan*, *ghost worker*, *ghost pensioner*, *ghostwrite*, *masterplan*, *paypoints*, *payroll*, *e-mail*.

New lexemes due to educational changes are among others: *Curriculum 2005*, *capacity-building* and *outcomes-based education*.

Changes in government structures and the re-Africanization of South African society is marked by: *Mhlekazi*, *African Renaissance*, *amakhosi* ('Sir', 'ruler' or 'chief') and *imbizo* ('meeting').

Where normative English is adapted at the hand of the influences discussed in this section, is where usage is changing the rules. As already mentioned, America is the world trend-setter in current new coinage, rather than Britain.

4.5 THE PARTICIPANTS

In Hansard there are 35 language practitioners in total (figure relevant to November 1999). Seven are first language English speakers who do all the English language editing. Six are appointed for Afrikaans. The rest work with the African languages. At present there is only one African language speaker checking and editing English. An African language speaker can only be chosen if their English is 'good enough' according to Hansard. For appointments in Hansard there are certain prerequisites. The applicant needs to have some professional training in language. Those appointees who are graduates are mainly ex-teachers. Their general training includes journalism in some cases, and language as majors in subjects in their degrees. The

general principle is that everyone, regardless of which language they have been appointed for, need to be competent in English. The entrance criteria includes a translation from the language for which they are being interviewed, into English, the editing of a text, a sample transcription from a tape and a written autobiographical piece in the candidates own language. The standards of the screening text as entrance criteria for the languages other than English and Afrikaans are much vaguer, an issue which cannot be included for discussion here.

One of the consequences of this which is specifically relevant to this study is the fact that the Hansard unit now employs people who do not necessarily subscribe to the norms of SAfE, but are drawn from a wider linguistically diverse sector. The staff working on English documents are however exclusively 1st language speakers of English. The other participants are employed for the transcribing and editing of the other language which are used in parliament.

This project is ideally suited for parliament because there is a high concentration of proficient parliamentarians and speech writers who subscribe to what may be possibly be termed the most prestigious variety of Black South African English. I selected only the speeches of ANC speakers for analysis, because they are the currently dominant group and they have common goals in their communication and common ideological orientations which makes them classifiable as an integrated affiliation network. An added dimension is that the ANC has an overriding number of new appointments to parliament as well as an overriding number of speakers of African languages. The speech sample selected is a valid representation of the overall group in that the political motives, cultural and dialectical orientations have remained reasonably stable since 1994. The ANC has had the highest intake of new parliamentarians. When looking at New Englishes coming into parliament, ANC speeches are the obvious choice for examples of new ways of speaking in the given context. The names of ANC parliamentary speakers whose speeches my data was drawn, are:

1. National Assembly debate, 23 April 1998 (starting with column 1397)

Mr T.T. Mboweni

Ms E. Thabethe

Mr G.G. Oliphant

Mr B.P. Bunting

Mr M.I. Vilikazi

Mrs T.J. Tshivhase

Mr N.B. Fihla

Mr B.A.D. Martins

Mr P.D. Dexter

Mr M.L. Mokoena

Mr D. Hanekom

(10 out of 21 speakers participating in the debate were ANC speakers. 2 of the 10 are women.)

2. National Assembly debate 24 April 1998 Appropriation Bill

Adv S.P. Holomisa

Mr N.N. Kekana

Mrs M.S. Seperepere

Mrs B.N.M. Pandor

Me M.P. Coetzee-Kasper

Nkskz A.N. Sigcawu

Mr P. Mathebe

Mrs N.J. Bam

Mrs M.A.A. Njobe

Mr L.J. Modisenyane

(Mr D.Hanekom)

(10 out of 23 speakers are from the ANC , 6 of the 10 are women)

3. ANC participants in the National Assembly debate 6 May 1998 Appropriation Bill, starting with column 1713)

(Mr D.A. Hanekom)

Ms J.Y. Love

Mrs B.M. Ntuli

Mr G.G. Oliphant

Mr M.S. Gininda

Mrs N.R. Shope

Mr J.D. Arendse

Mr M.M. Masala

(8 out of 15 speakers are ANC. 5 of the 8 are women.)

4. ANC participants in the National Assembly debate 14 May Home Affairs, starting with column 2350)

Dr L.N. Sisulu-Guma (Minister of Home Affairs)

Mr D. Lockey

Mrs N.B. Gxowa

Mr M.R. Sikakane

Ms M.M. Maunye

Mr J.H. Momberg

Nkskz C. Gcina

Bishop L.J. Tolo (speaks Sipedl)

(8 out of 20 are ANC speakers. 3 of the 8 are women.)

In searching for a way in which to tabulate participant profiles, I found the one suggested by Wolfram and Fasold (1997) most useful. The grid presented in this publication were designed for other purposes in mainly American settings and have been adapted for the purposes of this project. Participant coding has only been possible cryptically. Information on who is who is difficult to come by, especially finding out who the transcribers are. Absolute accuracy is not possible due to confidentiality factors. It is difficult to specify the linguistic discourse resources of people who have been in exile. It is also often difficult to record levels and kinds of education because people might not want to reveal them. Interesting, however, is the fact that contrary to what is usual in other countries, where a high political profile goes hand in hand with an exclusive education/upbringing, this is not the case in South Africa. Many parliamentarians and other participants in parliament have not had the benefits of stable community lifestyles which foster that kind of exclusivity from the cradle. So, because of these confidentiality factors and also lack the access to personal information I was not able to construct these profiles. I, however, regard the Wolfram and Fasold method in some form of adaptation, for the compilation of such profiles, if the need should arise to in future studies.

4.6 THE DATA

There are four data sets. The first data set consists of all policy documents or recorded speeches mapping out the post-1994 language policy in parliament regarding speaking, transcriptions and translations. One example of this is the Uniformity Guide 95/6 and 1998. This is complemented by interviews with participants in the Hansard transcription unit who are role players in the editorial policy-making process. The second data set consists of information about the participants and speakers in the language change process. The third data set consists of Hansard edited transcriptions, matching video recordings and audio cassettes of a selection of debates of the National Assembly April-May 1998. The fourth data set consists of the equivalent Government Printer final published versions of the transcripts in data set 3.

Edited unpublished versions or transcripts National Assembly Debates and Government Printer final versions of the same.

Overall the data consists of 4 debates, 522 pages of edited Hansard transcripts of which 265 pages consist of ANC speeches:

Thursday 23 April 1998 Appropriation Bill

Labour Vote No 22, column 1397-1477

Friday 24 April 1998 Appropriation Bill

Resumption of Debate on Vote No 23 - Land Affairs, column 1481- 1542

6 May 1998 Appropriation Bill

Vote No 4 Agriculture, column 1713 - 1772

14 May 1998 Appropriation Bill

Vote No 17 Home Affairs, column 2350- 2428

The matching final Government Printer published versions consist of 150 pages of text. Videotapes and audiotapes of the above were used in order to cross-check and verify changes made by editors and proof-readers.

Samples of the Hansard transcripts of speeches and samples of the matching final Government Publications versions of the same debates are displayed in Appendix B and C respectively. In Appendix D and E, samples of the analysis documents are displayed. This offers a more explicit view of the actual analysis process.

Debates are mainly on a vote or a bill. People who speak in parliament are involved in a portfolio committee concerning the issue. There is an agreed set of issues for each debate because they are in a group who already have discussed the issue. Speeches of Ministers are often available before the time. Speakers make links with the conventions and topics of the previous speakers.

Most of the speakers, especially the prominent one's write their own speeches. Most others read speeches which have been prepared and written by someone else, but are officially strictly regarded as their own. The prescribed convention is that speakers should not read, but speak. On viewing the video recordings it is evident that most speakers read off a written transcript. What is analysed in this project is thus the English as read off the original transcript by the speakers. The English of the writers is not taken into account of, because it is not possible to gain access to that kind of information regarding the speechwriters.

Schmied (1990:261) says that parliamentary discourse is generally public, distanced, prepared, business type, informational, persuasive, administrative, instructional and learned. The nature of parliamentary oratory in South Africa, can be described as follows. Messages are urgent, of current value, need to be persuasive and need to have an impact on the listener/hearer/multi-party representative audience which is who they are directed at. The main aim of the messages/speeches seems to be to gain consensus, to push through legislation, votes, bills and decisions for socio-political transformation.

4.7 THE PILOT WORK AND PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

A pilot preview of some debates gave me a feel of the style, dialogic interactional conventions, modes of address and general parliamentary procedures. I did a preview of debates dated 9-11 September 1997 (Government Printer Hansard Publications), which was the latest available publication at the time. I had various interviews with Malcolm Shaw of the transcription unit in

which he highlighted problems of editing, language training of transcribers etc. This was useful in terms of gaining insights into editing practices in general and what questions are being asked about it in the transcription unit itself. He forwarded original edited transcripts to me which helped develop further general familiarity with the context and material. This was followed by an informal interview with Paul Wise of Hansard about the procedures of transcription and proof-reading and to clarify my needs and his involvement in my research needs. I attended some of the National Assembly proceedings in June 1998 in order to get experience of parliamentary debates in action, so that when watching video recordings of them, I might have a feel for the entire context (size of room, seating arrangements) in which parliamentary debates occur. After this I had a second interview with Paul Wise in order to receive what was available in terms of the material I requested. I received edited transcripts, matching video recordings and audiotapes, a series of ongoing debates in the month prior to my request (April-May 1998). These I complemented with published versions of the same which I purchased at the Government Printers. Paul Wise also forwarded to me a number of documents i.e. policy documents regarding language policy in parliament, various notes, leaflets and guidelines relating to current editing and transcription procedures in parliament.

4.7.1 PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

The pilotwork consists of samples of debates from October 1996 and September 1997 (see details and data displayed in Appendix 2). The preliminary findings were compiled from original hand-edited transcripts of debates. In my preliminary findings I comment on two aspects, firstly grammar, secondly adaptations of normative English and thirdly, narrative strategy. As far as the grammar is concerned, the interchangeable use of the article, the innovative use of prepositions and auxiliary verb insertion are of particular interest due to their consistent appearance. The list of adaptations of normative English includes innovative collocations and innovative sentence construction. In terms of narrative strategy some of the following were

found to be typical: repetition, tautology, irony and the use of jargon and struggle speak. In addition the nature of the intertextual referencing was noted.

The following is a list of features and their corrections prominently noticeable to me due to frequent occurrence. What appears in brackets is the Hansard editors 'corrections':

The interchangeable and redundant use of the definite and indefinite article were consistently edited out by Hansard, e.g.:

e.g. 1. I may have the solution for this impasse was changed to a solution to

e.g. 2. ...the student was not given the certificate on completion, where the was changed to a.

e.g. 3. ...and not the product of a government in its presumptuous belief (of being was added) the custodian of the morals of the society.

e.g. 4. ...have ensured that every step will be taken that whenever a notice is given that a particular language will need interpretation they will always make sure that

e.g. 5. ...we did not plan and shape ourselves at the instance of freedom in 1994, but we are comfortable to remain in a very bad shape , where *in a very bad shape* was changed to *in bad shape*.

e.g. 6. ...have ensured that every step will be taken that whenever a notice is given that a particular language will need interpretation they will always make sure that (all steps, a, require, ensure)

Innovative uses of prepositions occurred frequently and consistently in the same form, e.g.:

e.g. 7. Trying to capture this basic data with the computer was like writing an essay in the dark, where *with the computer* was changed to on the computer.

e.g. 8. *I want to compliment this house for the role and to give the committee assurance,* where *for* was changed to *on*.

e.g. 9. *There is a great range of visions that one can speak on related to the fact-finding mission ...* (where *on* was changed to *about*)

e.g. 10. *What is important is that at the end we will overcome,* where *at* was changed to *in*.

e.g. 11. *Maybe one should say something on education,* was changed to *perhaps one should say something about.*

e.g. 12. *One would say it has become a normal practice that students and management are in conflict,* was changed to *...it has become () normal practice for students to management to be in conflict.*

Typical BSAfE features which recurred frequently and which were consistently changed to standard British norms of English by Hansard, e.g.:

e.g. 13. *schools were few,*

e.g. 14. *...nothing whatsoever to do with environmental issues*

e.g. 15. *It is still early to expect people to have changed and rehabilitated, meaning *It is still too soon....**

e.g. 16. *A result of this the Minister and his department is in a happy position , meaning *in the fortunate position.**

e.g. 17. *I wish to add my voice.... and : I wish to add a small voice to the chorus, no symphony,....* (with reference to the death Diana, Princess of Wales)

e.g. 18. *Business complained that they wanted to come up with a commercial college whereby they have donated R19 million to develop this college, where *whereby* means *consequently/ therefore*. 'Whereby' has been noted in other studies on BSAfE as well, but needs more rigorous examination. Examples taken from a seminar presentation by Prof. D. Gough in 1998 at UWC are: '*I learned English in a difficult situation whereby I only learned it at school.*' and '*There were no books to read unlike in middle class homes whereby one**

enjoys the privileges of having books.' Another way in which *whereby* is used is taken from a UWC post-graduate student's letter of application for a job, written as assignment on a Business Communication course (year 2000): *I am a 24 year old who has just completed a B. Administration degree, whereby my major subjects were Industrial Psychology and Public Administration.*

Independent developments, innovations and adaptations based on normative English which were left unchanged by Hansard editors:

e.g. 19. *Many tags and names were thrown at the other race groups...*, meaning other race groups were labelled.

e.g. 20. *is throwing mud in the hope that some of it will stick* (presumably derived from *mudslinging*)

e.g. 21. *...to stamp out financial mismanagement*, meaning 'to root out'.

e.g. 22. *...throw it out the windows with spades*. This is presumably derived from the idiomatic expression: *Throwing out the baby with the bathwater.*

e.g. 23. *Skills would be given to people who did not get a chance of going through formal education, was changed to *had not had the opportunity, and undergo.**

e.g. 24. *Now the fear was that government was playing delaying tactics*, was changed to *using.*

Intertextual references to other discourse domains, mainly local media, violence, history i.e. situational and cross-cultural references to increase intelligibility e.g. reference to European history and politics (probably due to the influence of the educational system. Examples of references to violence are as follows:

e.g. 25. prominent theme, referring to violence: *The breakdown of law enforcement has drawn criminals from other areas, including violent-wrecked Natal, as well as thousands of the illegal immigrants (a derivative of violence- racked, in, the)*

e.g. 26. also the violence theme, (and a verb used as noun) :*The problem of crime and violent is clearly evident.* Here *violent* is used rather than *violence*. The verb as noun and noun as verb occurs often in African English e.g. as in the linocut by Ronnie Nzombane titled: 'Silence prayer' instead of 'Silent prayer'.

Expressions signalling Africaness were found, for example:

e.g. 27. references to the *Jabavu's*. The Jabavu family of Alice were part of the group of African intellectuals who are regarded as the forerunners of the ANC party around 1910. They are original members of the group marking an African elite literate tradition.

e.g. 28. reference to dead Biko as *son of the soil*, *Gallant*, and *son of our soil*.

e.g. 29. *The educational house is on fire and the spirit of ubuntu compels each one of us to come with a bucket of water in our efforts to put down the flames before it is too late.* The word *ubuntu* refers to an African sense of humanity.

e.g. 30. *...to talk about Masakhane in such a cool place instead of discussing it out in the sun where I think Masakhane should take place.*

e.g. 31. *I am just happy that the sun has really set on the NP.I can see that this ship is not going anywhere...*

Narrative strategy:

An attempt to emphasise is effected by the insertion of an auxiliary verb, for example:

e.g. 32 *I do give notice of our intention to come back to this House with....*

The use of irony, for example:

e.g. 33. *Their deafening silence on this question, amongst others, is not conducive to ...*(oxymoron)

e.g. 34. *the houses that were being built were pseudo-houses...* (This is followed by a definition and an explanation)

e.g. 35. *put on the wigs of 'goodbye my nation'...*

Locally bred jargon/struggle speak:

e.g. 36. *the spirit of Masikhane...* This is virtually a synonym for 'the spirit of ubuntu', meaning the spirit of African humanity and unity.

e.g. 37. *...to dramatize the culture of payment*, which is an inversion of the stockphrase *a culture of non-payment*, which is similar to the stockphrase '*a culture of entitlement*'. These expressions refer to the popular notion that previously disenfranchised sections of the population are owed certain rights as compensation for past losses and injustices.

e.g. 38. *using the issue as a Trojan Horse to try and embarrass the ANC*

Use of repetition and tautology:

e.g. 39. *These papers instructed us to go and pay rent. That is where we met about these papers which were instructing us to pay rent....*

e.g. 40. *I would again like to emphasise a well-balanced instrument, the one that enables the Government to*

e.g. 41. *The press at its own has its own press council and it has its own code.*

e.g. 42. *They actually expected us to say something when we actually expected them to tell us their experiences.*

e.g. 43. *A concern was raised that transformation is not happening the way students expected it to take place.*

e.g. 44. The use of *...maybe perhaps...* in tandem.

e.g. 45. *If the offenders think they can derive great profit out of a commission of this kind of crime, then there is no effective deterrent to that crime.*

4.7.2 THE ROLE OF ACCENT AND PRONUNCIATION

Two variables which are visible but which are not addressed in this study are editorial mistakes made due to accent and pronunciation. Lots of mistakes are made in transcription due to the distance between the accent of the speaker and the accent of the transcriber. e.g. *maize meal* becomes *maize mill*, *wool farmers* becomes *world farmers* (6 May, Appropriation Bill p106), *hemp* becomes *hamper* (p.105), *cannabis* becomes *tornadoes*, *whittle down* becomes *wheedle down* (14 May p140) and *inherent dignity* becomes *inherited dignity* (24 April Friday, p.71). This has been found to be a common problem, not only among speakers but also administrative and front-line staff. It was revealed to me in an interview I conducted with Brian Barreth, the training division manager in parliament, that this problem is a serious one in most realms of the parliamentary context. A second possible factor is the cultural distance in terms of frames of reference between speakers and transcribers.

Bhatia (1997:317) says that where there is non-native speaker versus non-native speaker interaction (such as there is in parliament i.e. such as between primarily African speakers of English versus Afrikaans speakers of English, misunderstandings do occur. I agree with Kachru's (1992) notion that it is the responsibility of both parties to make efforts to avoid misunderstandings arising from cross-cultural factors in the use of language. It is noteworthy, that there are hardly any requests for clarification of misunderstandings or inappropriate responses related to misinterpretations in the course of the proceedings and very few consequentially i.e. at the editing stage. Two additional reasons for this may however be that the reflective time necessary is not considered or built into the proceedings. This is because cross-culturalism has not yet been addressed overtly as a meta-activity surrounding the main agenda of parliamentary text production. The issue is only addressed if it comes up as a topic of debate per se, such as in the case of the launching of the new *Dictionary of South African English*. Secondly, circumlocution, explanation and cross-referencing are already part of a normal parliamentary debating process, as with any formal argumentative text. This cuts out potential unclaritys.

4.8 LINGUISTIC SAMPLING

4.8.1 INTRODUCTION

The reason for opting for a non-statistical corpus based method in this study is that my investigation is pilotwork in a context in which no corpus description has yet been compiled. Therefore this project may provide useful groundwork for possible later corpora. As Schmieid (1990:264) points out, one needs to take into account the corpus compilation paradox when dealing with culture-specific text types:

...a representative corpus of an analysis of the (socio)linguistic structure of the variety can only be obtained if the compilation accords with the variety's main (socio)linguistic principles. These principles and their relative importance are, however, precisely what linguists want to establish by analyzing a representative corpus...The second corpus is therefore better than the first, the latter being only used to establish parameters for the next one. Theoretical sampling can only be established once the variables are known. That means a qualitative analysis is required first to establish parameters before a comprehensive and representative quantitative analysis can be attempted.

Due to this paradox therefore, if a corpus has never been quantified, it cannot be regarded as a corpus until the process of quantified boundary description has been done several times. The parameters of BSAfE have not yet been delineated other than in micro studies here and there e.g. Chick and Wade. My study adds to the initial collection of micro studies which try to map out the characteristics and boundary guidelines of a possible BSAfE corpus. This study is therefore qualitatively-based. Micro-studies on BSAfE's together with corpus descriptions of SAfE, for example the South African ICE (International Corpus of English) project being compiled at the University of Port Elizabeth by Chris Jeffreys, will eventually give a composite picture of current South African normative English.

The stylistic sampling in this study is based largely on qualitative sociolinguistic variables. Quantitative measures of variation in performance can also be used to draw up guidelines for the new norms to be institutionalized (Schmied 1990:259). In this study I follow up the prominent features of BSAfE with the highest rate of occurrence and those which are identifiable due to familiarity. An association between judgement of frequency and judgement of acceptability needs to be established in order to demonstrate that non-native Englishes form climates of intelligibility and develop their own systematicity (Schmied 1990:259). How this works for BSAfE in parliament will be dealt with in the data interpretation.

In testing for validity, Yin (1994:33) suggests the following four design tests: Construct validity which indicates that the research design has integrity and is valid. This is ensured by using multiple sources of evidence, establishing a chain of evidence and having key informants review drafts of the report. Internal validity indicates that the research design is coherent and uncontradictory. This is ensured by pattern-matching, explanation-building and by demonstrating the interconnectedness of such relationships. External validity is ensured by replication logic, meaning the results would be the same if more cases were examined or as in this instance, that cases were continuously examined over a period of a year or so, the same results would occur. Reliability is thus ensured by developing the data base, in such a way that the same results would occur with the same data collection procedure, if it were repeated.

I used what Patton (in Yin 1994:92) calls triangulation of data sources. A comparative look at data sets 3 and 4 reveal the difference between what is regarded as unacceptable and 'acceptable' English, and gives an overview of the linguistic features. A comparison between data set 1 and 2 on the one hand, and 3 and 4 on the other, will reveal how policy and practice match up i.e. monitoring how far the notion of relaxed boundaries of acceptability has been applied, and what they seem to be at present. In summary, an analysis of all data sets together

form a composite picture of current language practice in parliament, describing some of the characteristics of the English used there.

4.8.2 THE INITIAL PHASE

Initially the data (edited debates and final published versions) was approached reasonably uninitiated. I did a tentative discourse analysis to see what the text offers in terms of schema, themes, recurring oratory devices and interesting features. Then I fine-combed the text and recorded recurring and interesting features. After a preliminary analysis of the selected speeches in data set 3 and 4, in addition to the above, a preliminary sampling list was drawn up.

I selected fairly typical rather than rare features and constructed a hierarchy of acceptability according to the treatment of the selected features by Hansard. A list of preliminary interesting features identified as worth reporting on was categorized as follows:

- grammar and syntax: prepositions, conjunctions, verb tense
- lexical items of interest: new lexemes, word choice, word order
- narrative strategy (mainly used for impact/ emphasis/foregrounding) 'some overlapping with African oral tradition:
- ritualization, repetition, personalization, personification,
- ridicule, satire, irony,
- adaptation of normative standard English metaphors and idioms
- political oratory
- African orality: animal references, the naming tradition, formulaic clusters and sequencing patterns
- conversational style
- intertextuality (can't be separated from narrativity because the characteristics of African oratory go hand in hand with culture specific textual items)

- references to international events
- references to popular media, religion, politics (local and international),
- features of liminality and heretic discourses:
- code-switching (with Afrikaans expressions and words mainly)
- overriding tropes: nation-building vs resistance politics
- societal chaos and apocalyptic overtones

4.8.3 THE INTERMEDIATE DATA CODING PHASE

This phase was conducted based on the pilot work, including a first look at the data for the main case study which is now included in tables 3 and 4 in Appendix 3 and 4 respectively. The published final versions (data set 4) were useful for monitoring the occurrence and frequency of usage of metaphors, innovative lexemes and discourse features deemed 'acceptable'.

Following this I did an overview summary of what was changed by editors in the transcripts of the selected April-May debates. Then I looked for obviously identifiable features and BSAfE features in the final versions. I listed these in two separate tables (see Appendixes 3+4). Then I went back and fine-combed the text once again for examples and refined my tables/grid and decided which features I would focus on. An organic, open-ended research process was followed as far as possible, whereby the researcher's views, attitudes and prejudices are acknowledged.

Aspects focused on in the final analysis are firstly, editing procedures, i.e. an analysis of which constructions were edited out and which were deemed acceptable and therefore left in and secondly, discourse patterns of ANC parliamentarians' speeches).

A grid for analysis now needed to be constructed. The data was coded in the following way. Tables labelled nr. 3, consisting of 4 sets, are based on Hansard transcripts and have page

numbers. Tables labelled nr. 4, consisting of 4 sets, is data extracted from published Government Printer versions of the debates. Examples extracted from here are reflected in terms of column numbers. In the data analysis, both tables are drawn from. Samples of extracts from Table 3.2 and Table 4.2 are displayed in Appendix D and E respectively.

The following number system was used to construct a grid for analysis in order to identify editorial practices.

1. arbitrary / unnecessary editing

- 1a. editors/proof-readers restored what editor has said
- 1b. *but* is replaced by *however*
- 1c. *which* and *that* are used interchangeably
- 1d. transcription mistakes due to accent
- 1e. *a* and *the* are interchangeably used

2 BSAfE constructions which are edited out

- 2ai continuous tense put in
- 2aii continuous tense edited out
- 2b. BSAfE construction put in by transcribers and taken but again by editors/proof-readers
- 2c. non-African language ANC speakers using construction

3. hardhitting oratory characteristics edited out i.e. direct turned into reported speech and personal into impersonal

Key features of the text were coded as indicated below. The numbering system here coincides with the numbering system in Tables 4.1 - 4.2.

