UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Cultural and Language Maintenance and Shift in an immigrant African community of KwaZulu-Natal: The Zanzibaris of Durban

By

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DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Sarifa Moola-Nernaes

Signature: Signed by candidate

August 2018

ABSTRACT

This thesis makes a contribution to the study of cultural and language maintenance and shift among minority communities in South Africa. It explores the contact situation and implications thereof of the Zanzibari speech community in the post-apartheid Rainbow Nation South Africa. It discusses identity, language, culture and religion of the community against the backdrop of the *Simunye* (We are one) rhetoric. This thesis also contributes to the documentation of the history and creates an awareness of existence of the Makhuwa and Emakhuwa as a minority language in South Africa.

The data was collected using the triangulation method to effectively capture the relevant information and to establish whether language shift is taking place within the community and to what extent. A household survey was used to ascertain whether the home or heritage language was passed down from generation to generation in this intimate, family domain. While the Makhuwa believe that a child learns the home language through the mother's breastmilk, the survey revealed that the socialisation and continuation of the language was limited. It also looked at whether children were passive recipients in the acquisition of the spoken language/s in the household or whether they played a role in the negotiation of the language chosen in the household. The findings revealed that in the pre-1994 period, the community and parents determined the language of choice in the community and the household. The children had to follow the rules decided by their parents and the Elders in the community. However, there was a shift in the period after 1994 with the children playing a role in the language choice of the household.

Interviews were used to capture the historical background of the community and provide a "backdrop" for the research and discussion on maintenance and shift in the community. The interview method was used to provide a better understanding of why the case of the Makhuwa community in Durban is unique and adds to the discussion on minority immigrant communities and their situation in terms of cultural and language maintenance.

The research found that the process of language shift had taken place over a long period of time in the community. The gradual shift that had taken place was part of the result of the contact situation between Emakhuwa and both minority and majority languages in the Kwa-Zulu Natal region. However, language shift had been more rapid in the last decade, causing alarm amongst the Elders in the community. The research looked at both cultural and language maintenance or shift in the Zanzibari community of Durban. The findings revealed that while language shift is taking place in the community, and even thought the English language is used more often in the household and cultural domain, the Makhuwa culture is maintained.

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I dedicate this study to my ancestors and my children, who have been an inspiration.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is a contribution to the study of Cultural and Language Maintenance and Shift. It covers the small community of descendants of former freed slaves referred to as the Zanzibaris of Durban or Amakhuwa. The study describes and analyses the factors that played a role in the language and cultural maintenance of the Zanzibari community.

In this chapter I introduce the Zanzibari community, their language, outlining the rationale and background of the study, the scope of the study and its objectives, research questions, self-reflection and the structure of the study.

The Zanzibari minority speech community was brought to Natal in the era of British colonialism. They had been destined for slavery to the slave markets of Zanzibar, Ilha de Mozambique and Madagascar but the dhows were intercepted by British ships bent on stopping slavery in the post 1830s emancipation period. The initial group of liberated slaves was brought to Port Natal (now Durban) in 1873, with smaller groups following until 1879. This group of Zanzibaris conveniently helped in partially alleviating the labour crisis that existed in the colony at that time. These freed slaves were to work as indentured labourers and servants for the period of their contract. According to Mesthrie (1996), “the Zanzibari group (also known as Amakhuwa/Makhuwas) were not as linguistically diverse as other slave communities because they were drawn from a relatively circumscribed area along the East African coast, the north of Mozambique and the south of Tanzania”.

Looking at the community from a linguistic perspective, these former slaves were unusual in that as a minority immigrant speech community, they succeeded in maintaining their culture and language for over four generations (Mesthrie, 1996).

Also, the absence of linguistic diversity played a role in language maintenance (Mesthrie, 1996), this together with culture and religion helped sustain the community. However, a talk with the older members of the Zanzibari community in Durban would reveal a common concern: "that young people today are losing their language or that young parents today are no longer teaching their children the language of the community. Therefore, the community is also experiencing a loss in their culture, which is tied to community values and rules of engaging and communicating between the generations. These are linked to the respect and value for their Elders" (Interviews with the older generation in the community). So why is language important to the community?

Fishman (1996) stated that "when we are talking about language, we are talking about culture because most of a culture is in its language and is expressed through language, in greetings, curses, praises, laws, literature, songs, its wisdom and prayers". Language can be seen as a fundamental component in all aspects of human life, human activities, communication with each other, and emotions. Language is generally regarded as a salient dimension of ethnicity, and as such is one of the most important articulations of ethnic identity, both at an individual and at a group level (Giles et al. 1977).