4. **BSAfE accepted by Hansard transcribers**
5. **innovative uses and adaptations of normative English**
6. **discourse features of conversational style and storytelling** (also features of general political oratory and the African oral tradition e.g. repetition, emphasis, conversational cues, rhetorical questions, disclaimers etc.)
7. **intertextual references**
 - 7.1 biblical
 - 7.2 Greek mythology
 - 7.3 literary
 - 7.4 political references - local (SA) and the popular media
 - 7.5 political references - international
 - 7.6 in group talk, locally flavoured discourse, Afrikaans influence and African language influence
 - 7.7 analogy (person = animal, man = insect, political process = domestic labour, education = weather etc.)
8. **Resistance Politics**
 - 8.1 fertility
 - 8.2 madness/pathology, chaos and destruction
 - 8.3 animal imagery
 - 8.4 use of the naming tradition as well as ref. to it
 - 8.5 personification
 - 8.6 personalization
 - 8.7 satire and humour, etc.

4.8.4 THE FINAL PHASE

I did a final analysis of features according to the above grid. The findings were interpreted using the initial theoretical base as a point of reference. The data analysis is presented and discussed under three headings, firstly, current editorial practice, secondly, narrative strategies and devices and thirdly, historical influences and discourse resource-bases. Details of the final features chosen for actual detailed analysis are found in section 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3.

In section 5.1 the treatment of the following grammatical constructions by Hansard is discussed in detail:

- prepositions (some similarities are drawn between the treatment of prepositions and conjunctions)
- the interchangeable use of the article 'a' and 'the'
- the continuous tense, the verb 'to be' as finite form and other unconventional uses of tenses
- creative uses and adaptations of normative English

The analysis in Section 5.2 demonstrated that the narrative strategies used by ANC speakers are identifiably taken from traditional and current political rhetorical forms and that these two resource-bases have more similarities than differences. Strategies discussed are repetition, claptrap, conversational cues, rhetorical questions and tautology and various other forms of emphasis. Of these, satire seems to be most pronounced. The satirical forms found in the database include animal imagery, personification, other analogies and uses of praise names. These features render the tone of the text highly emotive, thereby eliciting a heightened emotional response when the emotional content, style and tone is amplified.

In section 5.3 of the analysis the most prominent data-resource found were firstly the apartheid education system. The occurrence of stockphrases and specific jargonized forms of expression are discussed. The second major influence detected is the influence of other languages on the English used. Here I am referring not only to the influence of the African languages of Southern Africa, but also particularly Afrikaans. A third cluster of influences consists of media influences and the prominence of specific local and international affairs as covered by the media. This discussion is limited to the overriding influence of globalization and the question of visible influences of this on BSAfE as used in parliament. Video and audio recordings were used throughout to verify the original oral renditions and to get the feel of the specific tone of each debate.

4.9 CONCLUSION

Ultimately the data analysis shows patterns which reveal information about notions of 'acceptable' English in parliament in South Africa in 1998. These patterns also reveal features of English currently in use which is uniquely South African. Based on this data one may be able to speculate about the implications of the use of BSAfE for educational, legal and other general official purposes. In summary then, the research seeks to answer the central questions:

- What is the effect of the monitored language change on the linguistic system?
- What is the socio-cultural significance of the linguistic changes?

The answers to these questions will be broadly based on the answers to the following two questions posed at the onset:

- In what way are notions of acceptable English being expanded in oral and written texts in parliament today?

- What is regarded as linguistically 'acceptable' and what linguistic trend/development does this signal?

To summarize, the international New Englishes debate and the debates on the current role and status of BSAfE in the political, economic and social life of South Africa frame the case study. This case study illustrates a certain significant point in the linguistic history of South Africa in which changes are rapid and will have long term implications of the future in the socio-political environment. This case study contributes to knowledge about English in South Africa the corpus description of BSAfE. The discussion of yields will be situated in the relevant research fields pinpointed in the literature review. Finally I reflect on the initial question and what was accomplished in relation to it. A sociolinguistic frame has helped to determine the acceptability of specific features.

5. DATA AND ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This section is divided into three. The grammatical features of the English used in parliament by the ANC in the database are discussed under 5.1. How the characteristics of the oral tradition overlap with the features of modern political rhetoric, as well as complement each other, is discussed in 5.2. This culminates in discourses of nation-building, identity formation and transformation. In 5.3, the historical influences and major resource-bases which impact on the database are discussed.

The parliamentary speeches in their oral rendition as reflected in the analysis are probably uniquely Southern African, not only in their grammatical features, but also in their stylistic features. The issues discussed here are narrative style, intertextual referencing, features of the in-group talk and imagery. These textual features, together with the grammatical features are inextricably interwoven and are only separated for facilitation of the analysis. The narrative style and strategies reflected here originate in historically entrenched educational practices in influences of African orality as it exists today, in the impact of other languages and in the impact of the media. The context of political transition, power shifts and identity assertion, determine the unique way in which heretic and liminal features are applied. The effect of the above linguistic strategies and devices reveal nation-building discourses by means of resistance strategies, in the face of a destructive socio-political environment.

In more detail then, narrative style relates to cultural specificity, type of education, historical influences such as African oratory conventions and strategies and contextual embeddedness. Intertextuality includes among others, references to subconscious identification with, and ownership of local media discourse and international media discourses. Repetition,

conversational style (i.e. conversation cues), rhetorical cues, tautology and satire all co-incide with European as well as with traditional African oratory. A significant number of noteworthy analogies are drawn e.g. between the country as a mother and the country in comparison to a wide variety of things. These kind of analogies have been found to be common to African oratory as well as modern political rhetoric in Europe. The argument presented in regard to the features of oratory found in the database, is that the characteristics of traditional African oratory and modern political rhetoric have more similarities than differences.

The allusions and tropes unique to this database which can be said to be characteristic of South African political oratory may be traced to locally-based literacy resource-bases. These features are, among others, Africanisms, in the main transferred and adapted from African languages, words and expressions directly transferred into English and words and expressions originating from Afrikaans, as well as outdated 'struggle speak', consisting in the main of catch-phrases and jargon and subverted National party rhetoric. How Hansard editors deal with the grammar and turn of phrase in the speeches, is also discussed.

5.2 CURRENT EDITORIAL PRACTICE

The focus in this part of the analysis is on the new dynamics of inclusion and exclusion of Africanised forms of English and on notions of 'correctness' which prevail in Hansard. My question is whether, more flexibility has been introduced. Secondly, what are the characteristics of the speeches in terms of grammatical and rhetorical conventions? I analysed certain intuitively chosen features and analysed them. Certain recurring features of grammar and speech patterns were traced. I attempted to determine where they originate and how they emerged and why. The kind of grammar and rhetorical conventions regarded as 'acceptable' and those regarded as 'unacceptable' by Hansard are revealed and described by means of examples. A description is given of various features and what they tell us about acceptable English in the current South Africa parliamentary context. Of particular interest is which

features of BSAfE are accepted. This reveals to some extent how and to what degree the 'accommodation of expanding notions of English' as stipulated in the policy documents, has been applied. Finally, links are made with notions of 'nation-building' and identity and notions of linguistic and political gatekeeping in the New South Africa.

The treatment of the following grammatical constructions by Hansard is discussed in detail. They are prepositions (some similarities are drawn between the treatment of prepositions and conjunctions), the interchangeable use of the article *a* and *the*, the continuous tense, the verb *to be* as finite form and other unconventional uses of tenses and creative uses and adaptations of normative English.

The concluding remarks relating to what, on average, is deemed 'acceptable' English usage by Hansard, and is only valid for this particular data set. It is not possible to generalise the findings across time or even across Hansard at any given point due to the fact that this study may only be viewed in the context of the issues under discussion in parliament at that particular time. In addition it may be viewed in the context of the ANC's political status and the political climate at that time. The study however lends itself to methodological duplication and should yield valid results for comparative purposes, whether the data is taken from additional parliamentary speeches or from any other context such as literature and the media or any other corporate or organizational communication.

Sample illustration:

It was found that the editing of grammar in general is fairly conservative. For instance the proportion of prepositions corrected to the proportion of those accepted as correct was 2:1.

5.2.1 PREPOSITIONS

Examples of prepositions changed by the proof-readers:

e.g. 1.*I am not going to waste time responding to what the hon. Groenewald has said there on this podium....* (23 April p69), is changed to at.

e.g. 2. ...in those farms 23 April p152) is changed to on

e.g. 3. ...in some of these farms (Table 3.2, p8) is changed to: on

e.g. 4. ...*the participation by the ordinary rural people* (table 3.2 p79), where by was changed to of

e.g. 5. *So we must understand the bitterness of the hon. Marathons van Schalkwyk - what a difficult name - along this basis..* (23 April) is changed to on

e.g. 6. *fight over* (23 April p48) was changed to about

e.g. 7. *I request the Minister to go at some stage with his cap in his hand so as to stop the nonsense which is happening on farms...trespassing in the inferior farms of lunatic farmers* (24 April p71). Changes made were: The underlined words are deleted and in becomes onto.

e.g. 8. *go and seek work* (24 April p77 Mr. Masala) is changed to go to seek work (an example of conservative editing)

e.g. 9. ...*suitable immigrants in skills not available in South Africa ...* (14 May 1998, p13), where *in* is changed to with.

e.g. 10. ...*settling more people in their own land...* (6 May 1998, p65), where *in* is changed to on.

e.g. 11. ...*pinning one's hope on the unknown..* (23 April 1998, p52), where *on* is changed to to.

e.g. 12. ...*the economy will generally benefit by..* (14 May 1998, p13), where *by* is changed to from

e.g. 13. ...*has been greatly strengthened with the appointment of..* (14 May 1998, p21), where *with* is changed to by.

e.g. 14.pinning one's hope to the unknown (23 April 1998, p52), where *to* is changed to on.

e.g. 15. ...confronted by so much resistance (23 April 1998, p86), where *by* is changed to with.

e.g. 16. *I want to take this opportunity to inform this House about the progress our Government has made with giving land back to people.* (column 1517) . Here inform about is changed to inform of.

e.g. 17. ... up and down the country (23 April p79) was changed to right across

Although this change seems insignificant and the meaning is not changed, it does imply a certain cultural notion of spatial concepts. *Up* probably refers to the northern part of the county (which is also the dominant economic centre) whereas *down* probably refers to the southern part of the country.

e.g. 18. ...an embarrassment for... 23 April p43, where for is changed to to.

Often proof-readers and editors notice that the prepositions used are not those of the original speaker and restore what the speaker has said, for example:

e.g. 19. *I wish that there should not be at any time mudslinging to these people.*

Transcribers version:

I wish that they should not be slinging mud at these people all the time. This was then regarded as not correct and is finally recorded as: *I would rather not have a lot of mudslinging at these people all the time* (6 May, 1998, p72).

The following are examples where the prepositions were left unchanged/accepted by the proofreaders:

e.g. 20. *It is not surprising that we are today confronted with so much resistance against change from those who were living behind ivory towers throughout the past decades (column 1440).*

Here a group is set apart by labelling the other. This is a reference to Western traditional education and those who come from it. Cultural notions of spacial concepts are changing the meaning. *Behind* implies elevated and distant (or even out of reach) in terms of social status.

e.g. 21. *They must match their deeds to their words (column 1414).* This is an example of an American influence which is accepted.

e.g. 22. *But change must come, in South Africa at the workplace if we are to address the problems of unfair discrimination and unequal opportunity that is still prevalent in respect of the majority of the disadvantaged people in South Africa (column 1440).* Normally this reads as *in the workplace*.

e.g. 23. *I would also like to comment about remarks that were made by Mr W.A. Botha of the FF, about people that have bogus I.D.'s. There is a matter which really concerns me very much. This is because, in 1994, there were bogus IDs. However, there was the recent case, which I mentioned, of the so-called generals from Zaire. Concerning those generals, the NIA people found a lot of bogus IDs in their houses when they searched them. It is a fact of life that there are bogus identity documents. As yet I have no idea how we are going to tackle this problem together with the IEC. I really do not know how we are going to tackle it. col. 2424 (This would normally read as 'comment on'. The accepted form is clearly non-standard grammar, an example therefore of inconsistent editing).*

As with prepositions, conjunctions too are sometimes used unconventionally or interchangeably. This interchangeability is particularly noticeable in the use of 'which' and 'that'.

5.2.2 CONJUNCTIONS

In the editorial process but is replaced by however in many cases, for example:

e.g. 24. Tape: But, while we are seeking ways to improve the competitiveness of our workforce, we are also seeking ways to increase the size of our workforce...is changed to However, (p71 of the transcript), and retained as such in the final version.

e.g. 25. (Tape, 24 April): But we hope that a situation will never arise where communities will be expected to go and live in shacks while waiting for houses to be built is changed to However, we hope (p 35 of the transcript) and retained as such in the final version.

e.g. 26. Tape: But, in our country, the Minister of Labour's goal seems ... is changed to However, in our country (transcript p30) and retained in that form in the final version.

Which is often exchanged for *that* and *that* for *which* (e.g. p42 table 3.1). Although the examples come from one speech, this occurs throughout the database and by general consensus, is common in BSAfE:

e.g. 27. Tape: *It is the union movement that crippled the previous regime.*

Transcript p42: *It is the union movement which crippled the previous regime (column 1416).*

Edited text: *It is the union movement which crippled the previous regime.*

This is a miscorrection which changes the sense. Given new information and stress intonation patterns i.e. The original sentence stresses new information in the main clause and gives information in the subordinate clause. The transcript and edited version reads like a relative clause with identificatory functions.

e.g. 28. Tape: *We must remember that the only organization that they could not banish and that kept them on their toes was Cosatu.*

Transcript (p42 23 April): *We must remember that the only organization whichand that kept them on their toes...*

Edited version column 14: *We must remember that the only organization which they could not banish and which kept them on their toes was Cosatu.* Like e.g. 27, this is an example of general prescriptive correction, rather than of a specifically BSAfE feature.

e.g. 29. Tape: *The freedom that they also enjoy today...* (23 April)

Transcript p43: *the freedom which ...*

Column 1416 of the edited version: *the freedom which*

e.g. 30. Tape: *It caused them to scream, because that is the only Labour Relations Act that offers workers any meaningful human rights and protection.*

Transcript p80: *It made them scream because it is the only Labour Relations Act which offers...*

Edited version (column 1437): *It made them scream because it ...which offers workers...*

e.g. 31. *...I am not joking if I say... (6 May p71) where if is changed to when*

e.g. 32. *...and left the subject people huddling together in the pockets of ghettos , known as reserves, throughout the country and south of the Limpopo..., (p86). Here huddling was changed to huddled, and the and and and are deleted.*

Another examples of BSAfE which was edited out by Hansard transcribers:

e.g. 33. *It is upon this success that this venture... (14 May 1998 p27), where that is changed to of.*

5.2.3 THE ARTICLE

As explained in chapter 2, the interchangeable use of *the* and *a* has been identified as a common feature of both African and BSAfE in previous studies.

ARTICLES USED INTERCHANGEABLY AND CORRECTED:

With reference to the use of the article in the oral rendition of parliamentary texts, three categories of observations were monitored. They are a) cases where the article *the* and *a* were used interchangeably, b) cases where the article was omitted and c) cases where the article was superfluous. In the cases of (a), (b) and (c), it was recorded how many of the occurrences were changed by Hansard editors and proof-readers. It was found that in 100% of cases of (a), (b) and (c) the editors changed the construction used by the speakers. The number of occurrences of (a), (b) or (c) are 0% in the final edited Hansard versions. The conclusion drawn here is that there is a consistent drive to comply with an endonormative standard, but the model was unacceptable in the past due to segregation and therefore suppressed. The article is treated in a mechanical, decontextualized grammatical phenomena. The high occurrence of the interchangeability of *a* and *the* and the high occurrence of article omission are not recognized by Hansard editors as regular forms which occur consistently. Platt et al (1984:55) points out that many of the New Englishes 'appear to make the specific/non-specific distinction rather than follow the definite/indefinite division of the more established Englishes.' They further points out that when the person or thing discussed or written about is non-specific, often no article is used. This is demonstrated in the following example:

e.g. 34. *The Employment Equity Bill will speed up () transformation of the labour market..*
(23 April 1998, Hansard transcripts p 25). In this example *the* is added in.

In the next example, the article is omitted. Again, the use of *a* indicates the non-specific and is changed to grammatically comply with standard British norms:

e.g. 35. *...to avoid a repetition of their mistakes.* The article is deleted (April 24, 1998, Government Publications, column 1482).

The following examples are further illustrations of the findings:

The articles *a* and *the* are often used interchangeably, but this is corrected to 'standard' British norms in most cases.

e.g. 36. *a right thing to do* is changed to conventional English usage *the right thing to do* (23 April, 1998). *A* is used here because of the rule of specific articles used for the particular (and in this case, the known) is applied.

e.g. 37. *the classical book about the slave, Uncle Tom....* (23 April) was changed to *...the classical book about a slave, Uncle Tom....*, where *the* was changed to *a*. In this case the spoken original version was correct, as it referred to a specific slave, namely Uncle Tom, whose name is mentioned in the same sentence.

e.g. 38. *This year's budget included the significant increase in the amount allocated to human resource development.* Here *the* was changed to *a* (April 23, 1998 Hansard transcript p5).

THE SUPERFLUOUS USE OF THE ARTICLE ACCEPTED BY PROOF-READERS

The following are more examples of superfluous use of the article which occur in a reasonably stable and consistent way and which were accepted by proof-readers:

e.g. 39. *When the women ask for land to use for their projects, it is not given to them because of the white people's laws of oppression* (column 1508).

Here the article *the* is superfluous, but probably retained to indicate a specific group of people.

This also applies to the following examples:

e.g. 40. *The women should have the right to be independent and to have their own titles* (column 1509).

e.g. 41. *The churches also have problems with buildings.*

e.g. 42. *In the past a lot of fertile land was taken by the white people* (column 1500). Here the reference to a group of people is very specific. The effect here appears to contract one group implicitly with other groups.

5.2.4 THE PRESENT CONTINUOUS TENSE

In a lot of cases the use of the present continuous tense where standard English prefers a simple present which is typical of BSAfE usage (as illustrated from previous studies), is edited out by Hansard staff. However, it is often preferred, probably depending on who is proofreading and whether the person consistently uses BSAfE themselves, in which case the transcriber is possibly accustomed to using the continuous tense a specific way and is likely to add it in. The proportion of it being edited in or out is 1:5 respectively. This means that although it is often edited out, it is five times more often added in than out. It needs to be kept in mind that there are new developments in parliament, namely the appointment of BSAfE speakers as transcribers. Their reaction to the speeches has not been discussed on in this project because that kind of data constitutes an added level of complexity and interpretation, which is not within the scope of this thesis.

Some examples of instances where the present continuous tense or present participle was edited out are as follows:

e.g. 43. *Our portfolio Committee on Labour is currently visiting the provinces, we are meeting with the Department of Labour, we visit the labour centres...and we meet with stakeholders in the labour market.*

This is how it appears on the tape-recording and also on the recorded written version. The proof-readers changed it to changed to:

Our Portfolio Committee is currently visiting the provinces. We meet with the Department of Labour, we visit the labour centres.....(23 April 1998, column 1432) which is how it appears in the final published version.

e.g. 44. *They must be seen to be encouraging their supporters, (24 April 1998, p8C) is changed to: to encourage. Whether the original form or the changed form is better, is not clear, as this would depend entirely on what was actually intended.*

e.g. 45. *The Department of Labour , which was once racial, sexist and dominated by white male personnel, is now reflecting South African society and is continuing to do so. This is changed to now reflects (6 May 1998, p49).*

e.g. 46. *...to counteract the imbalance that unfairly discriminated against our own farmers with that of the EU which is subsidising their own farmers...is changed to as against those... and subsidises its(6 May, p61).*

e.g. 47. *But so far this is not yet happening (6 May, p 68), is changed to So far this has not yet happened.*

Examples of instances where the present continuous was left in:

e.g. 48. We hope to be initiating debate and educational programmes intended to sensitize South Africans to refugee problems and to teach them about why we have refugees, about what our role is as host, about racism and xenophobia (column 2366).

e.g. 49. He made our people live in misery, and they are still continuing to do so. (column 1517).

e.g. 50. All these Acts are addressing the countless inhumane sufferings created by the NP (column 2047).

e.g. 51. The situation of landlessness in the rural areas is putting a heavy burden on beneficiaries of social grounds such as pensioners and the disabled, as they are forced to provide for the families (column 1527).

e.g. 52. This is a concern that is dominating the debate today. We are everyday seeing a growing army of jobless poor.... (Tape recording, 23 April).

Transcript p97: ...This is a concern that is dominating the debate today. We see every day a growing army.... , which is the correct usage.

The use of -ing forms was preferred by proof-readers in the following instances:

e.g. 53. Some of us are proud to also come.... is changed to to be coming from.. (p46)

e.g. 54. ...and jobs are simply not created is changed to: simply are not being created. This alters the sense of the original (p89).

e.g. 55. I yet have to hear some of the member on my left, who are actually wrongly seized, to say anything about their views and about some of the bad practices amongst commercial farmers. Here to say anything is changed to saying anything (23 April, p16). The infinitive to say is changed to a present participle.

e.g. 56. to enhance is changed to for enhancing (p59).

Extension of be + -ing seems to have become a commonly accepted and integrated part of BSAfE.

5.2.5 THE DELETION OF DIRECT SPEECH AND OF PERSONALIZATION

Narratives are used to personalize. They lay the ground for subsequent argument, a populist approach for popular appeal. Chronological order and sequencing helps to build up a case. Listeners are forced to follow the course of an argument to its climax point. Personalization is a feature of the oral tradition and is in most cases not found acceptable in parliamentary context, probably due to the discrepancy between the cultural norms of the speakers as opposed to the editors. Consequently, in most cases, personalization is edited out or changed. This results in a tone change, making the speeches fit into a mold of a more conservative English usage than originally intended. By doing this, the more African cultural directness of address and in-group flavour of the orientation of the speeches, is lost.

There seems to be a policy in Hansard to report in less personalised speech than in the way it was delivered. The effect of this is to tone down the confrontational personal attacking tone of some speakers.

In most instances the hard-hitting oratory has been edited out. This is done by changing direct speech into reported speech and the personal into the impersonal.

e.g. 57. Tape: *It is a complete and utter nonsense, Tony, and you know it.*

This is changed to: *It is utter nonsense and the honourable member knows that* (Transcript p117). 'Honourable member' is a special form of address used often in parliament.

e.g. 58. *...the matter you have raised* is changed to: *the matter he raised* (Thursday 23 April 1998 p48). This is a changed from 2nd to 3rd person is an instant of depersonalization.

e.g. 59. ...we need to look back and take stock of our achievements, our shortcomings and how we chart the way forward (April 24, 1998). Here how we is changed to how to.

e.g. 60. Mr Maree - you have to keep quiet because you are the architect of apartheid. You are the person who made me to live in a shack. You made our people to live in misery and they are still continuing to do so. We are trying to correct the wrongs that have been created by you and your government. (p63)

This is changed to:

Mr. Maree has to keep quiet because he is the architect of apartheid. He is the person who denied our people the right to vote. He is the person who made me live in a shack. [Interjections] He made our people live in misery, and they are still continuing to do so. We are trying to correct the wrongs that were created by him and his government.

e.g. 61. Tape: I have gone on at length about boards and how hard we have worked to get rid of them to show you that these were well-considered and not impetuous decisions.

In the transcript (p17) you is changed to members .

e.g. 62. Tape: I would also like to say thank you to the members of the Land Bank who are sitting here. You are undertaking a major job, and I think the work that you have done in developing new products and in transforming service delivery in agriculture....I also say thank you to you...

Transcript p104: You ...is changed to They ...In this case the second you and to you are also deleted.

e.g. 63. I will be tabling the employment equity legislation during this session for your consideration. When you pass this law....(23 April)

Transcript: I will be tabling the employment equity legislation for the Houses' consideration. When honourable members pass this law...(p3)

In these examples the personal forms of address which are typically used in Black English are edited out. The final version reads like something more resembling reported speech. Instances of personalization are also edited out. One could present an argument for retaining the more direct oral features because the consequent impact of the oratory is significantly diminished.

There are however also examples where the personalization was found acceptable to the editors.

e.g. 64. *A special word of thanks is also due to the Government, under the leadership of the ANC, for the disciplined manner in which they handled the co-ordination of labour issues. (1414 Mr G.G. Oliphant)....the manner in which they handled it is more personal than saying the way in which it was handled.*

e.g. 65. *our people* (column 1414). Here the narrative strategy of personalization is used to mark group identity and consolidation by the use of a possessive. In both examples, it originates from political oratory in general (with its characteristic references to the inclusive and belonging use of *our*, but is also characteristic of the oral tradition, where solidarity and belonging are important.

e.g. 66. *These farmers have never heard of Martin Luther King or Mahatma Gandhi and they never think about anything else but themselves and their own property, and they will continue to follow the NP down the blind alley to oblivion. [Interjections] How I hate the words "violence" and "murder". How much more passionately I hate them when the spirit of reconciliation is trampled under the iron-tipped boot of racism and bigotry [Applause.] (column 1762, paragraph 1).*

It has been demonstrated how reported speech and impersonalization are used to diminish the emotional tone of the text. This discussion leads to an assessment of which BSAfE features were accepted and left in and which were left out. Finally features of innovations and adaptations of normative English are listed and discussed within the framework of BSAfE usage in parliament.

A contrast can be made here in the analysis. The way in which grammar is treated conservatively overall, in terms of metaphor and turn of phrase an accommodationist, more flexible attitude by proof-readers was found. In addition, Hansard blands the emotional, confrontational and defensive tone of the speeches. This is done by means of depersonalisation and the deletion of direct speech in many instances.

5.2.6 CREATIVE USES AND ADAPTATIONS OF NORMATIVE ENGLISH CONSTRUCTIONS

In 1983 when the Tricameral Parliament was introduced, it became clear that BSAfE would be used in parliament and that there was no denying its existence. Since the inception of the interim government under the ANC in 1994, this has been officially acknowledged, particularly through the appearance of the DSAE. The fact that the interim government was running up to elections and had not yet achieved the security of majority votes at the time of data collection for this project (mid 1998) means that the social environment and, therefore, the linguistic environment were still in flux. It is evident that a wider definition of normative English is being embraced, therefore it is an interesting historical time of linguistic change:

South Africa is a country still [mid-1995] without a permanent constitution, a temporary 'government of national unity' enduring uncertainty about the ownership or access to land and housing, continuing debate about who qualifies as *bona fide* political actors ...uncertainty about virtually all levels of geographic boundary demarcation from Provincial to neighbourhood and

household, and in which almost all identities - previously legislated and believed to be immutable - are suddenly open to threat and negotiation (Thornton in Werbner 1996:11).

Having the power to determine which linguistic and communicative norms are legitimate, correct or appropriate is an important part of social and ideological power. Languages can be at stake in social struggles or can be sites of political and social struggle. Political debate in 1998 in parliament is still, as in the days of the reign of the apartheid government, marked by struggle for power and the assertion of a positive identity of the ANC in the public eye locally and in the international arena, rather than on delivery in terms of follow-up.

Often in BSAfE new nouns, verbs or adjectives are introduced, such as in: *The whole of Soweto jubilated, I am situated* (I am doing well financially. I have a job/situation.) and *Sophiatown was destructured*.

What follows is a number of examples of such innovative uses and adaptations of normative English constructions which have been left in, and therefore deemed acceptable by Hansard editors:

e.g. 67. *At present job creation is negative in certain sectors and stagnant or modest in others.* (column 1406) (Normally one would say: *Job creation is static or There is no improvement in job creation.* The use of 'negative' probably comes from the American overuse of 'negative' and 'positive'. There is also an expression *negative growth* used in economics.

e.g. 68. *In the context of the democratic order of 1994, apartheid has been left bereft of the weapon of government, in order to beat down opposition* (column 1441, paragraph 3). This would normally read *ward off*.

e.g. 69. *...I quote from what has been said by the SA Chamber of Commerce: 'It is recognised that labour legislation is not the only detriment of job creation and*

unemployment.....' (column 1442). Conventionally one would say:....*factor which is detrimental to job creation.*

e.g. 70. *Women are the pillars of their homes.* (column 1508) This is an innovative collocation from the two standard forms '*pillars of society*' or '*pillars of strength*'.

e.g. 71. *There has always been good blood between Professor Ngubane and us. If for a period there may have been a little bit of bad blood, I am sorry about that, because I have so much love for her and would hate to have bad blood between us. Nevertheless ...* (column 1535). This is an analogy of *bad blood*.

e.g. 72. *I believe that in his life the Minister has gone through hot waters, and to him this should be like pouring water on a duck, which just shakes its wing and everything runs off again. So on that note I hope that this can be resolved. We are a family. I hope that this can be resolved within the portfolio committee. That is where this should be done. I apologise on behalf of the ANC* (column 2382 paragraph 2). Here the grammar of the common idiom is changed to suit the speaker's meaning. The normative expression is *like water on a duck's back*. *Hot waters* is derived from a grammatical plural, namely *getting into troubled waters* and *getting into hot water*, resulting in a mixed metaphor.

The following is another example of innovative coinage which has become consistently normative over time:

e.g. 73. *We said we were going to overhaul... and to that extent we brought in a new Labour Relations Act in 1996* (column 1397).

Sometimes 'to that extent' is edited out, sometimes left in. In the following examples it is left in

e.g. 74. *We went further and said we would amend all labour laws in the country in order to make sure that they were in line with the new dispensation. To that extent we noticed that apartheid had left us a litany of labour laws all around the country, in Bophuthatswana, in Venda, in KwaNdebele, in Pretoria itself and in other homelands.....* (23 April, p17).

e.g. 75. *As a government, together with the business sector and labour, we are focusing our attention to that extent on the proposal job summit which we will deal with towards the end of the year....* (23 April, p20).

In the above sentences 'to that extent' is used as equivalent to 'therefore' or 'consequently' or 'in relation to'. The use of the expression *to that extent* is needs to be monitored in a variety of contexts in order that a more composite view of its patterns of usage can be established.

e.g. 76. *We are trying to correct the wrongs that were created by him and his government.* (column 1517).

An equivalent example from the media is the caption of the article A WRONG THAT MUST BE RIGHTED by Cameron Duodu in the section: Letter from the North, Mail & Guardian, Sept. 3-9, 1999.

e.g. 77. (with reference to the racial composition of staff in the transformed Department of Labour) : *We have made large strides in the training and retraining of the staff in our employ* (column 1402, paragraph 2). This is a combination of *leaps and bounds* and *huge strides*. The subtly changed grammar of idioms uttered by some high profile politicians such as Tito Mboweni in the case of example 85 (and especially since his appointment as the Director of the Reserve Bank in the year 2000), will inevitably have an impact on the whole population.

e.g. 78. *...the foundations of apartheid, a system underpinned by ill-begotten goods* (column: 1440). This is derived from the somewhat eccentric and archaic literary usage of *ill-begotter* in the expression *ill-begotten gains*. Here it refers to the land of the dispossessed.

e.g. 79. *It is no art to work up emotions* (24 April p84), where *work up* is changed to *whip up*. This is a combination of *getting worked up* and *whipping up emotions*.

e.g. 80. *Who is the member who gainsaid me when I said there must be order?* (column 2394). The Chairperson of Committees (Mr Mokoena) and 10 lines down: *Why did you gainsay me?*

5.2.7 THE EDITING OUT OF BSAfE

In many instances transcribers and proof-readers are recognizing BSAfE constructions, which are often but not always edited. Many BSAfE constructions which appear in the oral versions of the speeches are edited out and don't appear in the written version. Only certain speakers use them. This indicated that some speeches are written and prepared by persons subscribing to SAfE while other subscribe to BSAfE. According to the data presented here, in the final analysis, the proportion of those edited out is much less than those left in. This indicated that the boundaries or inclusion for BSAfE are relatively wide. What follows is some of the numerous examples of BSAfE creative constructions that have been edited out:

e.g. 81. Tape: *We have now simplified and unified labour legislation in the country through the Integration on Labour Laws Act, which was passed earlier on in 1995. By doing so sweeping away the remnants of the divisions of the apartheid system from our society and labour market.*

Transcript: *We have now...in 1995, thus sweeping away....etc. (23 April p17)*

e.g. 82. Tape: *.....,legal aid is in place and it is accessible to the former farm tenants who could thereby take the farmers to court.. (24 April),*

Transcript: *thereby* was deleted. (This is normally 'therefore' or 'consequently')

e.g. 83. *I have got a message from the hon Velaphi. (23 April p48) was changed to received.*

e.g. 84. *...given the stretch and the use of slave labour by apartheid (23 April p88). Here stretch was changed to extent and the is deleted.*

e.g. 85. *the redistribution must be done in terms of the law (24 April, 1482-1494), where done was changed to effected.*

e.g. 86. *What is the scene of Baba Msibi' s family? (24 April p51), where scene is changed to situation, meaning *milieu* or *set up*.*

e.g. 87. stand against (24 April p60) was changed to opposed to .

More examples of BSAfE which was edited out by Hansard transcribers:

e.g. 88. they are occurring (23 April p21) was changed to : are being implemented

e.g. 89. we ask that the law must be ruthless when dealing with these people (6 May p91) was changed to we urge, should. This constitutes a change in meaning (ask becomes urge).

e.g. 90. Of course, we did not receive it up to now. (6 May p111) was changed to we have not received it as yet ..

e.g. 91. This is the one thing which makes me to feel bad. (column 2035)

e.g. 92. they will not have a way of paying it back. I would rather ignore them. (p63) is changed to They don't have a way of paying it back.

e.g. 93. I am sure that each one of us here is keen that all eligible voters should be able to vote (column 2363). Here 'keen that' is changed to 'keen for' and 'should be able to' is deleted.

Truncation was found to be consistently edited out in this database, as is also the case with reduplication. Truncation is a feature of African English which has been identified in studies by for instance Bokamba.

e.g. 94. The cost to our economy runs to hundreds of millions of rands (23 April, p19), where to' was changed to 'into'.

e.g. 95. For the first time in the history of this country, a Minister of Land Affairs came in less than three years, with no fewer than eight pieces of legislation (Table 3.3,14 May, p15) was changed to came forward.

e.g. 96. I would like to echo the Minister and say that it is the duty.. (column 2363) s changed to 'echo what the minister has said'.

e.g. 97. *Furthermore, our people at Creighton in KwaZulu-Natal are asking for an office close to Creighton where they can go for identity documents. They say Ixopo is too far. They are requesting that they can be provided with a facility nearby where they can go for identity documents. ... (column 2410). In this example to go and apply for identity documents is truncated into go for.*

e.g. 98. *to go and apply for their ID's. (column 2421).*

e.g. 99. *In fact, we are grateful that my colleague the Minister for the Public Service and Administration, Dr Skweyiya, used that as a guinea pig because I think that, as far as the Batho Pele policy is concerned, we are leading (column 2427). Here we are leading is derived from 'in the lead'. Also, normally a person is referred to as a guinea pig, whereas in this case it is a policy.*

Transcribers are given a lot of leeway. They often correct what has been said. In the following examples, for instance, transcribers have changed the word order used by the speakers. The adverb is moved to immediately follow the verb::

e.g. 100. *I yet have to hearis changed to I have yet to hear(23 April 1998 p16).*

e.g. 101. *...takes its responsibility seriously to monitor ... is changed to takes seriously its responsibility to monitor...(23 April 1998, p69).*

e.g. 102. *...is not optimally utilized is changed to not utilized optimally (23 April 1998, p88).*

e.g. 103. *The maturity is reflected in the dramatic 64% reduction in strikes in this previous year. This is changed to in the past year. In this example the meaning is changed.*

e.g. 104. *....unlike in the past where apartheid laws determined is changed to unlike the past situation in which apartheid laws determined (April 23 p59).*

What also happens is that what the speaker has said is changed to a clumsier version. For example:

e.g. 105. I would like to thank in closing is changed to I would in closing like to thank, but should, if changed at all, have probably been changed to *In closing I would like to thank...*, (6 May 1998 p24).

5.2.8 CONCLUSION

Compound coinages are usually more common in ESL communities than new derivatives/derivations. The decisions of what may be labelled as 'conventional' (as in acceptable to speakers and hearers of parliament as well as necessarily an overlap with what is regarded as acceptable usage to the general public. Innovations signal the advent of a new society in which many grammatical changes are taking place. In parliamentary debates one might find a degree of ad hoc coinage possibly created for a specific effect in a specific situation. The characteristics of African English mentioned by Kachru and Bokamba which are visible here were discussed in detail in Chapter 2. The one's found to be consistently present in this database have been discussed in this section.

In summary then, what has been found in relation to the grammatical features chosen for discussion, the editorial procedures were found to be conservative. The following were noticeable: Non-standard grammar was corrected. Grammar was often changed by the transcribers, sometimes arbitrarily. As far as the proportion of arbitrary editing to consistent editing of the features discussed in this section, arbitrary changes are more visible than consistency. Hansard are allowing relaxation mainly regarding ways of expression rather than in grammatical terms. This is due to the general ignorance of the stable features of BSAfE.

Despite Hansard's policy in favour of expanding notions of English, the editing is conservative and largely in accordance with colonial standards. Ginwala's guidelines in favour of expanded notions of 'standard' English have not been found to be implemented. What limits the degree of the reform is probably related to the fact that the characteristics of BSAfE are not generally

known and have not consistently been recorded. This has political implications, but what they might become is not measurable. All one can say with certainty that there normally is a lapse of time between policy formation and implementation.

Globally speaking, America rather than Britain sets the trend in new words. This is due to the rapid development of media and technology in North America and its influential world market force. This may be the cause for some polarisation between old British thinking and modern usage in English. Instances where usage has changed the rules are of particular interest in this study. e.g. *to that extent, a wrong that must be righted'*...and *to comment about*, all of which are stabilised forms of BSAfE.

Therefore, as a result of the evidence cited in this section, I conclude that Black English is recognised and recognisable and dealt with mainly by means of tolerant but fairly conservative and in many instances, inconsistent editing. Expanding notions of English in parliament are obviously visible in the video and audio recording of oral speeches, but virtually non-existent in the Government Publications of debates. This means that in oral renditions the parameters of variable common usage are fairly wide and generous, but in the published versions old norms apply. In terms of textual changes such as metaphorical bases, frames of reference and discourses impacting on ANC speeches, a detailed analysis presented in section 5.2 and 5.3 will also further enhance insights into the current socio-political environment in which the linguistic phenomena under discussion occurred.

5.3 NARRATIVE STRATEGIES AND DEVICES

The narrative strategies used in the database are identifiably taken from traditional and current political rhetorical forms. Strategies used are repetition, conversational cues, rhetorical questions and tautology and various other forms of emphasis. Of these, satire seems to be most pronounced. The satirical forms found in the database include animal imagery,

personification, other analogies and uses of praise names. These features render the tone of the text highly emotive, thereby eliciting a heightened emotional response when the emotional content, style and tone is amplified.

5.3.1 REPETITION

Repetition such as used in the oral African tradition can be found in the parliamentary speeches. Kaschula (1995) observed that many oral traditional forms of expression can be found these days in sermons conducted in Xhosa by even the most educated of preachers. Oral traditional forms thus play a significant cultural role at present and are not only found in parliament, but also in a significant number of other contexts. According to Kaschula (1995:71) the characteristics of modern day oral poetry are as follows:

The style is formulaic, repetitive and copious with no regular metre. The preacher has immediate contact with his audience. He draws them in to his sermon through a direct emotional link which exists between him and his audience. The emotional intensity with which the sermon is produced is clear evidence of this (Kaschula 1995:71).

The forms which occur in the sermons Kaschula analysed are formulaic expressions created by the use of parallelism and rhythm. The parallelisms look as follows: a line may retain the syntax of the previous line but the words are changed. Secondly, one or more words, either at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of a sentence, are retained. Thirdly, syntax and words differ but the idea expressed is the same (Kaschula 1995:72). An example which illustrates the early form of Xhosa oral poetry around the year 1800, is this extract from a sermon given by a Dutch missionary, Theodorus van der Kemp at Debe Nek mission station. He adopted the stylistic formula of oral poetry for his sermons:

There was God in heaven,

He created all things,
The sun, the moon, the stars.
There was one, Sifuba-sibanzi,
(The Broad-breasted one)
He is the leader of men,
Was heralded by the Star,
His feet were wounded for us ,
His hands were pierced for us,
His blood was shed for us (Kaschula 1991:92).

This formulaic pattern of repetition is not as dissimilar to the kind of repetition and suspense-building style of present day Western oratory, as the simplistic orality-literacy, oral-written text divide might suggest. Despite the development of the third world and the spread of the written and electronic text, oral forms continue to develop. In a discussion of Zolani Mkiva's *isibongi* performance at President Mandela's inauguration the following is noted:

It is a poem encapsulating the pain of the past struggle for freedom, but also possesses a contemporaneity that is interwoven with history to form a complex literary tapestry. Perhaps what is most significant about this poem is that it represents an excellent opportunity to observe the three-way dialectic between print, performance and the more self-contained orality of the older culture.... Furthermore, this poem allows one to explore the dynamics of this process and to establish its role in political consciousness (both nationally and internationally) (Kaschula 1997:16).

Listed here are some examples of repetition found in the database which are generally to be found in formal political oratory and are mainly used for emphasis:

e.g. 1. ...*land reform is not about infringing upon certain individuals property rights. It is not about land laws which characterised the regime of the NP and which admittedly ensures*

the advancement of the white minority. Land reform is about restoring human dignity (24 April, column 1520).

With reference to the Basic Conditions of Employment Act:

e.g. 2. It provides basic protection to some of the most exploited of our people in the country, especially in the construction and security industries, or on commercial farms and in domestic service. I have yet to hear some of the members on my left, who are actually wrongly seated, saying anything about their views concerning some of the bad practices amongst commercial farmers. I have yet to hear... (column 1404 par 3).

e.g. 3. I want to take this opportunity to inform this House about the progress our Government has made with giving land back to people (column 1517).

e.g. 4. This Government's land reform programme is not only about the transference of land to the landless. No, it is also about strengthening the land rights of those who are most vulnerable to the abuse of power by some sectors of the white farming community. It is about democratically and justly rectifying the legacy of the oppressive land laws of the NP. Yes, hon members of the opposition, this is all true, and, yes, they might have heard it all before. However, they should be reminded now and again of their past, especially those of them who seem to suffer very conveniently from amnesia (column 1520).

e.g. 5. There are those who previously enjoyed the fruits of this country...They speak about ...They speak aboutand they also speak about... (column 1522).

e.g. 6. What the minister has said, including the statistics, must be printed. They must print them and make them headlines, just as they make headlines about problems that we still have in education (column 2033).

e.g. 7. I can tell him that he is so desperate. He issued such a statement. Does he think that the people of South Africa as so stupid and naive that they do not know that this TV programme is shown live? It is only his followers who are so desperate (column 2046).

e.g. 8. I would only be repeating myself if I tried to address that because I have repeated the issue many times this afternoon and I have said enough as far as that is concerned (column 2429).

e.g. 9. Dr Zulu there in Kwa-Zulu-Natal does not know how many teachers we have in that province. He does not know. That IFP government of the then KwaZulu homeland said that the teachers must sign pledges of allegiance to Inkatha. They taught their Inkatha subjects, which they called ubuntu-botho. They then destroyed our education and even now they are failing to rectify it. Then they come here and criticise us, saying this ANC Government does not do the work (column 2036).

(continued:...

It is not Dr Bengu who is saying education must deteriorate there in KwaZulu-Natal. It is Dr Zulu who is failing to rectify what is wrong in education. He does not want to speak to people. He lives there in Ulundi and does not go out. He does not want to go out to the places where the problems are. Therefore, when we speak here, the IFP must not provoke us, because there are many things which they are doing back home which are destroying our education. I do not like it, when I attack those members, that I have to attack them as well. But if they provoke us, I will also tell them that what they are doing at home is not right [Applause] (column 2036). In the above two related passages 'does not know' and 'does not want' are variations of one another and are also repeated. 'They are failing' is also repeated.

e.g. 10. *Chairperson, I think Sakkie should shut up, because as the Chief Whip of the NP, he is a disgrace. He heckles while the hon the Minister is speaking, but the same hon member complains that they should not be attacked. He heckles, but he is the Chief Whip. He is a disgrace: we are not on the farm here. Perhaps he thinks we are on the farm here. [Interjections] (column 2046). He is repeated, followed by sarcastic defamatory remarks.*

Repetition used for suspense-building is a specific form of repetition used in order to elicit a specific response of agreement from the audience. This is found in the African oral tradition and also in modern political rhetoric. It has the desired effect of raising interest and response. The following two examples of suspense-creating repetition serve to illustrate the point:

e.g. 11. *Today I want to inform them that they should seek professional help for their amnesia. To them I say that they should look at the past racial laws which ensure their comfortable position. To them I say that they should stop criticising and lend a hand in building this new nation. To them I say that they should be thankful we are willing to negotiate and not deal with the land question in Mr Mugabe's manner (column 1522).*

e.g. 12. *We brought democracy even to him. We brought participatory democracy, even for him. We brought democracy to most of the social institutions and to school governing bodies (column 2047).*

Parliamentary speeches are mostly delivered uninterrupted right through, except at the beginning and end of a speech where bits of spontaneous speech is used for congratulations, jokes and other remarks which specifically elicit applause as response. Applause does appear when the speech is in progress, but is minimal.

The above examples have demonstrated how repetition creates and is used for emphasis and impact. This particular feature is a characteristics of the African oral traditional as well as a

characteristic of in modern day South African political rhetoric. Repetition has its historical roots in various indigenous cultures, which are supposedly very different. What this part of the analysis thus demonstrates is that with regard to repetition, there are significant overlaps between modern day forms of political oratory and the characteristics of modern day African oral forms.

5.3.2 CONVERSATIONAL CUES

The use of narrative as a device has the advantage of casting the story told in an accessible form of discourse. The following conversational cues are typical examples of those found in the database:

e.g. 13. *In my opinion - and I think I have the right to state my opinion about this - what the NP means by defence action...* (column 1762). This is a disclaimer used for framing and drawing attention to the fact that liberties are about to be taken in terms of revealing some 'hidden truths. The intention of the use of the disclaimer is to soften the blow somewhat.

e.g. 14. *To tell the truth, this Government is having a hard time, because the people have mixed sugar and salt and the land and the water. Now they are finding it wonderful* (column 2419 par 6). This is a conversational cue typical of BSAFE.

Two paragraphs in a row start like this:

e.g. 15. *We went further and said that we would amend the Unemployment Insurance Act* (23 April, column 1405). The next paragraph (12 lines further down) also starts with: *We went further and said we would amend all the labour laws in the country...* This example demonstrates the use of repetition of paragraph markers which serve as conversational cues.

An example of a conversational cue which is an appeal for support is the following:

e.g. 16. *We are making sure that our people get trained. Therefore, let us not hide behind lack of training to avoid promoting our people. Let us not hide behind the policies of the apartheid government that created Bantu Education and a lack of skills for our people. I would, therefore, like to advise Mr Bikitsha not to take cover in saying that our people are not ready for their jobs. They are ready* (column 1460).

e.g. 17. *I am going to talk about immigration...* (column 2383 paragraph 2). This is a conversational cue introducing a change of topic.

The following are examples of conversational cues used as disclaimers:

e.g. 18. *Could I be privileged to have a straight talk with the hon. Minister.* ... (column 2383, paragraph 2). This cue draws attention to the fact a harsh allegation or insult is about to be voiced.

e.g. 19. *Let me say something before I start my actual speech. When I drove around in Durban, I was so impressed, going down Queen Street, to see a home Affairs office . I went to Smith Street and saw a Home Affairs office, and I went to Field Street and I saw a Home Affairs office. I said to myself that the people were there to see the changes taking place in the country. So I just ask myself whether a similar office has been established at Melmoth,* ... (column 2382). These are numerous examples of conversational cues, the first one acting as a disclaimer.

In conclusion then, conversational cues are used for drawing attention to certain issues. They are also used for impact and persuasion and sometimes as disclaimers.

5.3.3 QUESTIONS

A lot of questions and answer series were found. In most cases the answers are known. The question and answer technique usually goes hand in hand with a high degree of emotive content for emotional appeal and as with conversational cues generally, for persuasion.

Some examples of the use of question and answer series typical of political oratory in general as well as the African oral tradition, are as follows:

e.g. 20. *There are people in Umgwali and Lujilo today who literally have nowhere to stay because they have been evicted illegally. This is a violation of the land reform programme. Must we allow people to own tracts and tracts of land while black communities next door sleep in the open?* (column 1524 paragraph 3)

e.g. 21. *We have watched in horror on television remains of former political activists being exhumed from their graves on some of these large and remote farms. One cannot but conclude that the NP forcefully removed our people from their land to open the way for such undercover activities. Such abuse of our land is totally unacceptable. Baby Angelina lost her life because she was seen as a threat to someone's land. Is this not ridiculous?* (column 1526 paragraph 4)

e.g. 22. *Has the time not come for the people 's Government to accelerate the pace of the redistribution of land to those who will work it rather than abuse it? The ANC is determined to reverse this situation....*(column 1526 paragraph 5).

In the following example the question and answer series is interrupted after each question with the answer provided:

e.g. 23. This is an example of a typical question and answer series: *Comrade Sibusiso Bengu is the first ever Minister to conduct a complete school survey of needs. Comrade Blade has highlighted a number of these problems, for example that 24 % of schools in the country have no water and 43% have no electricity. Who did that? The NP did it. One hundred and sixty-five thousand toilets are needed in three provinces. Who did that? The NP. The list is endless. Therefore what changes was Stoffel van der Merwe talking about ?...(column 2050).*

5.3.4 DEVICES USED FOR EMPHASIS

What often heightens the persuasive and emphatic nature of the text even more, is the use of **tautology**, as in the following examples:

e.g. 24. *the whole transformation of the entire Public Service* (column 2362). Here tautology is used for exaggeration. Repetition is used for emphasis. This is a feature both of the oral tradition and of modern political oratory.

e.g. 25. *So far this has not yet happened* (column 1748). The tautology here is used for emphasis.

e.g. 26. *We also share the hon member Ms M.M. Maunye's concern regarding the gender issue because we are very much gender sensitive* (column 2427).

e.g. 27.. *because it is very much in line with the RDP...(p79)*. In the last two example the tautology is used for amplification.

Other random samples of emphasis are:

e.g. 28. *I want him or her to go to Salt River and tell those workers in Salt River that their clothing and textile union is not welcome to co-operate with the NP [Interjections]. I want*

them to go and tell the Afrikaner workers, who they used in 1948 and who they have now dumped, that they no longer see a common cause with them (column 1458).

e.g. 29. *That is the same NP that opposed the Education Policy Act in 1995... What does he know about this education committee for that matter* (column 2047). These are demonstrative pronouns and adjectives used for emphasis.

e.g. 30. *This was said already in 1990, during Stoffel van der Merwe's time. Another headline reads: "Warning on major education crisis." Do we see this kind of crisis today? [Interjections.] No, the one that those hon members see was created by themselves. Listen to this: "D.E.T. under fire on school shortages." Who burned the schools? IT is the Department of Education and Training that was burning schools. This headline reads "Crisis at schools", and this was during the time of my learned friend over there* (column 2049).

5.3.5 SATIRE

Humour, satire, sarcasm and other ways of poking fun at the opposition, are common in the oral tradition as well as in modern political oratory. In character, the ones found in the database resemble the characteristics of satirical forms customary in African oral praise poetry of the traditional kind. Praise poetry, as pointed out in chapter 2, was used, among other things, to poke fun at, or reveal by means of the use of humour and satire, sometimes quite harsh criticism of the ruler, king, and of the behaviours and actions of the group in power. Most of the satire is embedded in the use of appropriately selected imagery and extensive use of analogy.