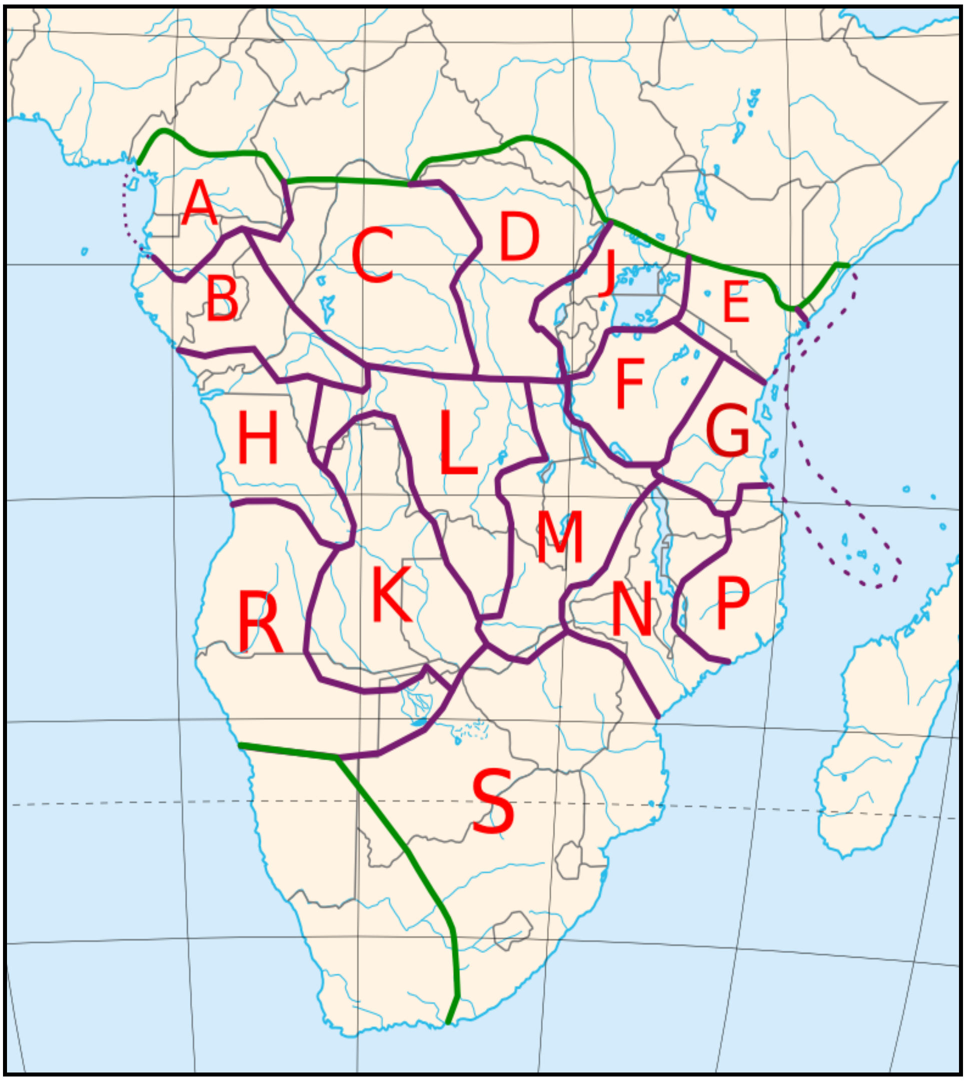
According to Fishman (1979:9) language is probably the most powerful single symbol of ethnicity because it serves as "shorthand" for all that makes a group special and unique. It is an essential component of cultural heritage and signifies kinship, group identity and solidarity (Fishman 1979). Clearly an important bearer and mirror of culture, language plays a central role in the exercise of cultural power. Similarly to Fishman (1979) and in line with the concerns of the Elderly members of the Zanzibari community, Cavallaro (2005) asserts that the loss of language would mean amongst other things the loss of cultures, identity, heritage, wisdom. These concerns are not exclusive to the Zanzibari community in Durban, but fall within a broader concern about indigenous and minority languages in South Africa. There is abundant literature on the issue of language, language policies and concern for indigenous languages in South Africa, LANGTAG (1996), Alexander (1989, 1992, 2000, 2002,2005), Beukes (2008), Kamwangamalu (2000, 2001), Kamwendo (2006), Webb (2000, 2002, 2006), to mention a few scholars.