Turner (1991:203) discusses the form and content of satire in the Zulu praise poem and says that satire is said to have one of two functions, either to humour or to scorn a person or group. This is expressed by means of the use of abusive language (normally a sudden harsh

revelation of hidden truth) or by means of the use of exaggeration of negative qualities while totally ignoring the positive. It manifests itself linguistically in tone, i.e. in the use of irony, comic effects and liminal and heretic features. 'The various forms of oral poetry in Sub-Saharan Africa are licensed by a freedom of expansion which violates normal conventions.' (Vail and White 1991:43). Also, according to Vail and White:

The authority of oral poetry, then, is an aesthetic authority, a reflection of its public and protected role as a vehicle for heroic celebration or satiric comment or lament or entertainment, or any combination of these. The poet is expected to be eloquent, someone who can speak well. But he is above all expected to be knowledgeable. A poem is 'a way of tracing one's roots - we've done this, we've done that.' A good poet is 'somebody who knows the history and can explain everything.. when something happens in the land he puts it in (Opland 1983 cited in Vail and White, 1991:77).

Ong (1982:46) states that 'the individual's reaction is not expressed as simply individual or "subjective" but rather as encased in communal reaction. This is said with reference to a story where a character, a guest at a funeral, interacts with the narrator. The character's voice here represents the rest of the community. This also occurs in British traditional poetry e.g. Coleridge's 'The Ancient Mariner'.

Some examples of analogies in which the practices of the oppositional parties are ridiculed, are:

e.g. 31. *So we must understand the bitterness of the hon. Marthinus van Schalkwyk- what a difficult name- along this basis.* (column 1416). Here along is changed to 'on'. The narrative strategy is satire and shaming. Racism is used to parody people who are constantly saying that African names are impossible to pronounce.

e.g. 32. *What is this great plan? It is just another DP gimmick, more policy by press release, DP-style of course, written overnight on the back of an envelope* (column 1433).

e.g. 33. *They know that apartheid and mass unemployment went together like fish and chips, except that there is nothing tasty about unemployment, which is but one of the many reasons why the millions of unemployed, created by apartheid, voted the ANC into office (column 1436).*

e.g. 34. *I hope that their new leader, who they are electing this evening - who is quite clearly going to be a light-weight leader nevertheless, given the kind of candidates who have been talked about -has listened to what they said (column 1458). This is an international sports analogy.*

e.g. 35. *When hon members tell me to go cap in hand to appeal to people to stop the murders on the farms, to appeal to farmers to stop evicting people and respect the culture of human rights, I am willing to do so. I will do so with the greatest of pleasure and humility. But it is not only for me to do so...(column 1768). This implies supposed subservience and is an example of irony.*

e.g. 36. (with reference to the Skills Development Bill): *The employers are delighted that the Bill addresses their urgent needs. But - we now come to the "but" which is always a very big "but" - we want the advantages of the Bill, but they don't want to pay for it. Those who taught us that there is no such thing as a free lunch now want a free banquet, not just an ordinary lunch. (column 1438, paragraph 3). This is a parody on the English idiomatic convention 'There is no such thing as a free lunch.'*

The following are examples of sarcasm:

e.g. 37. *The Minister misunderstood Bikitsha as did the others... I weep for the hon. Bikitsha. I am quite convinced that he will agree that he has lost his soul. [Interjections.] He*

stands here, before this democratic Parliament, and gives thanks to the NP for what they did to our people, for all those years of oppression and exploitation. He should be ashamed of what he stands for. Indeed, he has lost his soul. It is quite clear that... (23 April, p121).

e.g. 38. *Was there not a saying amongst whites that the only good Kaffir boy was a dead Kaffir boy?* (column 1521)

e.g. 39. *So Lampie Fick will have to think - I almost said think again, but in this case I mean think for the first time - about what he is doing. For me this illustrates the attitude of some verkrampte boers today...* (column 1761, par 4).

e.g. 40. *Hon members will hear the Boerseun in a moment* (column 2037). The repetition of 'Boereseun' with reference to the Leader of the Opposition is meant to reinforce the sarcasm of the remark.

In conclusion then, numerous examples of satire found in the text express a sometimes subtle, sometimes more overt, mode of power seeking. Though satire, sarcasm and ridicule are typical features of modern political oratory in general, what makes them uniquely South African in this text, firstly that the discourse features and mode of embeddedness resemble those of oratory in African traditional forms. Secondly, they are typically locally-based in the South African context by means of the intertextual references used. Satire, I conclude then, is used in some form or another in European, British, American and African-style political oratory. What is different is that the 'in-group' flavour of the allusions situate them culturally and geographically.

5.3.6 ANIMAL IMAGERY

Satire, in the ANC speeches often occurs in the form of animal imagery, which is reminiscent of the African oral tradition. The animal imagery is used primarily negatively. Often a person is compared to an animal:

The opponents are frequently referred to in contemptuous terms, compared, for instance, to a small and despicable ox, or a bull without horns fighting against a conquering and triumphant bull. (Finnegan 1976:126)

In the following example, an analogy is used to compare the behaviour of a group of people. In this case National Party behaviour is compared to that of a wild animal:

e.g. 42. *They say the zebra kicked against a stone. This caused a spark which ignited the grass. Then the land burnt. The zebra ran away and wondered why the land was burning. The same goes for the NP, because they mixed up the country. Now they are saying it is the ANC's fault, but it is they who did those things [Laughter] [Applause].* (column 2420 paragraph 4). In this analogy the NP party is presented as a mindless being, causing destruction and then not understanding the origin of the consequences of the destructive actions. This is a good example of the narrative style, probably with its roots in the African oral tradition.

Another example of an animal analogy is the following:

e.g. 43. *Comrades I do not have a tail. If I had one I would be wagging it to show how happy I am, for in my culture it is often said, "When the mother has arrived, the hunger will disappear." I am not being derogatory, it is my Sepedi language that says that.* (column 2418 par 4). Here a person is compared to a dog.

People are also compared to insects:

e.g. 44. *That is because they are so cocooned in the privileges that apartheid created.*

(column 2125) This is an embedded insect metaphor. The analogy refers to the National Party. 'Cocooned' is a general English metaphor.

e.g. 45. *I am the fly in the ointment...* (column 2362). This is an example of an embedded analogy, where The ANC party representatives use animal references in referring to themselves. This, as in the case of the previous example, is also a general English metaphor, but the **cumulative** effect of these is what makes it reminiscent of the African oral tradition.

Similarly, in order to highlight the bad treatment of people of other races in South Africa by the National Party, analogy is used which likens the victims to animals:

e.g. 46. *The land in KwaZulu-Natal and in East London along the Eastern Cape coast, is the most fertile land that was taken and given to the whites, while the blacks were given a dry bone. The present Government which is acceptable to the people of this country should do its best to ensure that fertile land is returned to its rightful owners...* (column 1507). This was said by a female speaker who spoke in which was translated into English) with reference to people as animals. She is referring to her own constituency by means of negative animal references, in order to compare black people to dogs. This again is done in the ironic sense and has the effect of bitter humour used to reveal the negative characteristics of the opposition.

In conclusion then, the extensive use of animal imagery and personification deepens the satirical tone of the debates:

Rather we can see these animal stories as medium through which, in a subtle and complex way, the social and literary experience of narrators and listeners can be presented. The foibles and weaknesses, virtues and strengths, ridiculous and appealing qualities known to all those present are touched on, indirectly, in the telling of stories and are what makes them meaningful and effective in the actual narration. In contexts in which literary expression is neither veiled by being expressed through the written word nor (usually) voiced by narrators removed from the close-knit village group, comment on human and social affairs can be expressed less rawly, less directly by being enmasked in animal characters (Finnegan 1976:351).

In the same way as the opponents of the ANC, the National Party, and members of it, are grouped as 'the enemy', opponents are also referred to in the collective singular in current European political rhetoric:

The particularizing synecdoche (*pars pro toto*) described as 'collective singular' is a means of referential annexation, assimilation and inclusion just as the generalizing synecdoche. Particularizing synecdoches like 'the foreigner', 'the Austrian' and 'the southerner', serve as we have suggested, to generalize and essentialize stereotypes that apply to a whole group of persons, as in 'the Austrian is really a bit slow...' (de Cillia et al 1999:165).

5.3.7 PERSONIFICATION

This device is also found both in the African oral tradition and in modern political rhetoric. As far as personification in the African oral tradition is concerned, Finnegan (1976:62) points out:

Personification is particularly popular. It can be economically effected by transferring an ordinary noun from its usual class to that of persons. Thus in Zulu, for instance, we have the personified form *uNtabauSikhotha*, from the ordinary *isikhotha*, long grass. This is a type of personification sometimes found in stories where the name of an animal is transferred to the personal class and thus, as it were, invested with human character. A further way of achieving personification is by a

series of special formations based, among other things, on special prefixes, derivations from verbs or ideophones, reduplication, or the rich resources of compounding.

Similarly:

Metonymies enable the speaker to dissolve individuals, and hence volitions and responsibilities, or to keep them in the semantic background. Abstract entities as for example nations - are given a human form through the use of personification (anthropomorphization) which links different semantic fields (de Cillia 1999:165).

Often land/country are substituted for the inhabitants. For instance, the opposition party (the National Party) is personified in the following two examples:

e.g. 47. *Those who are not blind to the writing on the wall are already starting to resign from the dying NP. We are looking forward to hearing who is going to be the captain of the sinking ship of the NP in the Western Cape today (column 1418). This is an analogy and a mixed metaphor typical of political oratory and of modern political rhetoric.*

e.g. 48. *Mercifully, apartheid is now dead -officially buried. [Interjections] Even the party which upheld apartheid says so. The new South Africa demands a different set of standards... (column 1437 paragraph 5).*

The country is personified:

e.g. 49.*one thing remains abundantly clear: South Africa still bears the wounds and scars of the inequalities of apartheid's racially based capitalism. ... (column 1448)*

e.g. 50.*a slap in the face of the prophets of doom, '...in the face of those...'*

'..In the face of the NP and the DP in particular' (column 1415). Here a party is compared to a person. This kind of comparison is common in modern political oratory as well as in the African oral tradition.

e.g. 51. *All this is an indication of this Government's commitment to its people, a commitment which was born as far back as the adoption of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown* (column 1522). Here 'government' is personified.

Though the features may well appear in other varieties of English, the point is that the examples demonstrate that they are located in South Africa at a given time and therefore reflect to some degree the cultural and geographical milieu.

5.3.8 OTHER ANALOGIES

Various other forms of analogies were found, for example, people are compared to objects:

e.g. 52. *Sadly, despite the Government's efforts to stop evictions by way of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act, some farmworkers are still treated like furniture, to be discarded when they have outlived their usefulness* (column 1521). This is an example of dehumanization. People are compared to objects. This is a reference to people under their own (ANC) constituency.

An analogy is drawn between a person and a waste product:

e.g. 53. *These are our allies and it is this alliance which will continue to ensure that people like him are indeed designated into the dustbins of history* (p120). This analogy alludes to waste and an unethical consumer society. It originates from 'relegated to the dustbins of history', which is a general cliché.

Economic processes are also compared to domestic employment. This embodies the country equals house/home metaphor:

e.g. 54. *Hon members, a pot scraper can never remove it. We need spades to clear the mess that has been left by the NP. Please join hands with us, as we engage in the mopping up operation. Notwithstanding the herculean nature of the task, the battle must go on* (column 2050, in translation from Xhosa). An analogy is drawn here between a political process and domestic manual labour.

An analogy is made between the negatively perceived educational sector and bad weather:

e.g. 55. *Before 1994 the educational atmosphere was very foggy, especially....*(column 2057, in translation from Xhosa). This is an analogy made between the education sector and bad weather.

e.g. 56. Another example of the country = home analogy is :

..Therefore, Chief Buthelezi is doing a wonderful job, and he is accomplishing his mission. We are happy. They have made this country a home. (column 2421 paragraph 3). In this quote, the metaphor is totally submerged in its context. Here the country is likened to a home. The word *mission* has spiritual overtones and also connotations of intensity.

One of the countries assets is compared to a jewel:

e.g. 57. *The jewel of the SA tourism industry, the Kruger National Park, also poses an animal health problem, but it is gratifying to know that budgeting for surveillance of the park is done at national level* (column 1748).

e.g. 58. National financial gain are spoken of as 'fruits', as in 'fruits of our labour'. This is ironic: *Those who laboured gained no 'fruits'*.

Gunnner links the role of oral literature to nation-building and the importance of belonging:

The tension in praise poetry between making the gesture to the wider nation while acknowledging the pull of the smaller nation within the nation is noted by Nelson Mandela when in his autobiographical *Long Walk to Freedom* (1994) he recalls the effect of hearing the illustrious Xhosa praise poet, S E K Mqhayi, perform at the college he attended. He remarks on the poet's ability to comment on international events, namely the Second World War, and then to tie these events into a sense of belonging that is far more local than national even though it gestures towards a larger African identity through its sense of incorporation. The ambivalent message of the poem marked a moment of ambivalence in Mandela's own sense of 'who' he was (Gunner 1999:55).

A feeling of belonging is created by the use of references to fertility. The following is an example selected from the database to show the effect of the use of the fertility trope:

e.g. 59. ...*the fruits of this country...* (column 1522) This is a reference reminiscent of the oral tradition i.e. to the fertility theme. In this metaphor the country is compared to a plant which grows and bears fruit etc. It may also be an adaptation of the expression '*fruits of our labour*'.

The tropes which De Cillia et al (1999:158) regard as typical in European political rhetoric, are references to emotional attachments to the country (e.g. 'being an Austrian' and what it means), common culture e.g. art, religion, reference to a collective present and future, the national body e.g. landscape, boundaries and natural resources.

Vail and White (1991:57) describe oral poetry as 'a map of experience' to the audience:

Much of it deals with the moral significance of events, and hence with religious truths or with assertions of identity. Much, too, is concerned with communal or personal feelings of anxiety, displacement, exploitation, or loss. Even those songs performed primarily for entertainment

place a high premium on social comment or satire. The performers seek through poetic expression a language with the authority to marshal a public response, and the poetry confronts the changing panorama of African history with a stream of comment- heroic, celebratory, elegaic, satiric, always attempting to construct, ... "a map of experience".

'When a culture starts to loose its genres, it begins to die' (Ongstad 1992 in Swales 1997:379).

The overriding ethos and influence of the African Renaissance movement in conjunction with the ANC's mission to re-Africanise South African politics and thereby its culture life, legitimizes the use of African oral traditional forms in parliamentary oratory. References to African cultural and linguistic features embedded in discourse helps to consciously/subconsciously maintain the culture of origin, place/soil and its genres for its speakers. That is cultural transcendence and transgression for the purposes of cultural transmission. Similarly, Swales (1997:380) quotes Mauranen (1993): 'Should we not try, she argues, to preserve our Finnish rhetorical traditions in another and much more widely distributed tongue.' Similarly, Dudley-Evans (1997:355) raises the issue of subcultures preserving their culturally-specific scholarly traditions even if one writes in an international language'. The question of what these specific scholarly traditions are, or could be, for African scholars, the African intelligentsia and parliamentarians in South Africa, may be to some degree informed by this study.

5.3.9 THE NAMING TRADITION

One of the features unique to the oral tradition is the naming tradition, direct and indirect allusions to which were found in the text, albeit in an updated form:

Praise names 'pitch out some striking qualities of an object and are mused for inanimate objects, birds, animals, and finally, in their fullest form, as names for people' (Finnegan 1976: 66). The praise name can be either category terms e.g. 'the horned one', or individual e.g. 'the biggest in the herd (p.128)'. Clan praise names are used as informal address to clan members (i.e. *Mokwena* from 'crocodile', symbol of the Tswana clan (also p.128)). Sometimes the hero is

referred to by the name of his clan's symbol or other animal and 'much of the poem is thus built up on a sustained metaphor, almost allegory, about the animal which represents the hero' (p.128).

Some examples are as follows:

e.g. 60. (with reference to The hon Velaphi): *We also need to sort out the issues relating to our surnames, Ndlovu and Oliphant. They represent the same thing, so we do not have to fight about these matters [Laughter.]* (column 1419). The narrative strategy here is the use of jokes to satirise. Reference to names is a typical feature of the oral tradition. *Ndlovu* means elephant and so does 'Oliphant'. This is a reference to the person's name.

e.g. 61. *I want to substantiate what I am saying. I started working in 1960. I started working out on the farms. When I was born, my father named me Lekoba, and said I must be called by that name, even at the workplace. When I arrived at the hon Mr Barnard's farm, I told him my name was Lekoba. But he gave me another name. He said, "You are not Lekoba, you are Big Boy." You will realise that other names are Jack, Johannes, etc. We were given these names by the hon Mr Sakkie Pretorius of the NP* (column 2418 par 6). This was said by a male speaker and is the translated version of the Sepedi original.

e.g. 62. *Let me tell him to look at how our people are changing, because if I say my surname is Tolo, they say "Tholo". If he says: "I am Buthelezi" they say "Boseseli". [Laughter]. They wrote it like that [Laughter]* (column 2419 par 5).

e.g. 63. again: *...because we get distracted by Boereseun, Kleinbaas Van Schalkwyk and his team, and the Jong Krokodil, Tony Leon [Laughter]...*(column 2033). Again this is a good example of the naming tradition from the African oral tradition. The naming tradition is part of heretic discourses, introducing an alternative culture to the one previously in power and

explaining it to the listeners, in-group and out-group. The tone here is somewhat condescending.

5.3.10 WHERE MODERN POLITICAL RHETORIC AND THE ORAL TRADITION MEET

This section has highlighted the comparison between features which were found in the database which may be classified as modern political rhetoric, and those which are reminiscent of the African oral tradition. There are similarities between the narrative strategies and devices found in this database and those found in modern political rhetoric in Europe. This commonality of features was already pointed out as follows almost twenty years ago:

...it would be a mistake to assume too easily that there is necessarily a complete break in continuity between 'traditional' political poetry and that of 'modern politics'. It would be more accurate to say that the long-standing interests in oral literature and in politics have, not surprisingly, proved adaptable to the particular political circumstances of the mid-twentieth century (Finnegan 1976:273).

What is interesting is that though the languages used may differ, the narrative strategies and devices employed in different countries are significantly similar. This has been demonstrated by the examples found in this database. Similarities, overlaps and differences between the African oral tradition and modern political rhetoric in general, have been discussed. More specifically, the formulaic expressions, recurring pattern and sequences in African oral forms are paralleled to the use of repetition and claptrap found in modern political oratory. The use of exaggeration and emphasis by means of tautology are paralleled to the use of tautology, rhetorical questioning and various other conversational cues typical of modern rhetoric. Satire, a common device in modern political oratory, often appears in African oral forms in the use of praise names, animal metaphors and other analogies. There is an abundance of this kind of satire in the ANC speeches. Instances of personification in this database overlap with the kind found in the African oral tradition and those identified by de Cillia et al. The above features

were discussed in conjunction with matching features of modern political rhetoric which illustrated the comparison.

Together with the grammatical feature, narrative strategies and devices already discussed, the focus in the next section which is on discourse resource-bases, adds another dimension to the anthropological analysis.

5.4 HISTORICAL INFLUENCES AND DISCOURSE RESOURCE-BASES

A number of factors, other than the ones mentioned in the preceding section, have had an influence on the discourses in the database. The most prominent of these factors have their origin in the education system. The occurrence of stock phrases and specific jargonized forms of expression originate from the fact that African language speakers were relegated to a system which was designed to separate them from mainstream influences, economically, intellectually and otherwise. The second major influence detected is the influence of other languages on English. Here I am referring not only to the influence of the African languages, but also to Afrikaans, which was an exceptionally widespread language due to its almost exclusive official status as one of two official languages. Until 1976, Afrikaans was a dominant language in South Africa. Until 1976 Afrikaans was forced on African people through the schooling system. Many adaptations of normative forms of English were identified and, being the main topic of this project, are discussed in detail. Cases in which these adaptations were not found acceptable to Hansard editors, are also highlighted. A third cluster of features consists of media influences and the prominence of specific local and international affairs as covered by the media, which are alluded to in the speeches. Visible influences of this on the English used in parliament, are discussed.

5.4.1 THE APARTHEID EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Discourses drawn on in the ANC speeches have their origins in the historically entrenched educational system of the last few decades. A very Eurocentric strand of references becomes evident in the numerous biblical references; Christian church tone and emphasis on pointing out 'evil', as well as the authoritarian rhetoric and tone of the historically entrenched Christian National Education system. In this system African language speakers were relegated to the separate and inferior DET system (the Department of Education and Training system, to which all African language speakers were relegated), in which these forms of rhetorical became common.

While observing that the pre-liberation educational system has had a major impact on the process of discourse formations and conventions currently used by African language speakers, one needs to take into account that a number of politicians have been in exile, sometimes as long as a decade or two. The database in this project does not include speeches from such speakers. They have had international exposure to other prototypical English usages and other languages not prevalent in South Africa. The president elected in 1999, Thabo Mbeki, for instance, studied for his MA in Britain. The impact of discourses external to South Africa are not addressed in this study except for the influences of the media.

Biblical References

The following are examples of biblical references found in the database:

e.g. 1. *Ag, all I can say is: Shame, forgive them, Lord, they know not what they are doing* (column 1459). Here the Afrikaans exclamation *ag* is edit out and reference is an adaptation from the Bible. It finally reads: *All I can say is : Shame, forgive them, Lord, they know not what they do.*

With reference to forced removals of people from their dwellings on farms:

e.g. 2. *I know that the question in the minds of hon. members is : What had these people done to deserve such satanic and abhorrent behaviour? Believe it or not, the answer received was that they were too old to be on those farms. They should not have asked for better living wages and they should not have asked not to work on Sundays (column 1474 paragraph 4).*

Also, *satanic* is repeated in column 1475:

e.g. 3. *Who can forget the murder of the poor Mshishi of Naboomspruit, called Mokgopong by the white farmer? Who can easily forget the satanic manner in which Thobile was murdered? I have limited time at my disposal, and there are many incidents which one can refer to...*

e.g. 4. *Good Samaritans found him and took him to their shacks. Unfortunately it took the police two weeks to go and take a statement from that poor boy (column 1475).*

e.g. 5. *I know there is another Vote coming and I do not want people to say that my reply was like the Lord's mercy which goes on without end.[Laughter] (column 2429)*

e.g. 6. *...we shall tell the people far and near and wide , about your good work (column 2422). This is a Biblical reference to 'spreading the word'. The normative expression 'far and wide' is adapted to a slightly different form.*

Stock Phrases and Jargon

An over-reliance and over usage of political, academic and transformational jargon is found in the data. Fossilization of interlingual/ESL constructions took place, over a number of decades, for DET and other African language learners of English. The institutionalization of education caused the majority to have less opportunity to keep up to date with current English. This has

been rectified to some degree from the mid 1970's onwards due to the advent of TV in which a wide range of colloquial, conversational (American and local) styles of English are modelled.

An example of an overused stockphrase in BSAfE is:

e.g. 7. *We think that abuses and irregularities would be the order of the day unless human beings change from what they are* (column 2427). This is actually standard jargon internationally, but has become very much an entrenched stockphrase in general S. A. political and academic speak.

Jargonized expressions such as the following start becoming a way of referring to a whole class of people. There is a reference to people who are living '*behind*' *ivory towers* (column 1440). This is an example of setting a group apart by labelling the other. It refers to those who have come from Western education:

e.g. 8. *It is not surprising that we are today confronted with so much resistance against change from those who were living behind ivory towers throughout the past decades.*

i.e. 'ivory towers' is used differently from the normative way. The preposition effects the change. It reflects changes in the socio- cultural environment.

e.g. 9. *They are the proverbial empty vessels...* (column 1414). This is a normative English expression adapted by the speaker and accepted by Hansard. The expression is 'Empty vessels make the most noise' is a stockphrase which has probably come down over a few decades in the Education system.

The Afrikaans Language

The Afrikaans language, having been imposed on African language speakers, has also had its impact on BSAfE. Some constructions in BSAfE originate from Afrikaans equivalents used in schools and in the workplace. This results in a noticeable number of embedded Afrikaans words and expressions.

e.g. 10. *It is for this reason why we place...* (Table 3.3 6 May 1998, Hansard transcripts) changed to *It is for this reason that...* This comes from the Afrikaans: *Dit is die rede hoekom.*

e.g. 11. *the doom prophets* column 1415 (meaning 'prophets of doom'. The Afrikaans way of saying it is *die doemprofete*.

e.g. 12. *Mr. Maree has to keep quiet because he is the architect of apartheid. He is the person who denied our people the right to vote. He is the person who made me to live in a shack. [Interjections] He made our people live in misery, and they are still continuing to do so. We are trying to correct the wrongs that were created by him and his government* (column 1517). This comes from '*Hy moet net stil bly...*'

With reference to farmworkers who were evicted from their dwellings in 1997, the following was said:

e.g. 13. *To our surprise we discovered that even elderly people had been 'sjambokked'* (column 1474). The DSAE definition of sjambok (from the Malay *tjambok* and the U-du *chabuk*, which means 'whip').

Definition 2 is : 'to strike or flog (someone or something) In this case the word may be regarded as 'in-group' talk, It is a local South Africa expression regarded as commonly known.

Examples of older parliamentary style influenced largely by the Afrikaner language and paradigms of thinking, are plentiful in the speeches of ANC parliamentarians. What follows is a discussion of some of these.

Older Parliamentary Style

ANC speakers key into beliefs-systems and socio-political constructions of the ex-Nationalist regime and of the current New Nationalist constituency. What they do is to partly couch their own ('new') party point of view in old rhetoric (e.g. Nationalist Party -style rhetoric). New ideas are thus generated by hooking them into previously accepted patterns of discourse and previously prevalent political belief-systems and ideologies. This makes the discourse more palatable to members of the opposition. They are used as launching pads for creating validity for new points of view . This technique also makes the discourse more accessible to the opponents by sounding much like the old, but being a subverted form of the old. The method of argument and persuasion is this: By undermining a powerful discourse by knowing it and reshaping it, it is used to one's own advantage in terms of creating and enlarging a power base and seeking to extend credibility.

e.g. 14. *Yes, members of the SA Communist Party participate in our work. Yes, members of Cosatu participate in our work. These are our allies, and it is this alliance which will continue to ensure that people like him are indeed designated to the dustbins of history* (column 1458).

Another example of an Afrikaans expressions used and which is assumed to be generally known in the context of the debate is (column 1498):

e.g. 15. *We shall never accept the Riemvasmaak type of situation* . This is used with reference to people people living in shacks while waiting for their houses. In the DSAE p.589 column 1 it is explained as follows:: 'remskoen': 'Riemvasmaak type of situation'

1. brake shoe

2. figurative use: *remskoen party* = obstructionist or reactionary group or person

1898 - backward element, the unco-operative

1912 - Remskoer party in South Africa politics: a Cape party which appeared to be adverse to progress

1919 - Remskoer party's vote was for keeping the country back

1975 - Anyone who holds back progress hence the expression 'a remskoer party' in early Cape politics.'

e.g. 16. *I know that tomorrow they report on what Kleinbaas Van Schalkwyk has said or what Jong Krokodil Leon has said and not what the ANC and this Minister have said* (column 2034). This is an ironic version of the already defamatory name 'Groot Krokodil' used with reference to P.W. Botha.

e.g. 17. *Hon members will hear the Boereseun in a moment* (column 2037). *Boereseun* is used in a derogatory way (*boer* meaning 'farmer' and *seun* meaning 'boy', therefore the equivalent of 'farmboy' which, in a range of cultures, would be a derogatory term. It is repeated several times, which lends it the desired effect of ridicule.

Struggle Speak

The discourse changes to informal, in-group referential topics from time to time. In-group communication seems to be more marked where the competence and confidence is high. This includes a kind of outdated struggle-speak or resistance talk. Ample examples of this can be found in the debates in terms of hackneyed jargon and stockphrases.

e.g. 18. *I proudly stand here today to say the ANC, together with its allies, the SACP and Cosatu, can say today, we have truly laid a solid foundation for the transformation of education in this country. Forward to People's education, forward! (column 2037). This is a local political slogan.*

e.g. 19. *So we must understand the bitterness of the hon Marthinus van Schalkwyk - what a difficult name- on this basis. During the so-called state of emergency and so on, we must remember that the only organization which they could not banish, and which kept them on their toes in the previous regime, was Cosatu (column 1416). This is a typical local BSAfE expression. It is similar to a *culture of...* which is a local expression accepted as part of the local idiom. It originates from the political context and acts as a disclaimer.*

e.g. 20. *Madam Speaker, hon Minister, colleagues and comrades, it is a known fact in this country we are faced with the legacy of massive inequalities in access to land, and most of our people are forced to live on land belonging to other people. None of those people have chosen their present plight; it was due to the draconian apartheid laws of the past inhumane regime (column 1516). This is similar to a culture of and has also become totally embedded in the local jargon. *Regime* falls in the same category of political jargon as *so-called* and a *culture of*. *Regime* may be regarded as struggle-speak, as it is known to refer mainly to the previous government and has extremely negative connotations.*

The presence of struggle speak in this database indicates that its impact on English in South Africa is significant, and to some degree, serves to mark its identity. The locally coined word and political policy innovation 'apartheid' is an example of a local word which is used internationally. The high profile nature of South Africa's political transformation and the high degree of media coverage it has enjoyed internationally (which will continue probably for another 2-5 years, might result in some local socio-politically generated terminology being

absorbed into international English. This also goes for some of South Africa's symbols (iconicity), i.e. Mandela's face, sports symbolism, the flag, which have become internationally known icons of political transformation in South Africa. The inclusion of African traditional stories, metaphors, polite naming procedures, address procedures and praise procedures cited are evidence that new innovations are more plentiful in the database than what struggle speak is. This is positive evidence of the current re-Africanization trend in South African political circles.

e.g. 21. *No, I do not want to respond. I am telling you, hon Ndlovu, that if you pull out your fighting sticks here, I will also pull out mine. You must stop...[Laughter]* (column 2036). This is a rural Xhosa fighting game which young boys and adolescent boys play.

e.g. 22. *I do not think that there is any person here who is more gender sensitive than my deputy, Dr. Sisulu-Guma. I am sure I have many witnesses who know that she thinks about this issue even during the night.[Laughter.] There is therefore no reason why my sister, Ms Maunye, should worry. I can only show her the following figures about women in the management division of the department* (column 2427). *Sister* is an African way of addressing the like-minded. It is also a general feminist expression. My is a possessive pronoun used for solidarity and identification. This is an instance of an Africanism transferred to English.

e.g. 23. *They still desire to live in the balkanized South Africa. They still believe in their policy of divide and rule* (column 1738) This is a reference to world politics and is intended as a satirical comment. This expression is not unique to BSAfE speakers, but is a general political term referring to the geographical splitting up of territory. Intertextuality appears in the form of references to, for instance, other speeches outside the situation (for instance a quote from one of President Mandela's speeches), biblical texts, media discourse and oral

literature tradition. Quotations, direct and indirect, are used to support a speaker's argument or to distance from alien ideas, e.g. column 1737 paragraph 4:

...one is reminded of the words of the President, Comrade Nelson Mandela, when he delivered the state of the nation address on 6 February this year. He said, and I quote: 'We are resolved to build on the solid foundation that has been laid over the past three years...the foundation has been laid and the building has begun.'

Responses are given in terms of the speakers own ideological framework, thereby encoding intertextuality ideologically, through the means of prioritization and foregrounding. This results in corpus extension and creativity, in the name of transformation and created a prototype different from the usual SAfE. Characteristics of in-group talk define and link the discourse to the overriding agenda of nation-building and identity.

Liminality and heretic discourses: textual evidence of a continued resistance mode

In his discussion on how immigrant adolescents in London negotiate linguistic and ethnic boundaries and identity/social power struggles, Rampton (1995) outlines the use of liminality, heretic discourses and code switching. Rampton (1995:19) defines liminality as ritualization. It is innovative and creatively subversive in its character. Liminality means pointing out directions in which to look (not prescribing what to see). It is designed to elicit a marked emotional response and thereby increases feelings of collectivity. Rampton (1995:84), in discussing interaction and social movements, defines and distinguishes between 'ritual' at macro-social vs micro-social level. He describes how ritual works as an interactional strategy in cross-discourse situations and its relation to gaining of political power.

This is relevant in relation to what is traditional oratory, normal parliamentary ritual (at macro influential level) versus what may be regarded as innovative creativity within that context. In the case of parliament I would say the ritual usage is not hegemonic, but oppositional and

defensive, challenging a previously existing order and seeking to undermine it. The role of religion is inherent in learned patterns of ritual is evident in the database, where Western religions and also traditional African rituals have been identified.

Rampton (1995:18) further defines heretic discourses as disrupting taken for granted reality (offering alternative conceptions of reality). This is evident in the National Party rhetoric subverted for ANC use, of which some examples have been sighted. Rampton (1995:277) distinguishes between situational vs figurative code-switching. Figurative code-switching has two types, ironic code switching (vari-directional double-voicing where one's own and someone else's discourse is used in opposition to each other, the other being unidirectional double-voicing, where the own voice and other voice together form a new direction. Rampton (1995:222) says that 'with unidirectional double-voicing, the user employs someone else's discourse in the direction of its own particular aspirations.'

The speaker's own voice and adopted voice fuse to make up direct/unmediated discourse. If the own voice and adopted voice are distant and opposed, you get what is called vari-directional double voicing. This applies with reference to Nationalist rhetoric and African language influences.

According to Rampton, in bilingual code-switching research, language mixing is construed as a new form of bilingual sociolect and is seen as a skilful and appropriate strategy. In-group talk occurs when jokes/structures/metaphors are chosen which are meant to create solidarity forming responses from ANC reporters and or understood exclusively among African people. Some examples are mentioned in the next section.

The influence of African languages

Embedded African words in the database are often presented as assimilated part of English. It is assumed that they are, or ought to be commonly understood by all. A significant presence of rural metaphor was found and also numerous references to other African cultural goods. There is a fair amount of outdated 'struggle speak' as well as a high occurrence of National Party rhetoric present in the text. Normative English forms which have been adapted to suit more the Africanization agenda in South Africa, are pointed out. It is also pointed out to what degree these were accepted as normative by Hansard editors and proof readers. In order to illustrate this, examples of 'unacceptable' forms are given.

Code-switching and code mixing are the exception rather than the rule in the case of the ANC speeches in the database. National styles of rhetoric influence the rhetorical style of debates (Kachru 1997:357). This sometimes results in code switching as follows:

African words which are taken for granted as generally understood:

e.g. 24. In this case the African philosophy that the hon Mponshane was talking about was a philosophy of the apartheid regime: *If we look at its concept of ubuntu, we see nothing but narrow nationalism, which was in fact nothing but tribalism, which was in line with the apartheid philosophy of divide and rule. I just wanted to indicate this to hon members* (column 2099).

e.g. 25. *Despite these differences, I will always remember ukuthi umnt'omdala, that he is someone older than me* (column 2424). This is an example of traditional deference to age.

An example of an allusion to African intellectual literature generated on the African continent is:

e.g. 26. *some of us deliberately choose to forget, nature did not produce on the one side owners of money or commodities and on the other side the wretched of the earth - men and*

women possessing nothing other but their labour power. It is the result of the shameful, aforementioned apartheid past (column 1448). This is an intertextual reference to Franz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*.

Görlach (1994:112) has observed that the transfer of English words into African languages is most common and always exceeds by far the transfer of African words into English. Two words which serve to illustrate the exception to this rule are listed in the Hansard guidelines (1998): *amakhosi* and *imbizo* meaning 'chief' and 'meeting' respectively. I would have expected to see more words from African languages in the English in the database. This seems to indicate that in an official realm such as parliament, despite the relaxed, accommodationalist policy, speakers comply with conformist notions of past official rhetoric. 'Correctness' is still seen as synonymous with competence and as enabling the previously disenfranchised gain 'voice'. There is thus no point in monitoring the number of African words appearing in the database. Rather the issues to focus on are discourse phenomena and behaviours which are culturally, regionally, educationally determined and determining. It may also be valuable to explain which constructions might persist or have persisted and may be regarded as BSAfE and which might not.

The linguistic features of ANC parliamentary debates need to be viewed in the light of South Africa's transition to new forms of government and the reintroduction of 'revamped' traditional modes of oratory and belief systems while simultaneously seeking global and pan-African economic and socio-cultural linking. The leading tropes, the style, the tone and the linguistic characteristics of BSAfE give clues about ANC notions of nation-building and national identity. The use of a variety of devices culminates in, firstly, identity-formation processes manifested in the discourse style. It is visible how European as well as African cultural goods and modes of communication are inextricably interwoven in the discourses used by the ANC in parliament today. This is all done in the name of credibility.

What makes the English uniquely South African has been highlighted. BSAfE found in parliament are examples of a trend-setting, new prototypical variety of English. Sub-Saharan oral and literacy traditions impact on BSAfE. The trend to 're-Africanize' South African cultural life in turn re-Africanizes the discourse. Simultaneously, the media plays its role in cultural change as it always does.

5.4.2 THE IMPACT OF THE MEDIA

References taken from the local and international media help to situate the texts as uniquely South African. This is amplified by the choice of references made to popular media which help define and reflect the socio-cultural, and thereby the semiotic landscape in which the political events marked by this text, occur. Examples are as follows:

e.g. 27. *Hansie and the boys...* (column 1463). This is a reference to the national cricket team. The phrase is an example of 'in-group' talk accepted as normative. It is an example of the colloquial conversational style commonly used in the media.

e.g. 28. *It is like watching a TV soap opera like the not so bold and definitely not the beautiful* (p.114), is changed as follows: A hyphen is inserted after opera. The rest of the sentence is written in italics. *Bold* and *Beautiful* (a reference to the soap opera by that name) are written in capital letters.

e.g. 29. *Similarly, a couple of weeks ago there was an article in the Weekend Argus that dealt with income disparities that exist between workers and company directors in our country. This article reported research from the Labour Research Service (23 April p115),...Seeing as parliament sits in Cape Town, the assumption is that everyone in the audience has read the local weekend paper. The above is thus an example of 'in-group' talk.*

e.g. 30. *...reminded of the words of the President, Comrade Nelson Mandela, when he delivered the state of the nation address on 6 February this year. He said, and I quote: "We are resolved to build on the solid foundation that has been laid over the past three and half years... the foundation has been laid and the building has begun."* This eloquently pronounced statement by the President is irrefutable and indisputable, and therefore valid... (column 1737 paragraph 4). The quoting of high status politicians such as presidents is also a common feature of modern day European political rhetoric.

In relation to the influence of Afrikaans and the influences of African languages the following may be concluded. The use of Afrikaans and the use of African language influences assumed to be generally understood is intended to be inclusive and create homogeneity in terms of South African culture. The use of Afrikaans and influences from African language are also used for emphasis. The language of this kind of communication can be classified as jargonized political oratory copied from the former stronghold NP communication style. It is geared at drawing attention to a new look at old issues in the case of South Africa, where the magnitude of the major socio-political problems have remained reasonably stable over a number of decades. While appearing here in subverted form, they are used specifically to hit home to the opposition. The English-African languages codeswitching is used for solidarity and may be viewed as a form of identity-formation and nation-building. The result is codemixing. The co-existence of African languages and English in parliament since the advent of the 11 official languages policy has brought with it rule-dominated spontaneous oral and written translations from all official African languages into English. The high degree of contact has resulted in easy transfer. In South African economy and trade English has dominated for decades. This makes transfers or calques likely or even inevitable. Whether these transfers are properly considered to be innovations will depend on the status of the indigenous language, the speaker's attitude to transfers and mixes and the frequency or stability of the individual items over a number of years.

5.4.3 THE CURRENT NATIONAL SOCIO-CULTURAL ETHOS

What has been discussed in 5.2 and 5.3 together culminates in the following conclusion. The ANC is still operating communicatively in resistance mode. This includes liminality and some features of heretic discourse. These defensive strategies are employed towards the agenda of nation-building. The contextual ethos in which these processes are taking place are destructive. In more detail then, the discourses in this database nation-building discourses in this database are overshadowed by a strong historically-based resistance mode of communication. It emerged historically as a result of colonisation and became particularly strong during the reign of the National Party. A historical overview of this trend has been given earlier in this thesis. The aim of the communication by the ANC in parliament is nation-building and cohesion for the purposes of creating a strong voter powerbase. A defensive resistance mode used for the purposes of nation-building does constitute an inherent conflict. The main point is that the resistance mode, which is somewhat outdated, is still dominant. This is evident from the abundance of 'struggle speak', lag, features of heretic and liminal discourses in the database. The positive side of this is that vari-directional double-voicing is used to transform old communicative practices into new.

In addition, the database has revealed that the political scenario and socio-economic fibre of South Africa is described mainly in terms of negative tropes, the dominant one's being destruction, violence and madness. Therefore, so-called positive nation-building communication is overshadowed by the negative overtones used in reference to the current socio-political ethos. This is evident from the numerous examples cited. These examples consist of oppositional discourses, firstly, resistance and quest for liberation versus nation-building and identity formation. The overriding effect is one of nation-building in the face of an apocalyptic national context. The dominance of the theme of crime and violence in South Africa is outlined by Jensen (1999:75) as follows:

In the years following the first free elections, crime and violence have taken centre stage in public debate in South Africa. Report after report has come out of government, NGO's political parties. (e.g. Ministry of Justice, 1996, Nedcor, 1996 and City of Cape Town, 1998). The foci of these reports, policy papers and academic papers have been the effects and consequences of violence and crime. The importance of violence on the political agenda, the impact on the economy, especially tourism and foreign investments, public perceptions of violence and what should be done about the "crime wave" as it have been called, have been analysed, counted and investigated over and over again.

The fact that the resistance mode is dominant is evident in the noticeably frequent occurrence of 'struggle speak', discourses borrowed from the previous party in power and a number of recurring heretic and liminal features. The use of satire, while already discussed, also plays a role in strengthening the defensiveness and quest for liberation from the strangulating effect and still existing stronghold of the previous Nationalist Government.

There are numerous recurring references in the text to violence, madness, chaos, destruction, mainly with references to the previous government in power, the Nationalist party, but also with reference to the current status quo in the country. The chief argument which the ANC puts forward is that the previous government's legislature over the previous few decades, is to blame for the current socio-political problems and general ungovernability of the country.

e.g. 31. Apartheid made these struggles inseparable. We would not be in this House today, including the hon Mr Fourie, were it not for the untold sacrifices of those nameless millions of ordinary and largely illiterate workers, including those on that hon member's farm. Yet neither the NP nor the DP has the grace to acknowledge this debt. They choose not to. They choose to suffer from selective amnesia (April 23 column 1416).

This is a reference to abnormality and deviance. It also refers to political parallels such as the holocaust. It is mainly a reference to the pathology of those previously in power in South Africa.

e.g. 32. lobotomy, ravage our country, rape, suffering under the illusion of collective well-being, delusion of ...master-slave relationships (p115).

The following is an analogy, where the opposite party is compared to a mentally ill person:

e.g. 33. *The would-be representatives of old, white, racist capital in this Chamber would have us believe that the Department of Labour favours workers over business. This was, in fact, even said by one of the groups that made representations to the portfolio committee. No-one denies the need for Government to assist small, medium and micro enterprises, but to argue, as some people do, that the scales are being tipped too far in favour of worker and of the unions is the height of callousness. It is bad enough that the majority should continue to suffer the brutal weight of super-exploitation that is witnessed by the kind of income disparities I have referred to. However, such statements reveal a small-mindedness and a nastiness which is bred of the racist mindset which still prevails amongst this real economic elite, whom I have been referring to. (23 April, p.116).* In this example, reference is made to super-exploitation, the politics of resistance, and violence and pathology in South African society.

The word *satanic* is repeated for emphasis:

e.g. 34. *I know that the question in the minds of hon members is: What had these poor people done to deserve such satanic and abhorrent behaviour? Believe it or not, the answer we received was that they were too old to be on those farms. They should not have asked for better living wages and they should not have asked not to work on Sundays. Hence their services were no longer required on those farms. After the meeting, we negotiated for alternative accommodation in the nearby church, but unfortunately our efforts were in vain. The delegation went to a nearby police station to report the matter and to ask for assistance for these poor people. But unfortunately nothing was done (23 April, column 1474).*

e.g. 35. *Who can forget the murder of the poor Mashishi of Naboomspruit, called Mokgopong by the white farmer? Who can easily forget the satanic manner in which Thobile was murdered? I have limited time at my disposal, and there are many incidents which one can refer to. These incidents were not new in the old regime. It was worse before the new government came into power, but at that time nobody cared. To some people, these incidents were normal (column 1475).*

e.g. 36. *I request the Minister to go at some stage, cap in hand, to stop the nonsense that is happening on farms i.e. the shooting and killing of farmworkers, children and their mothers, for petty trespassing onto the inferior farms of lunatic farmers. I request the Minister to go , cap in hand, to the ANC so that they can perhaps consider a stronger sentence for these people who commit these crimes, and not to blame other people for mistakes made by people who cannot think (6 May p.71).*

Repetition of *destruction* (2034 paragraph 4):

e.g. 37. *If he is a real boereseun, I want to challenge the Hon Schalkwyk, when he comes to speak here now, to say to the country as his point of departure: This is the amount of destruction that the NP has caused. Only then can he have the right to criticise [Interjections.] He has no right to criticise without admitting to the destruction caused by his party.*

(continued...): *I say to Mr Ndlovu that the IFP must not provoke us. They come here and criticize us and say many things while back home Dr Zulu's administration is very destructive in that province. He says that temporary teachers must first be fired. [Interjections]... (column 2035).*

e.g. 38. ... so much amnesia (column 2087) is repeated.

e.g. 39. ... *those of them who seem to suffer very conveniently from amnesia* (column 1520) There is a note of sarcasm, marking resistance in the constant repetition of *amnesia*.

e.g. 40. *Maybe Nicholas Steyn, who shot and killed little Angelina Zwane, can be forgiven because he suffers from amnesia* (column 1521).

e.g. 41. *However they should be reminded now and again of their past, especially those of them who seem to suffer very conveniently from amnesia* (column 1520). This is repetition taken from an earlier speech (23 April, column 1416).

e.g. 42. *Everyone speaks with one voice in saying that a huge injection of skills is an urgent requirement if we are to compete successfully on the international stage.* (column 1438, par 2). A medical cure for the 'sickness' in the country is referred to.

These examples illustrate how a high degree of occurrence of positive *self-representation* and a high degree of negative *other-representation* (de Cillia 1999:163) are present in ANC speeches.

The ANC's attempt at nation-building is evident in most of the speeches in this database, however references to the destructive and violent ethos of South African society are equally prominent. Over and above this, ANC politicians at large still seem to subscribe to a mode of resistance which stems from a feeling of having to justify themselves in the eyes of the opposition parties, particularly the previously powerful parties.

5.5 CONCLUSIONS

In summary then, the grammatical features of the English used in parliament by the ANC in the database were discussed in section 5.2. How the characteristics of the oral tradition overlap with the features of modern political rhetoric, as well as complement each other, was discussed in section 5.3. How this culminates in discourses of nation-building, identity formation and transformation, was also alluded to. In 5.4, the historical influences and major resource-bases which impact on the database were analysed. The following chapter gives a detailed synthesis of the overall conclusions drawn in this project.

University of Cape Town

6. CONCLUSIONS

6.1 THE NATURE AND STATUS OF BSAfE REVISITED

The state of English and how this is reflected in this database is discussed in this section. A summary of findings is as follows: firstly, it seems that BSAfE has become a distinct variety of English. Secondly, the treatment of BSAfE in parliament by Hansard is still inconsistent and unsystematic at present. Thirdly, nevertheless BSAfE seems to be on its way of becoming one of several legitimate norms in South Africa. BSAfE is becoming increasingly recognisable as a South African language variety. The assertion that it has a valid discourse system of its own is partly confirmed in this study. The reasons why it has not been recognised as a legitimate variety in the past, has been explained and is summarized here.

The study shows that the stable features of BSAfE have not filtered through totally into practice in parliament. This is probably mainly due to the fact that information on BSAfE has not yet been collated systematically and is not yet readily available other than in bits and pieces in the form of micro case studies. This prevents editors and proof-readers from being able to identify and validate it. In this study it has been explained why BSAfE has not been affirmed in the past. Secondly, it was found that for grammar, Hansard procedures still adhere more or less to old British standards of English. Finally, this study has shown that in the Hansard procedures, metaphor, turn of phrase and idiom reflecting authentic local discourses, are acknowledged. In addition, Hansard staff adhere almost verbatim, as far as possible, to the original form of the oral rendition except that personalization and direct speech is mostly edited out and most of the unrecognised grammatical features of BSAfE are edited out.

The fact that local turn of phrase and idiom are acknowledged and accepted is significant in two ways. Firstly, in the light of an argument in favour of corpus extension in the case of BSAfE, it is encouraging, because it links with the ANC's 11 languages policy which signals a

mission to create some form of linguistic inclusiveness. It is in the conscious process of corpus extension that the linguistic identity of African language speakers of English is confirmed. Secondly, it underlines my argument in favour of corpus expansion for the purposes of the validating the use of cross-cultural strategies as normative procedure. Hybridity and variety in terms of the South African linguistic environment are non-disputable givens which can no longer be pushed aside. As has already been discussed in detail, division of labour is closely related to crosstalk. Crosstalk occurs when contextualization cues are misinterpreted. This occurs when culture-specific knowledge and behaviour is misread. Division of labour in turn is closely related to exposure to particular communicative practices. This is why certain sectors of the population cannot gain access to higher paid jobs because they lack exposure to developing the resources necessary to gain access to those jobs. Duranti (1997:212): 'The economic separation between social groups is both the cause and the outcome of the cultural differences embedded in language use.' This is why certain sectors of the population cannot gain access to higher paid jobs because they lack exposure to developing the resources necessary to gain access to those jobs. As a result of this, I argue for the validation of the discourse and the stabilised grammatical features of BSafE as a priority in the socio-political transformation in South Africa.

The study underlines what Ndebele predicted, that English in South Africa would become a new language with new notions of correctness and a locally-based metaphorical base. The term 'variety' is generally used in sociolinguistics to refer to: 'any system of linguistic expression whose use is governed by situational variables'. What makes one variety different from another is the linguistic items which it includes, so we may define a variety of language as 'a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution' (Hudson, 1980:24). Görlach (1996:154) maintains that in order to define a variety, its degree of independence from English is measured by assessing *abstand*, *ausbau*, attitude and acquisition.

By *abstand* (a term originally used by Kloss 1966) is meant the degree of distance from standard English. He says that if there is a great degree of distance, it might qualify as a language rather than a dialect or variety. BSAfE, though it has no fully stratified corpus as yet, qualifies as a variety rather than a language because it is still understandable and internationally recognisable as English.

Görlach (1996:154), who pinpoints 'ausbau' (i.e. corpus extension) as one of the characteristics of a new variety of English, lists three main criteria by which the degree to which 'ausbau' has taken place, is measured. They are whether a dictionary exists; a consistent recognizable grammar has emerged; and whether it has its own Bible translation. I would argue that a Bible translation is a dubious yardstick for measuring officialization of a new variety due to the underlying cultural bias this implies. However, all three factors warrant some comment.