1.2 Language: Emakhuwa

The Zanzibaris of Durban find their roots in the northern region of Mozambique, where Emakhuwa is a significant language. According to Guthrie (1967-79), the Bantu languages of Mozambique fall into four zones and eight major language groupings, namely:

1. Zone G-G40: Swahili;
2. Zone P-P20: Yao and Makhonde, and P30: Emakhuwa (Lomwe, Chiwabo);
3. Zone N-N30: Nyanja, and N40: Nsenga-Sena;
4. Zone S-S10: Shona, S50: Tsonga (Shangaan, Ronga, Tswa) and S60: Copi.

MAP 1.1: GUTHRIE'S CLASSIFICATION OF BANTU LANGUAGES – ZONES



Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guthrie_classification_of_Bantu_languages

TABLE 1.1: VARIETIES OF THE MAKHUWA GROUP

MAKHUWA GROUP				
Geographic Distribution: Mozambique, Malawi, Angola and Tanzania				
			Other names/Spellings	**Area where spoken**
Makhuwa (i-)	P.31/*	Makhuwa: Medo and Lomwe	Maokoa, Makoane, Makwa, Mato N. Makhuwa	Mozambique and Tanzania Language is used in primary education
Lomwe (i-)	P.32/*		Lolo, Lomue, Cilowe, Nguru, Makhuwa	Mozambique
Ngulu (i-)	P.33/*		Nguru, Mihavane, Mihavani, Mihawani, W Makhuwa	Mozambique and Malawi
Cuabo (ci-)	P.34/0		Chuabo, Chwabo, Cuambo, Lolo	Mozambique between Quelimane and the Mlanje mountains

Source: Byran 1959:135 (see also map 1.2)

While Emakhuwa is a minority language in South Africa, it is a major Bantu language spoken in northern Mozambique (in the Cabo Delgado, Nampula, Niassa, Zambezia provinces) – see map 1.2 produced by SIL, and adjacent areas in southern Tanzania (the Masasi and Tunduru districts in particular) and Malawi (Mulanje and Tyholo areas), with approximately 8 million speakers (Kisseberth 2003:547). Kisseberth mentions that there are additional speakers of Emakhuwa further afield: for example in Madagascar, and the Comoros Islands where the language was transported.

Batibo, Moilwa and Mosaka (1997:23) report that Emakhuwa is the most numerous language in Mozambique and that it forms a linguistic cluster with two other languages to the south, Elomwe and Chuabo and these languages together form the greater Makhuwa group. While

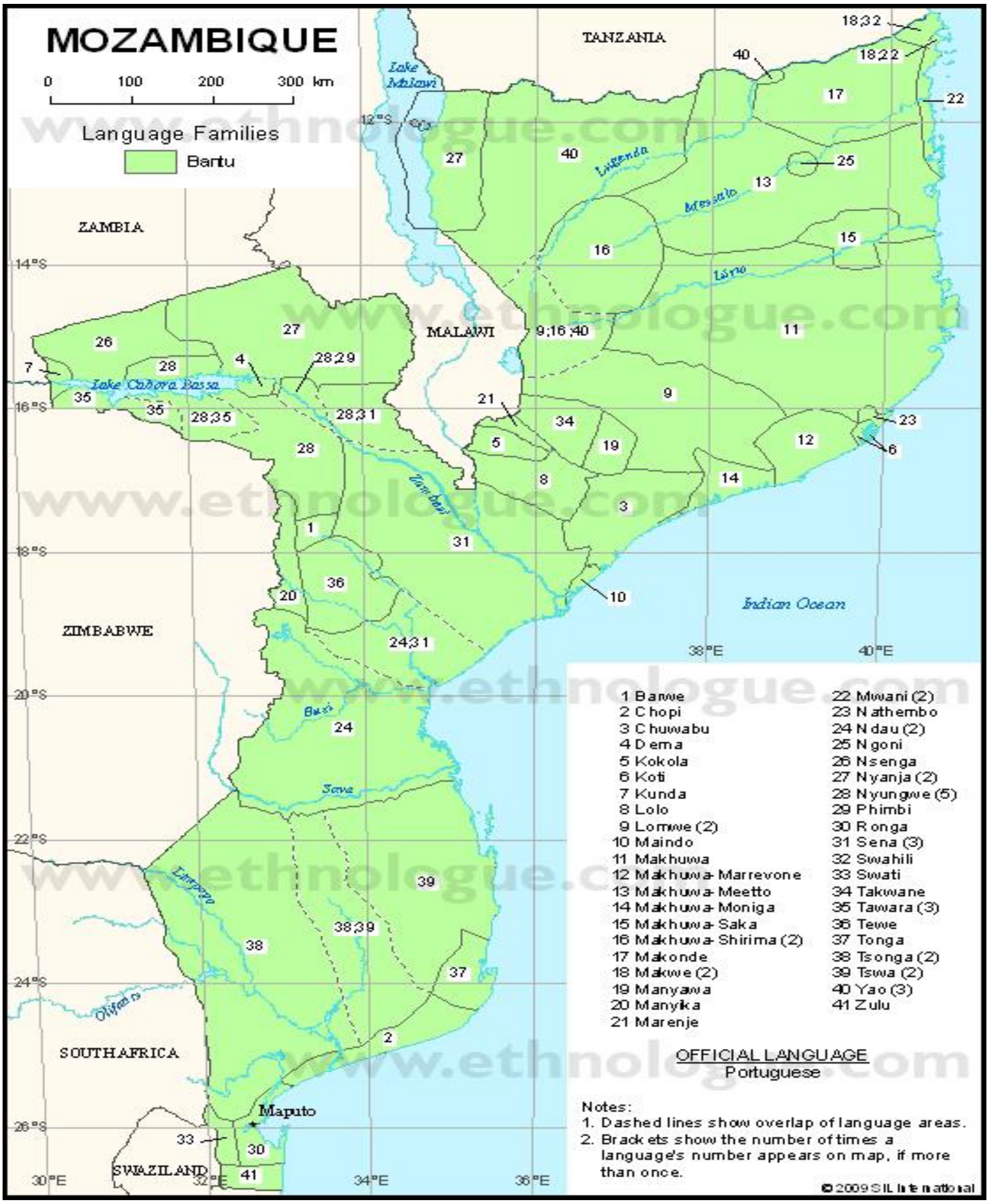
Emakhuwa is a major language in Mozambique, Cassimjee and Kisseberth (1999), consider it to be one of the most understudied languages in the world. Kisseberth (2003:547) goes further to add that most of the literature on the language falls into a category of 'missionary linguistics'. The missionary research on Emakhuwa was documented in Mozambique, Malawi, Tanzania and Madagascar.