In terms of its current status, BSAfE has been lent some credibility by the Oxford Dictionary of South African English (1995) which legitimates a lot of Africanisms as part of the post-liberation official SAfE. A comprehensive glossary does however not exist. In comparison, a comprehensive guide to AAVE by (1994) titled 'Black Talk', has recently been marketed world-wide.

By *ausbau* ('corpus extension') Görlach is referring to the question whether it has a grammar, dictionary and a translation of a classic religious work. I would not consider the translation of a New Testament text as a valid criteria due to the fact that it is exclusive on religious grounds and steeped in exclusively Western-based, and 1st World definitions of language as something necessarily written and ideologically, philosophically and traditionally static. A *Dictionary of South African English* includes African derivatives. Furthermore, as demonstrated by numerous examples in this thesis which coincide with features identified in other studies (see Wade 1998 and Chick and Wade 1997).

The third criterion mentioned by Görlach is attitude. This criteria is applied by speakers themselves determining whether slightly divergent forms are characteristic of a new language or greatly divergent forms are dialects or vice versa. My view is that the criteria used to judge such legitimacy of expression has to do with the social status of the user group in which the related overt and covert appropriacy rules are applied.

In terms of acquisition, which is the fourth criteria for classifying something as a variety, 'incomplete language learning by entire groups of speakers can cause the vernacular to drift away from the initially intended aim so that new norms emerge' (Görlach 1996:154). This seems to be the case with BSAfE. The norms of this variety have not been written into an official corpus. Secondly, not enough micro-studies have yet been conducted which enable anyone to generalise substantially over what the body of the corpus is without intruding on its 'natural development'. BSAfE is, among other things, a second language-type acquisition-related variety, in which a great amount of interlingual fossilization has taken place over a number of decades. This is due to political and historical factors already discussed.

Changing editing patterns are uncovered by the description of the editing procedure. The dynamics of inclusion and exclusion of Africanized forms of English in the database 4 are highlighted. Current speech pattern in parliament are viewed and described with particular interest due to the large new intake of previously disenfranchised sector of the population.

6.2 EXPANDED NOTIONS OF 'ACCEPTABILITY' IN HANSARD

The attitude of Hansard, as expressed in the policy documentation referred to earlier in this thesis, confirms a shift towards supporting corpus extension. What the data has shown though is that this has not yet been applied fully in practice. In summary, it has been found that editing is still conservative. Editors tend to even change usage which would be regarded as acceptable modern English. There seem to be editing protocols which adhere to British

standards which are regarded as invincible. American usage is almost exclusively edited out, and therefore not regarded as 'acceptable'. Creative adaptations of BSAfE, due to covertly being couched in the discourse, are overlooked in 50% of cases, and edited out in 50% of cases, which points to inconsistent and arbitrary handling of the local expressions and analogies. The most interesting phenomena occurs where usage is changing the rules. This is where the acceptable, overtly accepted BSAfE characteristics become apparent/ visible. The analysis has revealed that characteristics which according to a variety of recent studies cited in this thesis and commonly identified and accepted by the researcher as well as the general parliamentary ANC discourse community, have not been acknowledged and are still being corrected. Due to these factors, I conclude that the parliamentary linguistic reform set in motion by the ANC government, though radical in policy, has been implemented and applied in a very limited way so far. This limited degree in which linguistic reform has taken place, may have political implications.

What needs to follow from discourse and grammatical micro studies on the features of BSAfE is a range of acceptability studies. These studies need to monitor the acceptability of recorded grammar and rhetorical features which are and are not acceptable to different communities of speakers of the variety. While it seems to be known that a significant high-profile sector of influential middle class and upper-class professionals are using the variety at present, what may be regarded as normative, still needs to be determined. This may be done by the means of projects launched to determine its current status in various social contexts other than high status official ones. On linguistic grounds, the evidence in this study shows what is regarded as acceptable in terms of English in parliament at present. Given the fact that there is an overwhelming majority of 1st generation speakers of English in parliament today, whether future generation parliamentarians will accept current norms, remains to be seen in future.

Examples of normative forms which have stabilised over time and have been confirmed by the other studies cited, are reflected in the data analysis. In recent years a trend has emerged for

sociolinguistic studies which are related to literacy development, social theory and anthropology. Recorded parliamentary speeches and edited drafts are thus ideal material for analysis, because they consist of oral texts, albeit based on a written text, their oral performance format. The data is multi-layered because it consists of audio and visual material in draft as well as published format. Technology in the form of audio-visual resources captures the text 'as is' and thereby captures the speeches as living evidence of a language which exists in its specific form at that historical moment.

To sum up then, I would say that the variability and unpredictability of variations of BSAfE in parliament will decrease over the next few years, because what is used there is already a conventionalised, institutionalized version of BSAfE and includes the majority of speakers. What happens though is that in writing, the BSAfE when sifted in the Hansard process, gets clinicized and standardised towards historically correct versions of British conservative English. With the ANC having finally come into power after the June elections in 1999, an even stronger constituency of African language speakers are taking up their positions of authority as trend-setters, politically and linguistically, in parliament, in the corporate and public sectors and on a national basis. This goes hand in hand with the long-awaited implementation of various acts such as the Labour Relations Act and the Employment Equity Act. Economic changes bring with them changes in communicative practice. However, the long-term effect of the most recent change of government cannot be predicted. So, regarding the status of BSAfE: 'The attitude towards BSAE of both South Africans and other speaker of English will need careful investigation before any serious claims can be made about changes in the status of BSAE (de Klerk 1999:319).' This kind of investigation will also indicate whether restandardization is called for.

I agree with Görlach (1996:159) that 'a survey of utterances of questionable English-ness is not complete without a reference to certain linguistic experiments in literary writings'. As has already been mentioned, generalisations made about a legitimate corpus, need confirmation of

the general existence of such features in particularly creative, media and literary contexts. Of these contexts probably the most important to cross-check with is literature, due to the relative fixedness of literature in relation to media texts. There is a substantial body of newly published polydialectic post-apartheid literary works which may be examined for this purpose. A detailed discussion of this kind of comparison does however not fall within the scope of this thesis, but may be followed up by tracing policy in publishing initiatives such as Buchu Books and Kwela Books. Decisions about the "language-ness" of varieties may be more political and ideological than linguistic, as with AAVE in America (Görlach 1996:167). I think this is the case with BSAfE in parliament and in South Africa at present. Ideological and political factors are fast overruling previously accepted English norms and the historically existing stigmas attached to BSAfE usage, because it is a majority usage and seems to have more consistencies than variations. The analysis part of this project has illustrated this to some degree.

In terms of World Englishes, BSAfE is recognizable as an institutionalized variety, while AAVE in the United States is too, but is still largely regarded as the dialect of a minority. BSAfE is an institutional variety, recognized unanimously as national lingua franca, by a newly 'voiced' influential majority. South Africa is a cross-cultural political nation where English is regarded as primary lingua franca. South Africans, while they may have very little else in common, are all striving to become users of English. While the English used differs greatly from one discourse community to another, a positive emotive disposition to English has provided alternative positions from which to view cultural and ideological polarisation.

BSAfE has not yet been in the position to be addressed as a recognized variety because, firstly, it has only been used in law, parliament etc. minimally in an unrecognized way since 1983 and officially condoned only in 1996 (see Ginwala 1996). Secondly, BSAfE has always been a non-issue because the 'voices' attached to Southern African varieties were powerless and disenfranchised. They have come into power by being infused into dominant, historically entrenched modes of discourse, subverting that discourse, appropriating it to new ends in

terms of an agenda which intends to represent a more inclusive, democratic notion of governance than that which existed previously.

The intellectual and conceptual distance between conscious intentionality (Parakrama 1995:73) versus unconscious discourse usage and subscription to 'habitus' is great. This has been illustrate in this project. Parliamentary policy on the one hand and actual practice in Hansard on the other presents a fairly wide gap. The gate-keeping function of 'acceptable' English in South Africa has changed hands. Firstly, outsiders, traditionally non-native speakers, are now the insiders. Secondly, they are not consciously changing notions of acceptability. Gatekeepers in parliament (as may be seen by reading the summary of Hansard editorial practices where the attitudes and beliefs of gatekeepers manifest themselves) already have accepted that native speakers of BSAfE in parliament are not trying to copy their SAfE speakers' Nationalist forerunners commonly accepted use of English, but have successfully appropriated the gatekeeping position by asserting their own, well-stratified system of English. Hansard editing tends to adhere to entrenched normative forms of English, in specifically in terms of grammar and often does not reflect BSAfE as is was spoken. On the other hand, Hansard editors are good at reflecting almost verbatim, the idiom, turn of phrase, metaphor and more contextually defining components such as exclamations, interjections etc.

The results of this study provide pointers towards possible inclusion in and definition of a future 'corpus' of BSAfE or a new SAfE standard. In Chapter 5 a breakdown of what was found to be prototypical in terms of BSAfE in the database was pinpointed. This culminates in pointers towards possible inclusion in and definition of a future 'corpus' of a new prototypical SAfE. It also explains what was found to be acceptable by Hansard in terms of 'English-ness' which indicates in what way notions of 'acceptability' have in fact been expanded. The database also has revealed what is prototypically South African about the English in terms of metaphorical resource-bases and frames of reference.

6.3 LINGUISTIC HYBRIDITY AND A NEW SOUTH AFRICAN IDENTITY

Due to the evidence provided one may conclude that BSAfE is well on its way to becoming a new variety. This process needs to be supported by a corpus compilation of all existing and ongoing micro-studies in a variety of social contexts.

The discourse practices analysed in this project create the impression that an attempt is being made by the ANC constituency to create an umbrella of sameness for a hybrid population by engaging in a form of myth-making in order to appeal to inclusiveness. This diametrically opposes the entrenched universal perception of hybridity as degenerate, uncivilized, unsophisticated, culturally and morally inferior. If one assumes that the National Party used to subscribe to this negative perception of ethnically mixed peoples, one appreciates the urgency and passion with which the ANC, hoping to gain and maintain stable voter support, is engaged in a particular form of nation-building which is necessarily propagandistic. Rather than seeing the hybridization of South African English as a counter-text to global technological advancement and power, English needs to be seen as one African language among many which can be put to use in a variety of ways and will take on many different forms. This would then give it a place within the intra-national context while in no way prejudicing or preventing speakers of the variety in any way from gaining simultaneous access to 'international English', the prototypical corpus of which has become available on the internet.

While at this stage in the linguistic liberation history of South Africa it is impossible to present parliamentarians and Hansard staff an item by item lists of 'acceptable' expressions, turn of phrase and grammatical patterning true to Black South African English, heightened sensitivity to the underlying source-historical and motivational factors regarding the use of this variety though, is needed. At the same time a self-conscious look at language as living craft and creative art would facilitate crossing fundamental rifts in understanding and facilitating change management in South Africa at governmental level. This may be influential in other spheres

such as education, health practices and legal practices. Each context however requires its own flexible normativity measures.

This project has tried to demonstrate how emotive and political transitions manifest themselves in language. An old order is challenged and a new one is coming into being. Old boundaries, physical and metaphorical, are challenged. In this case, currently in South Africa, due to the trend to Africanise South African society, commonalities are deliberately being created in terms of language usage. This links with the African Renaissance movements agenda, with economic globalization trends in South Africa. In both these, the role of English is indisputable.

Also, this case study has tried to demonstrate by means of a case study how notions of acceptability in terms of English are questioned and expanded and how this transfers into policy and consequent implementation. Some features of English which can be said to be uniquely South African have been highlighted. In attempting to situate the findings within the context in which these utterances occur, one may say that the current South African political environment of transformation is decidedly post-modern:

Its postmodern hallmarks include: the superabundance of whimsical hybridity and globalised pastiche (the stagy pastiche of colonial and anti-colonial with television apocalyptic in the uniforms of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging); the playful juxtaposition of grotesque incongruities; the radical fragmentation of subjectivity; the social field as a heterogeneous, partially connected ensemble; the plurality, contingency and indeterminacy of social boundaries; the constant innovation; the collapse of an authoritarian bureaucratic master plan with the end of a master narrative for the total order of a modern nation-state (Werbner in Werbner and Ranger 1996:11).

In this post-modern context communicative moments create alternative perceptions:

...the study of oral literature has the peculiar advantage of being able to start from the particularities of the communicative moment - the process of creativity, performance and retention - while focusing upon the textual elements most directly connected with the communicative process - its purpose as a speech act, the characterisation of its topic and the ideological framework within which the topic is embedded. The speech act and the text itself are in constant interaction with the culturally specific genre expectations that surround them.The dynamics of cultural production, and an understanding of how such matters operate in different contexts, lie at the heart of understanding how shared perceptions are created and spread, how alternative perceptions are forged and propagated, how fashions rise and fall. These lie at the heart of power relations between people, the power to renew, reverse, revise and retain perceptions and understandings that underpin relations between individual, generations, genders, groups and classes. Consent is all, consent to a new vision, consent to a revision. The ideological process of creating a new characterisation "enveloped in the music of the intonational-evaluative context in which it is understood and evaluated" (Bakhtin 1986:166) is always absorbing, absorbing to watch as we all do, and absorbing to undertake, as some of us do, for good or ill. (Furniss 1998: 8)

South Africa cannot yet be said to be postcolonial as all current discourse are rooted in and linked to the colonial era and old systems are still in place. However, new trends in terms of language usage are made more visible in this project. My argument in this regard is actively in favour of hybridity and support for a diversity of dialects in the official sphere and for public use. There is already tacit support for this diversity especially on radio:

The stigma associated with the use of BSAE does not seem as strong as it was in the past, and another sign of increasing confidence in its value is the fact that a recently launched regional radio program (YFM) almost exclusively for the use of BSAE speakers registered a weekly listenership of 611,000 in two months (de Klerk 1999:317).

This is also reiterated by Ntlhakana (2000:15):

In apartheid South Africa, the contexts in which whites, coloureds and Indians would be exposed to BSAE were relatively few (perhaps in communication with one's domestic staff, over a shop counter, and so on), but in present-day South Africa, the contexts are vast (with co-workers, co-students, in parliament, in political broadcasts, and so on). Therefore, increased exposure to the variety has resulted in increased levels of intelligibility by other racial groups .

In conclusion, this research is meant to be used as a sample description of the state of the English language and attitudes towards it at a given point in history. Assuming that such studies are done at different times, this data may be useful in comparison to similar data collected in the future and in the past. The linguistic description and analysis in this study is useful in that it highlights socio-historical and African linguistic influences on English at a time of significant political transformation.

The subjects of this study, ANC party parliamentarians, (Hansard staff, transcribers, proof-readers and editors) as everyone does, belong to a variety of linguistic discourse communities, which disallows generalizations of conclusions drawn from this data to the speakers actions in other situations, at other times in the same context and circumstances.

I reiterate, expanding boundaries are necessary and describable while a new social order is coming into being. Crystallization will follow as it is an identification process which always does manifest itself and is marked linguistically. A policy of editing needs not only to embrace linguistic features of BSAE but also, and more importantly, to heighten the transcriber's sensitivity to it and recognise and support its scope and boundaries.

The short term and long term consequences of the 'relaxed boundaries' policy in parliament can only be positive. Initially a wide spectrum of variability will be expected and accepted. Crystallisation of a certain number of 'acceptable' forms as the norms will take place. This will

be the consequences of research and corpus compilation which results in recognition and is followed by official acceptance and status.

The influence of the African languages is visibly and audibly influential in the parliamentary contexts. The description of parliamentary language change in this thesis expands the discussion on correctness, accuracy, style and acceptability. In addition the study has raised a variety of issues and perspectives to consider when attempting to 'describe' rather than prescribe, though the distinction between description and prescription are often arbitrary. The question which lights the way to further research is what is the cut off criterion of acceptability going to be at each stage in future.

University of Cape Town

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bakhtin, M. 1986 *Speech Genres and other Late Essays*. (V.W. McGee, Trans.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
- Bakhtin, M. 1981 *The Dialogic Imagination: 4 Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*. Ed. by Michael Holquist. Austin: Austin University Press
- Barnes, L. 1969 *African Renaissance*. London: Victor Gollancz
- Baugh, J. 2000 *Beyond Ebonics*. New York: Oxford
- Bauman, R. and Sherzer, J.(ed) 1989 'Preface and Introduction' in *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge
- Berendt, E.A.J. (1997:407) 'Preparatory, phatic and clarification phases in conversational strategies'. *World Englishes* 16:3, pp. 407-416
- Bernstein, B. 1971 *Class, Codes and Control 1: Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul
- Bhatia, V.K. 1997 'Genre Analysis and World Englishes'. *World Englishes* 16:3, pp. 359-372
- Biber, D. 1988 *Variation across Speech and Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Bokamba, E.B. 1983 'The Africanization of English' in *The Other Tongue*. Oxford: Pergamon, pp. 77-98
- Bourdieu, P.1991 *Language and Symbolic Power*. Oxford: Polity Press
- Bourdieu, P.1994 *Academic Discourse: linguistic misunderstandings and professional power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Brutt-Griffler, J. 1998 'Conceptual questions in English as a world language: Taking up an issue'. *World Englishes* 17: 3, pp. 381-392
- Calteaux, K. 1996 *Standard and non-standard African language varieties in the urban areas of South Africa*. Main report for the Stanton Research Programme. Pretoria: HSRC
- Cameron D. (et al) 1992 *Researching Language - Issues of Power and Method*. London: Routledge

- Cameron, D. 1995 *Verbal Hygiene*. London and New York: Routledge
- Chilton, P.A. 1994 'Politics and Language' *The Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics* (Asher, R.E. ed.) Oxford: Pergamon pp. 3214-3221
- Chick, J. K. and Wade, R. 1997 'Restandardization in the direction of a new English: Implications for access and equity.' *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 18.4 pp.271-284
- Corson, D. 1997 Critical realism: An emancipatory philosophy for applied linguistics? *Applied Linguistics* 18:2, pp.166-188
- Coupland, N., Nussbaum, J.F. and Grossmann, A. 1993 'Introduction: Discourse, Selfhood and the Lifespan' in *Discourse and Lifespan Identity*. Sage: London
- Coupland N. and Jaworski, A. 1997 *Sociolinguistics - a Reader and Coursebook*. New York: St Martin's Press Inc.
- Couzens, T. 1975 'Early South African Black Writing'. King and Ogungbesan (eds) *A Celebration of Black and African Writing*. Oxford: OUP
- Couzens, T. 1984 'Widening Horizons of African Literature, 1870-1900'. *Literature and Society in South Africa*. White, L. and Couzens, T. (eds). Cape Town: Maskew Miller
- Dalby, D. 1985. *The Life and Vitality of African Languages: a Charter for the Future*. Meteen-Kalema-Chomba (eds) pp. 29-34
- Davidson, B. 1955 *The African Awakening*. London: Cape
- De Cillia, R., Reisigl, M. and Wodak, R. (1999) 'The discursive construction of national identities'. *Discourse & Society* 10:2, pp.149-174
- De Klerk, V. ed. 1996 *Focus on South Africa* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- De Klerk, V. 1999 'Black South African English: Where to from here?' *World Englishes* 18:3, pp. 311-324
- Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology 1997 *A language plan for South Africa- Preparing for a multilingual future* 1st draft, August
- Diawara, M. 1996 'To Toni Cade Bambrara'. *Black Renaissance/Renaissance Noir* 1 (1) Fall
- Draft White Paper on Language Policy 1997

Dudley-Evans, T 1997 'Genre: how far can we, should we go?' *World Englishes* 16:3, pp.351-

358

Duranti, A. 1997 *Linguistic Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Fairclough, N. 1989 *Language and Power*. London: Longman

Fairclough, N. 1992 *Discourse and Social Change* Cambridge: Polity Press

Finnegan, R. 1976 *Oral Literature in Africa*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press

Finnegan, R. 1992 'Reflecting back on 'Oral literature in Africa': Some reconsiderations after 21 years.' *South African Journal of African Languages* 12(2)

Furniss, G. 1998 'Language, truth and rhetoric in the constitution of orality.' Paper presented at Oral Literature Conference, UCT

Gal, S. 1989 'Language and Political Economy'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18:345-367

Geary, J. 1997 'Sowing the Seeds of Speech'. *Time* July 7.

Giddens, A. 1991 *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*.

Cambridge: Polity Press (in association with Blackwell). pp.433-451

Ginwala, F.1996 'Launch of the Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles.' Speech by the Speaker of the National Assembly: Transforming the language of parliament

Goffman, E. 1981 *Forms of Talk*. Oxford: Blackwell

Görlach, M. 1994 'Innovation in New Englishes'. *English World-Wide* 15:1 pp101-126

Görlach, M. 1996 'And is it English?'. *English World-Wide* 17:2, pp 153-174

Greenbaum, S. and Nelson, G. 1996 'The International Corpus of English (ICE) Project'. *World Englishes* 15:1, pp. 3-15

Groenewald, H.C. and Makopo, S (1991) 'The political song: tradition and innovation for liberation' in *Tradition and Innovation - New Wine in Old Bottles?* (eds.) Sienart, E., Bell, N., Lewis, M. Durban: University of Natal Oral Documentation and Research Centre

Gumperz, J.J. 1989 *Discourse Strategies- Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics*. New York: Cambridge University Press

- Gunner, L. 1999 'Remaking the Warrior? - The Role of Orality in the Liberation Struggle and in Post-Apartheid South Africa.' In *Oral Literature and Performance in Southern Africa*. Brown, D. (ed.). Oxford: James Curry, pp. 50-60
- Hall, S. (1996) 'Politics of Identity', Ranger, T. Samad, Y. and Stuart, O. eds. *Culture, Identity and Politics: Ethnic minorities in Britain*. Aldershot: Avebury
- Hansard Uniformity Guide* 1998 - Guidelines for Editors (Hansard internal publication)
- Heine, B. 1992 'Language policies in Africa' In *Language and Society in Africa. The theory and practice of Sociolinguistics*, R.K. Herbert (ed.) Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press. pp.23-35
- Herbert, R. 1994 *Not with One Mouth. Continuity and Change in Southern African Language Studies*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press
- Hodgson, J. 1981 *The Great Hymn of the Xhosa Prophet, Ntsikana. An African Expression of Christianity, 1815-1821* Department of Religious Studies, UCT, 1981
- Hymes, D. 1989 'Ways of Speaking'. *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*. Bauman, R. and Sherzer, J.(ed) Cambridge University Press: Cambridge
- Hymes, D. 1974 *Foundations in sociolinguistics: an ethnographic approach*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Iedema, R. and Wodak, R. (1999) 'Introduction: organizational discourses and practices'. *Discourse and Society* 10:2, pp. 5-19, London: Sage
- Interparliamentary Union 1986, 'Table 18: Official Languages of Parliament' in: *Parliaments of the World*. England:Gower Publishing Company Ltd.
- Jensen, S. 1999 Discourses of violence: Coping with Violence on the Cape Flats. *Social Dynamics* 25:2 (1999): 75-97
- Johnson, D 1992 *Approaches to Research in Second Language Learning*. New York and London: Longman
- Kachru, B. 1992 *The Other Tongue: English across cultures* (2nd ed.). Urbana Illinois: Univeristy of Illinois Press
- Kachru, Y. 1997 'Cultural meaning and contrastive rhetoric in English education'. *World Englishes* 16:3, November

- Kachru, B.B. 1983 'Models of Non-Native Englishes'. *The Other Tongue*. Oxford: Pergamon Press
- Kamwangamalu, N.M.1992 'Mixers' and 'mixing: English across cultures'. *World Englishes* 11: 2/3, pp.173-181
- Kandiah, T. 1995 'Centering the Periphery of English: Towards Participatory Communities of Discourse' in Parakrama, *A Dehegemonizing of Language Standards- Learning from (Post)Colonial Englishes about 'English'*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Kantey, M. 1990 Forward: publishing in South Africa. *Africa Bibliography*. 1989 Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp.vi-xx
- Kaschula, R.H. 1991 *The transitional role of the Xhosa oral poet in contemporary South African Society*. Doctoral Thesis, Department of African Languages, Rhodes University
- Kaschula, R.H. 1995 'Preachers and poets: oral poetry within the religious cosmology of the Xhosa'. *South African Journal of African Languages* 15(2)
- Kaschula, R.H. 1997 'Exploring the Oral-Written Interface with Particular Reference to Xhosa Oral Poetry'. *Research in African Literatures, Special Issue The Oral -Written Interface*, Ricard, A and Swanepoel C.F. (guest eds.)
- Kaschula, R.H. 1999 'South Africa's language policy in relation to the OAU's language plan of action for Africa.' *International Journal of the Sociology of Language: Post-Apartheid South Africa. Issue 136*.
- Kloss, H. 1978 *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen seit 1800*. Düsseldorf: Schwann
- Lanham, L.W. 1982 'English in South Africa' in *English as a World Language* ed. R.W. Bailey and Manfred Görlach. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 324-352
- Lanham, L.W. 1976 'English as a second language in Southern Africa since 1820.' *English-speaking South Africa today*. Proceedings of the national conference, July 1974. Ed. A. de Villiers. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, pp.279-296
- Lass, R. 1995 'South African English' In Mesthrie, R. (ed.) *Language and Social History*. Cape Town: David Philip, pp. 89-106

- Lewis, D. 1999 *Writing Hybrid selves: Richard Rive and Zoe Wicomb*, unpublished seminar paper, presented to English dept. UWC, June
- Lidderdale, Sir, D. K.C.B. (1976) *Erskine May's Treatise on The Law, privileges, proceedings and usage of parliament*, 19th ed. London: Butterworths
- Luckett K.M. and Chick, J.K. 1998 'Linguistics description in the service of history' in *South African Journal of Linguistics* 16 (3), pp. 81-95
- Machet, M.P. 1993 'Publishing and bookselling in South Africa with specific reference to the black market' in *South African Journal of Library and Information Science* 61(4) pp.166-176
- Magura, B.J. 1984 *Style and meaning in African English: a sociolinguistic analysis of South African and Zimbabwean English*. (unpublished dissertation) University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- Makgamatha, P.M. 1991 'Cultural values and strategies in the Northern Sotho prose narrative: from oral to written' in Sienaert et al.(eds.) *Tradition and Innovation - New Wine in Old Bottles?* Durban: University of Natal Oral Documentation and Research Centre
- Makoni, S. 1997 'Linguistic Imperialism: Old Wine in New Bottles'. *Saala Communiqué* June pp. 13-15
- Makhubela, L. 1997 'Knowledge on Short Rations: Apartheid and the Library and Information Service', Seminar paper presented at the CASAS Conference October at Bellville.
- Maloka, E. 1999 'There's nothing new about Africa's aspirations' in the Crossfire feature, *Mail&Guardian*, November 12-18, p.30
- Marais, H. 1998 *South Africa; Limits to Change: the Political Economy of Transformation*. Rondebosch: UCT Press
- Mauranen, A. 1993 *Cultural differences in academic rhetoric*. Frankfurt am Main; Peter Lang.
- Mbeki, M. 1977 'The African Renaissance: Myth or Reality' Address to the South African Institute of International Affairs , Jan Smuts House, Johannesburg. 21 October

- Mbigi, L. 2000 'Making the African Renaissance Globally Competitive.' *People Dynamics* Nov/Dec
- Merkestein, A. 1998 'Deculturizing Englishes: the Botswana Context'. *World Englishes* 17:2, pp. 171-185.
- Mesthrie, R. ed. 1995 *Language and Social History - Studies in South African Sociolinguistics* Cape Town: David Philip
- Mesthrie, R. et al 2000 *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Moag, R.F. 1983 'The Life Cycle of Non-Native Englishes: A Case Study' In: *The Other Tongue*. Oxford: Pergamon
- Modiano, M. 1999 'Standard English(es) and educational practices for the world's lingua franca'. *English Today* 60:15 No.4
- Morson, G.S. and Emerson, C. 1990 *Mikhail Bakhtin: Creation of a prosaic*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press
- Mufwene, S. et al. 1998 *African-American English: Structure, history and use*. London: Routledge
- Mumby, D. 1988 *Communication and Power in Organizations: Discourse, Ideology and Domination*. Norwood, New York: Ablex
- Mzamane, M.V. 1984 'The Uses of Traditional Oral Forms in Black South African Literature'. *Literature and Society in South Africa*. White, L. and Couzens, T. (eds.) Johannesburg: Raven.
- NCOP National Assembly debate 1998 'Status of Official Languages in Parliament - 12 March and: Hansard transcript and video cassette of the same
- Ndebele, N. 1987 'The English Language and Social Change in South Africa.' *English Academy Review* 4:1
- Ndebele, N. 1997 'The debate on Eurocentricism risks degenerating into name-calling', *Sunday Independent* (Johannesburg), 28 September

- NEPI. Library and Information Services Research Group. 1992. *Library and Information Services: report of the NEPI Library and Information Services Research Group, a project of the National Education Co-ordination Committee*. Cape Town: OUP
- Neustupny, J.V. 1993 'History of language planning: retrospect and future prospects.' Keynote address to the tenth AILA World Congress, Amsterdam, 13 August
- Ntlhakana, P. 2000 'People's English'. *English Today* 62, 16:2, April
- Omotoso, B. 1998 'The New Pan-Africanism - A voyage of rediscovery' *Leadership Magazine*
- Ong (1982) *Orality and Literacy: the technologizing of the word*. Methuen: London
- Ongstad, S. 1992 'The definition of genre and the didactics of genre.' Paper presented at the *Rethinking Genre Seminar*. Ottawa, April.
- Opland, J. 1983 *Xhosa Oral Poetry*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Oxford University Press advertising pamphlet 1995 'A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles'. Cape Town: OUP
- Parakrama, A. 1995 *De-hegemonizing Language Standards - Learning from Post-Colonial Englishes about English*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Patel, E. 1995 *The World of Nat Nakasa*. Randburg, JHB: Raven Press
- Patton, M.Q. 1990 *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods* 2nd ed. Sage Publications: London
- Peile, F. 1989 The beginnings of black writing in English. Unpublished Honours Research Paper, English Department, University of Cape Town.
- Pennycook, A. 1990 'Towards a critical applied linguistics for the 90's'. *Issues in Applied Linguistics* 1: 8-28
- Perry, T. and Delpit, L. (eds.) 1998 *The real Ebonics Debate: Power, language, and the education of African-American children*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Phillipson, R. 1992 *Linguistic Imperialism* Oxford: Oxford University Press
- PRAESA Conference Proceedings 1996 PRAESA, University of Cape Town
- Rampton, B. 1995 *Crossing - Language and Ethnicity Among Adolescents*. London: Longman
- Rampton, B. 1999 'Styling the Other: Introduction'. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 3:4, pp. 421-427

- Rickards, M. 1995 'Encoding of Ideology in Linguistic Features of Parliamentary Discourse: A Critical Language Analysis'. English 3rd dissertation, UCT, English Department
- Ridge, S. 1999 'Mixed motives: Ideological elements in the support for English in South Africa' forthcoming in *Ideology, politics and language policies: Focus on English*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins
- Schiffrin, D. 1994 *Approaches to Discourse*. Blackwell: Oxford
- Schmied, J. 1990 'Corpus linguistics and non-native varieties of English'. *World Englishes* 9:3, pp 255-268.
- Schmied, J. 1996 'Analysing the style of East African newspapers in English'. *World Englishes* 5:1, pp 3-15
- Shava, P. 1989 'A People's Voice'. *Black South African Writing in the Twentieth Century*. London: Zed.
- Shotter, J. 1993 'Becoming someone: Identity and Belonging' In Coupland, N. and Nussbaum, J. F. (eds.) *Discourse and Lifespan Identity*. Sage: London
- Silva, P. (ed.) 1996 *Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles* Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Silverstein, M. 1998 Contemporary Transformations of Local Linguistic Communities. *Annual Review of Anthropology* pp. 401-426
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. and Phillipson, R. eds.(1994) *Linguistic Human Rights - Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter
- Smit, U. 1996 *A New English for a New South Africa*. Vienna: University of Vienna
- Smitherman, G. (1994) *Black Talk*. Boston:Houghton Mifflin
- Snow, D. 1993 'A Short History of Published Cantonese: What is a Dialect Literature?' *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 4:3, pp. 127-148
- Sobel, D. 1998, *Longitude*, London: Fourth Estate
- South African Survey 1997/8, published by the South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1998

- Steadman, I. 1984 'Alternative Theatre: fifty years of performance in Johannesburg. *Literature and Society in South Africa*. White, L. and Couzens, T. (eds). Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman
- Swales, J. 1997 'English as Tyrannosaurus Rex'. *World Englishes* 16:3
- Switzer, L. & Switzer, D. 1979. *The Black Press in South Africa and Lesotho*. Boston, Mass: G.K. Hall
- Task team on Plain Language 1999 Terms of Reference of the Team of Plain Language Experts. 7 September 1999, distributed by Lindy Briginshaw
- Tsedu, M. 1998: 32 'First step towards revival' in *Enterprise*, November
- Turner, N. 1991 'Contemporary Zulu isihasho: a satirical attempt at social control'. *Tradition and Innovation - New Wine in Old Bottles?* Siener, E, Bell, N. and Lewis, M. (eds.). Durban: University of Natal Oral Documentation and Research Centre
- Vale, P. and Maseko, P. 1998 'South Africa and the African Renaissance'. *International Affairs* 74:2 pp. 271-287. Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.
- Vail, L and White, L. 1991 *Poetry and the Praise Poem-Southern African Voices in History* James Curry: London and University Press of Virginia:Charlottesville
- Vesely, R 1998 'Multilingual Environments for survival: The impact of English on Grade 10 Xhosa-speaking students in Cape Town.' Paper presented at PRAESA discussion forum at UCT, 16 October
- Wade, R. 1998 Arguments for Black South African English as a distinct 'new' variety. <http://www.und.ac.za/und/ling/archive/wade-03.html>
- Wardhaugh, R (1990) *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Blackwell: Oxford
- Werbner, R. (1996) 'Introduction: Multiple identities, plural areans'. *Postcolonial Identities in Africa*. Werbner, R and Ranger, T. (eds.) London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd). p.125
- Widdowson, H.G. 1998 'EIL: Squaring the circles. A reply'. *World Englishes* 17:3, pp.397-401

- Widdowson, H.G. 1997 'EIL, ESL and EFL: global issues and local interests.' *World Englishes* 16:1, pp.135-146
- Wise, P. 1996c 'English in South Africa' notes towards a speech by the Speaker of the National Assembly' 5 September
- Wise, P. 1996b Memorandum addressed to Nazeem Mahatey. Subject: '*Hansard's approach to reporting English*' 5 September.
- Wise, P. 1998 Memorandum addressed to the Secretary of parliament, *Resources, Structure and Cost of Translation and Interpreting Services*
- Wise, P. 1996a Memorandum addressed to the Speaker (30 August). Subject: Report: *South African English in Hansard*
- Wodak, R. and Menz, F. (eds.) 1990 *Sprache in der Politik - Politik in der Sprache. Analysen zum öffentlichen Sprachgebrauch*. Klagenfurt: Drava
- Wolfram W. and Fasold R.W. 1997 'Field Methods in the Study of Social Dialects'. *Sociolinguistics: a reader and coursebook*. New York: St Martin's Press Inc.
- Wright, L. 2000 From Planning to Practice: Implementation challenges for South Africa's proposed Language Policy and Plan. SAALA (*Southern African Applied Linguistics Association*) *Conference Proceedings*, Volume 2. ed. by A. Weideman, University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, SA
- Yin K. Robert (1994) *Case Study Research Design and Method* 2nd ed. Applied Social Research Methods Series Vol. 5. London: Sage Publications
- Yunick, S. 1997 'Genres, registers and sociolinguistics'. *World Englishes* 16:3. pp. 321-336

University of Cape Town

Appendices:

Appendix A: A graphic representation of Fairclough's approach as adapted by Lockett and Chick.

Appendix B: Sample extracts from original Hansard transcripts of debates of the National Assembly, 24 April 1998
p63-67 and p81-83

Appendix C: Sample extracts from Government Publication, debates of the National Assembly, 24 April 1998
column nr 1517-1528

Appendix D: Sample analysis of the Hansard transcripts of the debates of the National Assembly.
This sample: 24 April 1998 (Table 3.2, pp.4+5 of the analysis document)

Appendix E: Sample analysis of Debates of the National Assembly, Government Publications
This sample: 24 April 1998 (table 4.2, pp.10-12 of the analysis document)

Appendix A: A graphic representation of Fairclough's approach as adapted by Lockett and Chick.

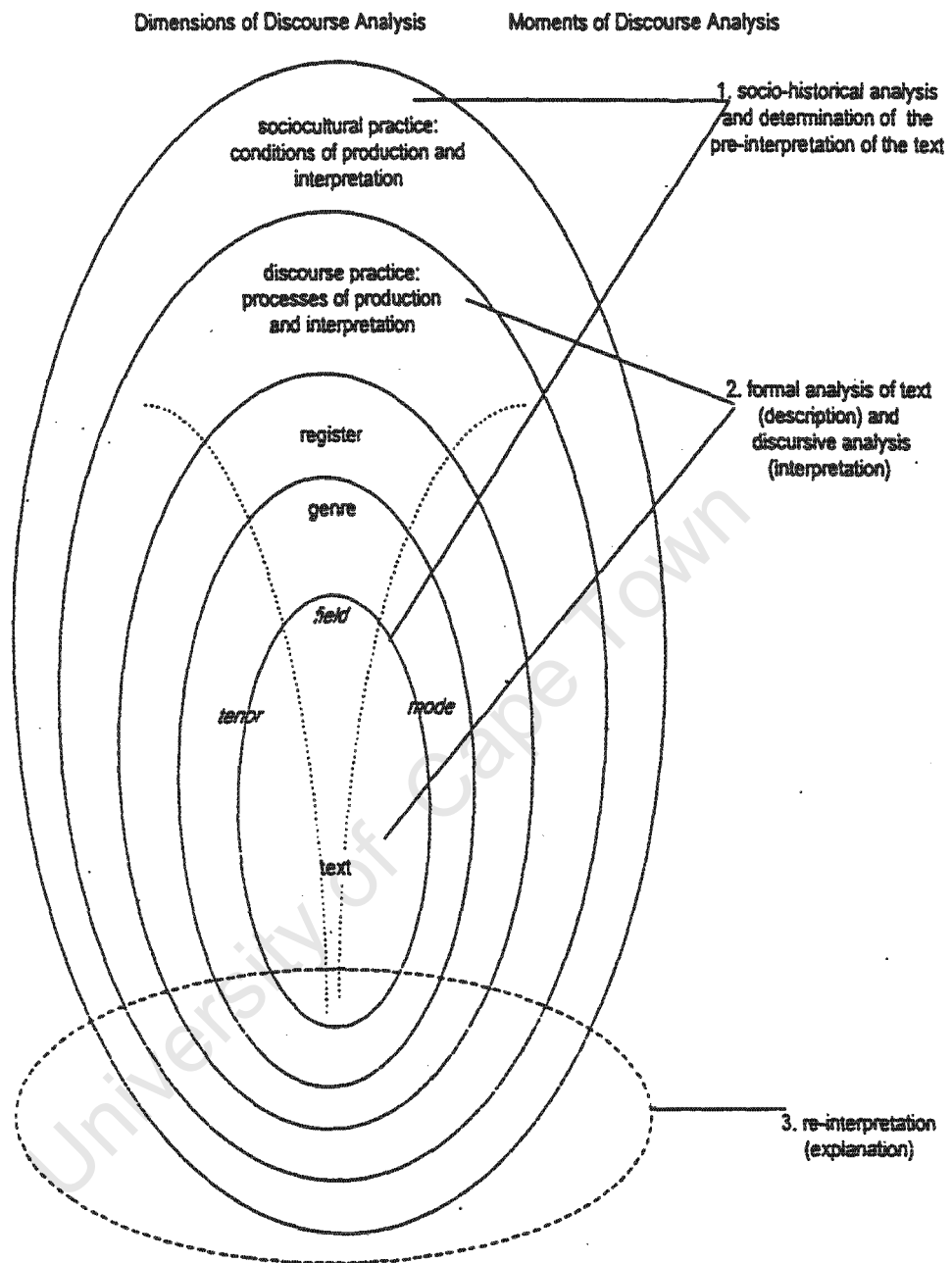


Figure 1 Diagram illustrating the method of Critical Discourse Analysis

UNREVISED COPY-----ONHERSIENE AFBKRIF

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
NASIONALE VERGADERING

Copies: MEMBER : TRANSLATORS : FILE : DATA : PRESS

24 APR 1998

TAPE: 256

DISK: 139

TAKE: R.2

to criticise this Government. How many hect^{ares} of land did they give back to the people? Where was ^{their} ~~your~~ commitment to the landless? What did ^{they} ~~you~~ do about land redistribution? I know, of course, they will not give this House a reply, because there is ^{only} one answer. Under the NP government, ^{of} not a single hect^{are} of land was given back to the people. [Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: Order!

Mr P MATHEBE: Mr Maree has to keep ^{guards} because he is the architect of apartheid. He is the person who denied our people the right to vote. He is the person who made me live in a shack.

[Interjections.] He made our people live in misery, and they are still continuing to do so. We are trying to correct the wrongs that ~~have~~ ^{were} been created by him and his government.

Mr J W MAREE: Keep your promises. You cannot keep your promises.

Mr P MATHEBE: I know these people are deliberately trying to steal my time, and they will not have a way of paying it back. I would rather ignore them. ^[Interjections.] As for the DP, because they are not here, ^{to them} ~~I should think~~ they do not even bother to take part in this debate. That is typical of them. They are only interested

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
NASIONALE VERGADERING

Copies: MEMBER : TRANSLATORS : FILE : DATA : PRESS

=====

24 APR 1998 TAPE: 256 DISK: 139 TAKE: R.3

in representing the privileged minority, not the millions of our citizens who live on ^{the} land. Shame on them. At least the public knows that the ANC is committed to redistribution and this is just the beginning.

Now, coming back to the pace of the redistribution programme, this programme has increased ^{to} dramatically over the past year. The most important part of this process is when the land is designated. This means that the beneficiaries have formed a legal body to hold the land, they have identified the land they want, they have successfully negotiated a reasonable price with the owner for the land, they have a business plan for development on that land and the Minister will release the funds for them to buy that land.

I am happy to inform the House that during the period from 1994 to 1996 a total of 65 projects were designated. By the end of March this year, a total of 279 projects ^{had been} designated, and between 1994 and 1995 a total of 66 000 people received land under this programme. This year, that figure will rise to a quarter of a million. I am proud to stand before this House and state that we have achieved more in redistribution in the ^{past} year than ~~there was~~ ^{over} in the ^{period} last three years. That is good news

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

NASIONALE VERGADERING

Copies: MEMBER : TRANSLATORS : FILE : DATA : PRESS

-24 APR 1998 TAPE: 256 DISK: 139 TAKE: R.4

for rural communities across South Africa. That is delivery. This Government is delivering on its promises, unlike the NP government.

I am sure that over the next few years the pace of redistribution will increase, and that millions of our people will benefit as a result. We can be proud of our record on land redistribution, but of course much still needs to be done. Those who have already benefited from this programme can be asked ~~about~~ whether or not this process has been worthwhile. ~~and~~ only one answer will be received, which is a definite yes.

[Applause.]

Mr B N LUTHULI, ~~Ngizabonga Senlomo~~ . . .

MR.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
NASIONALE VERGADERING

Copies: MEMBER : TRANSLATORS : FILE : DATA : PRESS

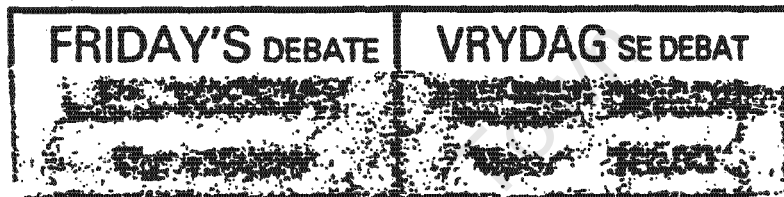
24 APR 1998

TAPE: 257

DISK: 140

TAKE: 8.3

Mr B N LUTHULI



Mrs N J BAM: Madam Speaker, hon members of the House, ladies and gentlemen, land reform is not about infringing upon certain individuals' property rights. It is not about oppressive land laws which characterised the ~~previous~~ regime of the NP and which admittedly ensured the advancement of the white minority.

Land reform is about restoring human dignity. What dignity is there for any person when ^{he or she is} thrown off a farm simply because ^{he or she is} ~~they~~ ~~are~~ too old to work? Was there any human dignity shown towards our people during South Africa's nightmare years of apartheid?

This Government's land reform programme is not only about the transference of land to the landless. No, it is also about strengthening ^{the} land rights of those who are most vulnerable to the abuse of power by some sectors of the white farming

UNREVISED COPY-----ONHERSIENE AFSKRIF

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
NASIONALE VERGADERING

Copies: MEMBER : TRANSLATORS : FILE : DATA : PRESS

=====

24 APR 1998

TAPE: 257

DISK: 140

TAKE: S.4

community.

University of Cape Town

It is about democratically and justly rectifying . . . Mme/rnz

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
NASIONALE VERGADERING

Copies: MEMBER : TRANSLATORS : FILE : DATA : PRESS

24 APR 1998

TAPE: 258

DISK: 141

TAKE: T.1

Mrs N J BAM(contd):

It is about ^{democratically and justly =y} rectifying the legacies of the oppressive land laws of the NP ^{democratically and justly}. Yes, hon members of the opposition, this is all true, and, yes, ^{they might} you may have heard it all before. However, ^{they} you should be reminded now and again of ^{their} your past, especially those of ^{them} you who seem to suffer very conveniently from amnesia.

Maybe Nicholas Steyn, who shot and killed little Angelina Zwane, can be forgiven because he suffers from amnesia. Maybe he only remembers the time before 1994 when ^{the} life of a black child was not so important. Was there not a saying amongst whites that the only good kaffir boy ^{also} is a dead kaffir boy?

Sadly, despite the Government's ^{SAE} efforts to stop evictions by way of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act, some farm ^{workers} are still treated like furniture, to be discarded when they have outlived their usefulness. On the other hand, it is most encouraging to note that not all sectors of the white farming community resort to pre-¹⁹⁹⁴ tactics. Within the white farming communities, ^{by} there are those who embrace the new South Africa, those who work with the Government to provide security of tenure to their loyal workers and those who are not out to make a

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
NASIONALE VERGADERING

Copies: MEMBER : TRANSLATORS : FILE : DATA : PRESS

=====

24 APR 1998 TAPE: 258 DISK: 141 TAKE: T.2

fortune from the redistribution process. They might be few; however, their efforts are welcomed.

This Government can say with confidence that it has made some progress with respect to land reform. In this regard, Minister Hanekom and his ^{=a}Department should be complimented. Between 1994 ^{and} 95 the Department of Land Affairs spent approximately R38 703 on the three components of land reform. This number has increased significantly since then to approximately R326 700 spent in the 1997-98 financial year.

What this basically means is that we have delivered more since 1994. Thousands of landless families are no longer ⁵⁹ at the mercy of others to provide a roof over their heads. Many more have obtained secure tenure. This is progress. This is their constitutional right. Everyone has ^{interest} ~~inherited~~ dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected. Everyone has the right to freedom and security, which includes the right not to be treated or punished in a cruel, inhumane or degrading way.

The Department of Land Affairs should also be commended for establishing deeds registry offices closer to the people, as well

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

NASIONALE VERGADERING

Copies: MEMBER ; TRANSLATORS ; FILE ; DATA ; PRESS

=====

24 APR 1998

TAPE: 25B

DISK: 141

TAKE: T.3

as establishing regional and satellite^{2/2} offices of the Land Claims Commission in each of the provinces. All this is an indication of this Government's commitment to its people, a commitment which was borne¹ as far back as the adoption of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown.

There are those who previously enjoyed the fruits of this country at the^{capture of the} exclusion of millions of others who seem to ~~be~~ criticise the Government's land reform initiatives at every given opportunity. They speak about their property rights being infringed upon. They speak about the unfairness of the restitution programme. They speak about the landless being too hungry for land, and they also speak about how their commercial farming should not be inter²fered with because they put millions of rands in the state coffers.

Today I want to inform them that they should seek professional help to cure their amnesia.

I want inform them that they should look at the past racial laws which ensured . . . KM

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
NASIONALE VERGADERING

Copies: MEMBER : TRANSLATORS : FILE : DATA : PRESS

24 APR 1998 TAPE: 261 DISK: 144 TAKE: W.1

Ms M A A NJOBE: (contd):

Alas! Some landowners are blind to this benefit. ^{They} ~~They~~ ~~is~~ to resist any form of change. While mass evictions may have stopped in some parts of the country, there are still areas where farmworkers are either ~~still~~ thrown into the roads with nowhere to go, or are threatened with eviction.

One of the excuses given is that land is to be sold, while in fact it is ^{being} subdivided for a brother or a son. ^{I want to tell the} ~~May I draw the~~ Minister's ~~attention to~~ that this kind of excuse is on the increase, and I urge the department to investigate.

Instances of such evictions are not uncommon in districts ^{such as} ~~like~~ Stutterheim and ^{SK} Qumra. There are people in Umgwali and Lujilo today who literally have nowhere to stay because they have been evicted illegally. This is a violation of the land reform programme. Must we allow ~~such~~ people to own tracts and tracts of land while black communities next door sleep in the open?

We have watched in horror on television remains of former political activists being exhumed from shallow graves ^{or} ~~in~~ some of these large and remote farms. One can ^{= not} ~~never~~ conclude that the NP forcefully removed our people from their land to open the way

P

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
NASIONALE VERGADERING

Copies: MEMBER : TRANSLATORS : FILE : DATA : PRESS

=====

24 APR 1998

TAPE: 261

DISK: 144

TAKE: W.2

for such undercover activities. Such abuse of our land is totally unacceptable. ^{Baby} ~~Ma~~ Angelina ^{=a} lost her life because she was seen as a threat to someone's land. Is this not ridiculous? ^{the} Has ^{the re} time not come for the people's Government to accelerate the pace of ^{will} distribution of land to those who work it rather than abuse it?

The ANC is ^{determined} ~~prepared~~ to reverse this situation of land hunger in the traditional rural areas, where people are crowded today as a result of acceptance of the apartheid land policies by former Bantustan leaders.

In a rural setup for people to live a better life, they must have access to land, not only to build houses, but to produce food. Before the apartheid era, every family in traditional rural areas had a minimum of three pieces of land on which to grow food; a large garden in front of the homestead; a smaller ^{field} ~~field~~, ^{isifa} whose first produce was controlled by the mother; and a larger maize field, ^{insimu} whose produce was harvested and stored to be used during the winter months until the following summer season. ~~there~~ ^{therefore} there was not starvation, as is the case today.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
NASIONALE VERGADERING

Copies: MEMBER : TRANSLATORS : FILE : DATA : PRESS

=====

24 APR 1998 TAPE: 261 DISK: 144 TAKE: W.3

The situation of landlessness in ^{the} rural areas is putting a heavy burden on beneficiaries of social grants such as pensioners and the disabled, as they are forced to provide for the families. Poverty ^{=to=} caused by landlessness has resulted in widespread malnutrition, which in turn affects the health of the communities, particularly women and children.

Through the various projects outlined by the hon the Minister ^{for Agriculture} ~~of~~ Land Affairs ^{and} ~~and Agriculture~~ yesterday ^L the ANC Government will succeed in addressing this problem. However ^L it is an intersectoral approach that will bring about complete and sustainable development. Therefore, it is heartening to learn from the Minister that his department is dealing with the challenge, "by devising a package of measures to encourage and assist other spheres of ^L government, the private sector and civil society, to provide development support to beneficiaries." ^(True spirit.)

[[Applause.]]

Dr E A SCHOEMAN.

supported unfair evictions, both supported unfair labour practices, both are hampering the delivery of better services to the people, and that is the difference between our party and theirs. While they talk, we take action, and while they cater for minority interests, we govern for all. Mr Bikitsha must learn to govern his tongue and teach his mind to think.

It was shocking to hear the NP MEC for Agriculture in the Western Cape, when addressing the Portfolio Committee on Agriculture, Water Affairs and Forestry last week, saying that redistribution of land would lead to poverty. This means that the NP still holds to that old apartheid notion, that the stealing of people's land is considered a positive, patriotic duty. What a shame.

I want to take this opportunity to inform this House about the progress our Government has made with giving land back to the people. But before that, let me ask my colleagues on the left a few questions, because they tend to use every opportunity to criticise this Government. How many hectares of land did they give back to the people? Where was their commitment to the landless? What did they do about land redistribution? I know, of course, they will not give this House a reply, because there is only one answer. Under the NP government not a single hectare of land was given back to the people. [Interjections.]

The SPEAKER: Order!

Mr P MATHEBE: Mr Maree has to keep quiet because he is the architect of apartheid. He is the person who denied our people the right to vote. He is the person who made me live in a shack. [Interjections.] He made our people live in misery, and they are still continuing to do so. We are trying to correct the wrongs that were created by him and his government.

Mr J W MAREE: Keep your promises. You cannot keep your promises.

Mr P MATHEBE: I know these people are deliberately trying to steal my time, and they will not have a way of paying it back. I would rather ignore them. [Interjections.] As for the DP, because they are not here, it seems they do not

even bother to take part in this debate. That is typical of them. They are only interested in representing the privileged minority, not the millions of our citizens who live on the land. Shame on them. At least the public knows that the ANC is committed to redistribution and this is just the beginning.

Now, coming back to the pace of the redistribution programme, this programme has increased dramatically over the past year. The most important part of this process is when the land is designated. This means that the beneficiaries have formed a legal body to hold the land, they have identified the land they want, they have successfully negotiated a reasonable price with the owner for the land, they have a business plan for development on that land and the Minister will release the funds for them to buy that land.

I am happy to inform the House that during the period from 1994 to 1996 a total of 65 projects were designated. By the end of March this year, a total of 279 projects had been designated, and between 1994 and 1995 a total of 66 000 people received land under this programme. This year, that figure will rise to a quarter of a million. I am proud to stand before this House and state that we have achieved more in redistribution in the past year than over the previous three years. That is good news for rural communities across South Africa. That is delivery. This Government is delivering on its promises, unlike the NP government.

I am sure that over the next few years the pace of redistribution will increase, and that millions of our people will benefit as a result. We can be proud of our record on land redistribution, but of course much still needs to be done. Those who have already benefited from this programme can be asked whether or not this process has been worthwhile. Only one answer will be received, which is a definite yes. [Applause.]

Mnu B N LUTHULI: Somlomo neNdlu yakho, ngizoqala ngokuthi uma kukhulunywa ngezomhlaba, sikhuluma ngento evusa uhlelvane. Ngingasho futhi ukuthi iyisihloko esibucayi ngoba izinhlanga ezikhona lapha eNingizimu ne-Afrika, ziye zingaboni ngaso linye ngayo.

Uma sikhumbula kahle kamlhophe, umhlaba owathathwa ngabamlhophe wawuthathwe emakhosini nezizwe zawo. Okuyinsumansumane ngokuthi uma kukhulunywa ngokubuyiselwa noma ukwabiwa komhlaba, kuye kubekwe abantu phambili kuthi amakhosi angaphathwa nakuphathwa. Ngokubona kwami, umhlaba oyobuyiswa kufanele unikwe amakhosi nezizwe zawo njengoba wawuthathwe emakhosini nabantu bawo.

Ngizocela umnyango oqondene ngqo nezomhlaba ukhumbulisise ukuba izinxushunxushu ezikhungele i-Afrika nezaziyikhungele kwaba ngenxa yokushiywa ngaphandle kwamakhosi nezizwe zawo. Ukungamelwa kahle kwamakhosi ezintweni eziningi kungazidala izinxushunxushu ezintweni zonke ezenzekayo kulo mhlaba noma kugcine sekubeke ebucayini izwe.

Okukhombisa kahle kamlhophe, ngokuthi ngisho uMthethosisekelo waseNingizimu Afrika okhona njengamanje uveza kancane kakhulu futhi unganiki themba elingakanani ngekusasa lamakhosi nezizwe zawo. Ukubuyiselwa komhlaba kubantu abathathelwa umhlaba wabo, ngikubona kuyinto ehamba kancane kakhulu. Ngizizwa ngingenalo ithemba lokuthi kuyoshesha, ngoba cishe nemali eyabelwe lokho ngiyibona yehlisiwe kube kungakafezeki kahle izinhloso zabantu namakhosi asafuna umhlaba wawo owathathwa ngokungemthetho. Siyothokoza-ke uma kungokuthi umhlaba uyobuyiselwa lapho wawuthathwe khona ngoba ngibona kuyinto eyiyona esemqoka kakhulu, ngoba umhlaba uyaziwa ukuthi wathathwaphi. (Translation of Zulu speech follows.)

[Mr B N LUTHULI: Madam Speaker and hon House, I will start off by saying that when we discuss land issues, we are discussing a highly emotional matter. I can also say that it is a sensitive one because race groups in South Africa hold conflicting views on this issue.

If we think back, it is clear that the land that was taken by whites was taken from the chiefs and their subjects. It is absurd that when restitution or land allocation is discussed, the people are given prominence and the chiefs are not mentioned at all. In my view, the land which is to be returned should be handed over to the chiefs and their subjects, since it was taken from them.

I request the department which is directly responsible for land to bear in mind that the conflicts which are raging in Africa now and which have raged here in the past, have been caused by the exclusion of chiefs and their subjects. Poor representation of chiefs in many structures can lead to conflict with regard to everything that is done in this land, and can even lead to a critical situation arising in the country.

This is clearly illustrated by the fact that even the present South African Constitution says very little about and does not give much hope for the future of the chiefs and their subjects. To me, the process of land restitution appears to be very slow. I do not have any hope that it will ever be speeded up, since even the budget allocated for that has apparently been reduced while the hopes of people and their chiefs that their previously confiscated land will be returned to them have not been realised. We would be glad if the land could be returned to those from whom it was taken. I consider that to be very important, since it is very well known from whom the land was taken.]

Mrs N J BAM: Madam Speaker, hon members of the House, ladies and gentlemen, land reform is not about infringing upon certain individuals' property rights. It is not about oppressive land laws which characterised the regime of the NP and which admittedly ensured the advancement of the white minority.

Land reform is about restoring human dignity. What dignity is there for any person when he or she is thrown off a farm simply because he or she is too old to work? Was there any human dignity shown towards our people during South Africa's nightmare years of apartheid?

This Government's land reform programme is not only about the transference of land to the landless. No; it is also about strengthening the land rights of those who are most vulnerable to the abuse of power by some sectors of the white farming community. It is about democratically and justly rectifying the legacy of the oppressive land laws of the NP. (Yes, hon members of the opposition, this is all true, and, yes, they might have heard it all before. However, they should be reminded now and again of their past, especially those of them who seem to suffer very conveniently from amnesia.)

Maybe Nicholas Steyn, who shot and killed little Angelina Zwane, can be forgiven because he suffers from amnesia. Maybe he only remembers the time before 1994 when the life of a black child was not so important. Was there not a saying amongst whites that the only good kaffir boy was a dead kaffir boy?

Sadly, despite the Government's efforts to stop evictions by way of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act, some farmworkers are still treated like furniture, to be discarded when they have outlived their usefulness. On the other hand, it is most encouraging to note that not all sectors of the white farming community resort to pre-1994 tactics. Within the white farming community there are those who embrace the new South Africa, those who work with the Government to provide security of tenure to their loyal workers and those who are not out to make a fortune from the redistribution process. They might be few, however, their efforts are welcomed.

This Government can say with confidence that it has made some progress with respect to land reform. In this regard, Minister Hanekom and his department should be complimented. Between 1994 and 1995 the Department of Land Affairs spent approximately R38 703 on the three components of land reform. This amount has increased significantly since then to approximately R326 700 spent in the 1997-98 financial year.

What this basically means is that we have delivered more since 1994. Thousands of landless families are no longer at the mercy of others to provide a roof over their heads. Many more have obtained secure tenure. This is progress. This is their constitutional right. Everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected. Everyone has the right to freedom and security, which includes the right not to be treated or punished in a cruel, inhumane or degrading way.

The Department of Land Affairs should also be commended for establishing deeds registry offices closer to the people, as well as establishing regional and satellite offices of the Land Claims Commission in each of the provinces. All this is an indication of this Government's commitment to its

people, a commitment which was born as far back as the adoption of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown.

There are those who previously enjoyed the fruits of this country at the expense of the exclusion of millions of others who seem to criticise the Government's land reform initiatives at every given opportunity. They speak about their property rights being infringed upon. They speak about the unfairness of the restitution programme. They speak about the landless being too hungry for land, and they also speak about how their commercial farming should not be interfered with because they put millions of rands in the state coffers.

Today I want to inform them that they should seek professional help to cure their amnesia. To them I say that they should look at the past racial laws which ensured their comfortable positions. To them I say that they should stop criticising and lend a hand in building this new nation. To them I say that they should be thankful we are willing to negotiate and not deal with the land question in Mr Mugabe's manner.

Hon members of the NP should not close their ears when we remind them of their shameful past. They should not cling to their old nationalist ideas of white minority rule. They should make amends for the past by helping us to provide our rural communities with human dignity.

Mr M O ROBERTSEN: Madam Speaker, hon members, Minister Derek Hanekom, and the nkosis, before I start with the speech that I have prepared, I would just like to mention two things.

Mrs Seperepere spoke earlier on about people being hurt and about deaths in South Africa. I would just like to mention that people are being hurt on both sides. People are being killed on both sides. We should rather work together on those issues than condemn each other.

To my friend Nkosi Peter Mathebe who spoke about Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk being a young man, I think he himself is younger than Mr Van Schalkwyk, and I think he should try to act more like a chief, because chiefs act with a lot more maturity than he does. [Interjections.]

It gives me pleasure to speak in this debate on the controversial and sensitive issue of land affairs. This is not only a problem in South Africa. It is a global problem, one over which wars have been fought, and should therefore be handled with care, compassion and multiparty participation.

My great concern is the rural farmer. The Government seems to have concentrated more on the urban areas for land distribution than on the rural areas. I would like to see assistance and development for the rural farmers. I would like to see parastatals and irrigation schemes such as Ncora privatised and, in conjunction with the emerging farmers, given assistance and expertise from the private sector. Various irrigation schemes, parastatals and tribal land were viable and productive with the help of an organisation called Interscience. Under the rule of Kumkani KD Matanzima and the now Minister Stella Sigcau, these parastatals did well. When Bantu Holomisa, a staunch ANC supporter at that time, came into power via a coup, this system collapsed and it is still in a state of collapse.

The parastatals have cost the Government R500 million to date. If we were to divide this by 15 000, this could have established at least 33 000 emerging farmers with their families and settled them on their land. Mechanisms must be put in place for these farmers to obtain finance. The R15 000 per family, although appreciated, is hardly enough to get any kind of production going. It might cause a reverse situation, for example squatting, erosion, overgrazing and little productivity. To draw a comparison, in Brazil which we visited in November last year, it is costing the government R180 000 to settle one family.

Redistribution should start taking place by means of the Government selling land at market-related prices. Emerging farmers should be given assistance to buy this land. To date the Kumkanis, Nkosis and Nkosazanas and their tribal councils have been ignored. The Government has put TRCs in their place.

However, the election show is on the road, and we have seen our hon President visit the Nkosis in the Transkei. Other highly prominent members of Government, for example Ministers Hanekom,

Zuma and Moosa, have made a dash for the Transkei. Are the traditional leaders now being wooed for their votes and support? Is this the two thirds they are looking for?

As far as the restitution of land goes, the traditional leaders, with their tribal authorities, play a vital role in land affairs, something which Mr Mathebe does not understand. The Nkosis have had decades of experience. Their role must not be abolished, as has been done in some countries in Africa resulting in rural structures collapsing completely. The NP believes that effective utilisation of land can only be achieved in collaboration and co-operation with the traditional leaders and their authorities.

Planning cannot be done by Government without consulting the traditional leaders. [Interjections.] Empty vessels make the most noise. Therefore, the Nkosi and their people must be empowered. The land legally belongs to the traditional leaders. Let them have their land. They do not come from the apartheid era. Another worrying factor is illegal squatting on private and Government land. This could lead to very dire consequences which we must avoid.

In conclusion, I would like to end off with the following: It is not the colour of the country that makes it rich and free, but the degree to which people are free from government control. I think that says it all.

Mrs M A A NJOBE: Madam Speaker, the NP is opposing this budget. This is a clear indication of their rejection of transformation. The NP wants us to believe that property rights are only for the NP members and their white supporters. [Interjections.] Property rights are for everybody. [Interjections.]

In reply to the IFP, I would like Prof Ngubane to apply to the ANC for a calculator. Perhaps this will enable her to get her sums correct. [Laughter.] There has been an increase of 50% in the land restitution programme.

The FF would like to give assistance to the department, and to the Minister in particular, but I think they have a chance of giving their assistance

in participating in the portfolio committee. Our Minister needs no patronising from the FF.

The need for land reform policies and programmes for this country arises precisely because apartheid laws such as the Group Areas Act not only forced the black people to abandon their land on which they had lived for generations, but actually deprived them of possessing any land at all. They did not even own the 13% they were made to occupy. There were no such settlements as squatter camps in South Africa before 1948. These began mushrooming as a result of the unintelligent land policies of the apartheid regime. These policies catered for the white minority only, ignoring the existence of the black majority. No wonder land invasion has become unavoidable.

It is because of this lack of foresight on the part of the NP that the ANC is faced today with a potentially explosive situation. Indeed, the Department of Land Affairs has one of the most difficult tasks to fulfil - to bring about equity in land distribution in our country. However, the ANC is equal to the task. What has the potential to be explosive is being contained through the implementation of the Government's land reform policy and programmes.

If the pace of restitution has been slow relative to expectations, it is because of the complexity of the processes involved. If the increase in spending between 1995 and 1997 is an indication of better delivery, this is encouraging, although I must say some provinces, such as the Eastern Cape, still lag behind in settling cases of restitution. For the information of Prof Ngubane, the budget of the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights has been increased by 50%. This should accelerate the restitution programme. More land will be returned to the rightful owners under the current budget. My observation is that people would rather return to their land than receive monetary compensation. They know the value of land, and this trend should be encouraged.

As a result of the success of the restitution and redistribution programmes so far, black farmers are emerging. We have them in the Eastern Cape too. The NP would like us to believe that black people prefer to live in urban or peri-urban areas.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Through the Extension of Security of Tenure Act, people's rights to remain on the land they currently occupy have been strengthened, so the challenge to the opposition parties, particularly the NP, the FF and the DP, is to promote the implementation of this Act if indeed they are serious about reconciliation, peace and stability in our country. They must be seen to be encouraging their supporters to implement the provisions of this Act to the letter.

Since tenure reform laws aim to improve legal and social relations for both landowners and land occupiers, this should result in a transformation of attitudes. Alas! Some landowners are blind to this benefit. They resist any form of change. While mass evictions may have stopped in some parts of the country, there are still areas where farm-workers are either thrown into the roads with nowhere to go, or are threatened with eviction.

One of the excuses given is that land is to be sold, while in fact it is being subdivided for a brother or a son. I want to tell the Minister that this kind of excuse is on the increase, and I urge the department to investigate. Instances of such evictions are not uncommon in districts such as Stutterheim and Qumhra. There are people in Umgwali and Lujilo today who literally have nowhere to stay because they have been evicted illegally. This is a violation of the land reform programme. Must we allow people to own tracts and tracts of land while black communities next door sleep in the open?

We have watched in horror on television remains of former political activists being exhumed from shallow graves on some of these large and remote farms. One cannot but conclude that the NP forcefully removed our people from their land to open the way for such undercover activities. Such abuse of our land is totally unacceptable. Baby Angelina lost her life because she was seen as a threat to someone's land. Is this not ridiculous?

Has the time not come for the people's Government to accelerate the pace of the redistribution of land to those who will work it rather than abuse it? The ANC is determined to reverse this situation of land hunger in the traditional rural areas, where people are crowded today as a result of acceptance of the apartheid land policies by former Bantustan leaders.

In a rural setup for people to live a better life, they must have access to land, not only to build houses, but to produce food. Before the apartheid era, every family in traditional rural areas had a minimum of three pieces of land on which to grow food: A large garden in front of the homestead; a smaller field [isife], whose fresh produce was controlled by the mother; and a larger maize field [intsimi], whose produce was harvested and stored to be used during the winter months until the following summer season. There was therefore no starvation, as is the case today.

The situation of landlessness in the rural areas is putting a heavy burden on beneficiaries of social grants such as pensioners and the disabled, as they are forced to provide for the families. Poverty caused by landlessness has resulted in widespread malnutrition, which in turn affects the health of the communities, particularly women and children.

Through the various projects outlined by the hon the Minister for Agriculture and Land Affairs yesterday the ANC Government will succeed in addressing this problem. However, it is an intersectoral approach that will bring about complete and sustainable development. Therefore, it is heartening to learn from the Minister that his department is dealing with the challenge by devising a package of measures to encourage and assist other spheres of government, the private sector and civil society, to provide development support to beneficiaries.

[Applause.] [Time expired.]

Dr E A SCHOEMAN: Madam Speaker, it has become a platitude to say that the future of our country will be determined by the success or failure of land reform. Land fulfils both an emotional and a physical need, irrespective of colour. Perhaps there is a difference in degree and type of emotional attachment. Since biblical times - we should take note of this - all major wars were territorial by nature. It is no art to whip up emotions especially concerning land, and this debate has been characterised from that side of this House by blatant racist remarks. One must deplore this.

This was unashamedly done by the first speaker, Mr Mokoena, who demonised white farmers. He knows in his heart of hearts that those are the

exceptions, and we do not condone such actions, if they should be true. [Interjections.] If the truth hurts, just suffer in silence. [Interjections.] To my real disappointment, Adv Patekile Holomisa followed the same trend. He said land was invaded by people who systematically raided the land and that it was stolen. [Interjections.] The contribution of the hon Seperepere was a new low in parliamentary debate. [Interjections.] I shall propose that a committee of this House be established in order to determine whether she deliberately misled the House, and she will be forced to substantiate the facts.

We, too, could fall into the trap of raving about who is responsible for the attacks on white landowners and go into the gory details of the cruelty and the atrocities committed. We will not, because then we are sending this country on a collision course - a Bosnian option. No, we in this Parliament will have to make a conscious decision "n wilsbesluit", if we want reconciliation to succeed. We have to become active protagonists of reconciliation or face the dire consequences. [Interjections.]

Although we believe that land redistribution should be actively encouraged in former white South Africa through market forces, we also believe that with the aid of modern science and technology that is available, land can be utilised infinitely more effectively, and it can consequently provide a livelihood for thousands on a sustainable basis.

I want to use the Israeli example. In a poorly resourced country with little land and water, an abundance of agricultural products is produced for export. What is their approach? Firstly, they drew up a resource inventory, and since the reincorporation of the former homelands in 1994, we have not done such an inventory, which I would think should have been the first priority. [Interjections.] They then decided on a suitable agricultural practice and established the necessary developmental infrastructure by providing subsidies or long-term, low-interest loans. [Interjections.]

We acknowledge that the Department of Land Affairs does not have the money for development. Before people are settled on the land, the Israeli

Appendix D

Data analysis set 3:

Extract: Table 3.2.

Friday 24 April 1998 Appropriation Bill.

(working from the Hansard transcript)

Page nr.+

| Name | Quotation | Hansard editors | My comments | Code |
|---------------------------------|--|--|---|------|
| Mrs MS Seperep ere ANC | 'it is accessible to the former farm tenants who could <u>thereby</u> take the farmers to court.. | deleted it | BSAfE was edited out. | 2 |
| | | 'but' is often replaced by 'however' | | 1b |
| Mr P. Mathebe p59 | 'unlike in the past <u>where</u> apartheid laws determined' | This was changed to 'unlike the past situation in which apartheid laws determined...' | unnecessary or arbitrary editing. The original version was changed to a clumsier version. | 1 |
| 1482 | 'to avoid <u>a</u> repetition of their mistakes' | gr. article (delete) | | 1e |
| | 'the redistribution must be <u>done</u> in terms of the law' | effected (word choice) | BSAfE edited out | 2 |
| 1494 | '...we need to look back and take stock of our achievements , our shortcomings and <u>how we</u> chart the way forward.' | gr. (how to..) | The more personal form (typical of BSAfE) was edited out. | 3 |
| p63 | Mr Maree - <u>you</u> have to keep quiet because <u>you</u> are the architect of apartheid. | 'Mr. Maree has to keep quiet because he is the architect of apartheid. <u>He</u> is the person who denied our people the right | narrative strategy personalization is edited out and reformulated more | 3 |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|--|--|----|
| | <p><u>You</u> are the person who made <u>me</u> to live in a shack.</p> <p><u>You</u> made our people to live in misery and they are still continuing to do so.</p> <p>We are trying to correct the wrongs that have been created <u>by you and your government</u>.</p> | <p>to vote. <u>He</u> is the person who made me live in a shack.</p> <p>(Interjections) <u>He</u> made our people live in misery, and they are still continuing to do so.</p> <p>We are trying to correct the wrongs that were created by <u>him and his government</u>.</p> | as reported speech | |
| p80 Mrs MAA Njobe ANC | They must be seen <u>to be encouraging</u> their supporters | changed to 'to encourage' | The present continuous was edited out. | 1a |
| p81 | <u>in</u> some of these farms | changed to 'on' | BSAfE was edited out. | 2 |
| p84 | 'It is no art to <u>work up</u> emotions.' | changed to 'whip' | The BSAfE word choice was edited out. | 2 |

Appendix E

Sample extract of the analysis (extract from table 4.2)
Debates of the National Assembly
Friday 24 April 1998, Appropriation Bill

| column nr | quotation | description | interpretation | code |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|-------------|
| 1517 | 'Mr. Maree <u>has to keep quiet</u> because he is the architect of apartheid. <u>He</u> is the person who denied our people the right to vote. <u>He</u> is the person who made me live in a shack. [Interjections] <u>He</u> made our people live in misery, and they <u>are still continuing to do so</u> . We are trying to <u>correct the wrongs</u> that were created by him and his government. | perhaps from Afrikaans: 'Hy moet net stil bly..' N, personalization, party= person correct grammar and reflects convent education | personalization, from the oral tradition from Afrikaans | 8.6 and 7.6 |
| Mr P. Mathebe | 'We are trying to <u>correct the wrongs</u> ... | also see headline in M&G Sept. 3-9, 1999 'A wrong that must be righted', article by Cameron Duodu, 'Letter from the North, | BSAFE accepted | 4 |
| 1520 Mrs. N.J. Bam | no,... Yes,... yes,.... yes,.... | narrative strategy.- oratory strategies, | for emphasis | 6 |
| 1520 | is about...is not about | repetition for emphasis | Narrative strategy - repetition | 6 |
| 1520 | | a string of questions asked and answered by the same speaker (call -response) | general political oratory | 6 |
| 1520 | 'However they should be reminded now and again of their past, especially those of them who seem to suffer very conveniently from amnesia.' | | Politics of resistance, pathology | 8.2 |

| | | | | |
|--|---|--|--|-------------|
| | (repetition from earlier speech, 23 April, col 1416). | | | |
| 1520 | 'those of them who seem to suffer very conveniently from <u>amnesia</u> ' | narrative strategy. - repetition of amnesia and note of sarcasm | Narrative. strategy - repetition | 6 |
| 1521 | 'Maybe Nicholas Steyn, who shot and killed little Angelina Zwane, can be forgiven because he suffers from <u>amnesia</u> .' | repeated | the politics of resistance, also repetition | 6 |
| 1522 | 'All this is an indication of this Government's <u>commitment</u> to its people, a commitment which was <u>born</u> as far back as the <u>adoption</u> of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown.' | narrative strategy. - personification of 'commitment' use themes of oral tradition - birth/death/marriage/family commitment | general political oratory and the oral tradition | 8.1 |
| 1522 | '...the <u>fruits</u> of this country...' | reference to oral tradition i.e. fertility metaphor : country compared to a plant which grows and bears fruit etc., reference to 'fruits of our labour'? | PO/OT | 8.2 and 7.7 |
| 1524 Mrs. M.A.A. Njobe (ANC) | | a lot of questions and answers, some rhetorical, others she answers herself, displays a high degree of emotive content, for emotional appeal. | storytelling strategy and conversation style | 8.1 and 7.7 |
| 1526 par 3 | 'Must we allow people to win tracts and tracts of land while black communities next door sleep in the open?' | | Narrative strategy repetition | 7.5 and 8.7 |
| 1526 par 4 | 'Is this not ridiculous?' | general political oratory and also oral tradition repetition, rhetorical questions | | 6 |
| 1526 par 5 | 'Has the time not come..?' | narrative strategy, rhetorical questions PO pol.rhetoric | | 6 |