Emakhuwa, as is to be expected, shares a number of key features associated with other Bantu languages. The most basic of these is the concord system, i.e. a formal agreement between the components of two or more corresponding words (Kroger 2006:3). As Kroger (2006:3) notes, in Bantu languages, a noun determines the prefix of the verb following it. The prefix of the verb agrees with the noun in number and noun class affiliation characteristics, as does the adjective.

Cassiemjee and Kisseberth (1999) observe that in the general region where Emakhuwa is spoken, there are a number of Bantu languages that have (apparently) lost any trace of the proto-Bantu tonal system, citing Kiswahili as an example. However, this does not apply to Emakhuwa. They state that Emakhuwa has a predictable tone system based on Odden's (1989) notions of predictability. Van de Waal (2006) confirms this position and adds that most variants of Emakhuwa are tonal and can be analysed as having a H(igh) and a L(ow) tone. Earlier researchers had thought otherwise. Katupha (1983), drawing on Whiteley (1964), stated that all Tanganyika's Bantu languages are tonal with the exception of Kiswahili, Emakhuwa and perhaps one or two others. It seems that he uses the criterion of minimal pair contrast in order to define a tone language, enquiring whether 'numbers of words are distinguished from one another by their tone-patterns' (1983:54). Guthrie's (1948/1962) conclusion is brief and succinct: 'there is no lexical tone distinctiveness in Emakhuwa'. This suggests that if Emakhuwa is in some sense a tone language, it is not by the criterion of minimal contrast used by Whiteley (1964) and later Katupha (1983).

Kisseberth (2003:546) states that Emakhuwa has strong links with two languages not cited by Guthrie (1948/1962). According to him Koti, spoken on the Mozambique coast in Angoche (Nampula province), clearly represents a 'mixed' language in that it has a largely Emakhuwa morphology and tone structure and a Swahili-like lexicon (Guthrie 1948/1962). Kisseberth (2003) adds that Koti has recently been the subject of linguistic research by Schadeberg (1997), Odden (1989) and himself in collaboration with a bilingual of Emakhuwa/Koti. The other language linked to Emakhuwa is Sangaji (indigenous name: Enaatthempo), a coastal language spoken not far from Koti, which shows a similar mixture of language elements (Kisseberth 2003). He states that Emakhuwa is the only clearly ‘unmixed’ language in Zone P30.

MAP 1.2: LANGUAGE MAP OF MOZAMBIQUE.



Source: SIL (http://www.ethnologue.com/show_map.asp?name=MZ&seq=10)

Kroger (2006) describes the variant of Emakhuwa below from the province of Nampula, which some members of the Zanzibari community state is close to the dialect used in Chatsworth, Durban. The Chatsworth variety has been added to explore these similarities (if any) with the dialects researched by Kroger.

TABLE 1.2: VOWELS OF EMAKHUWA – NAMPULA REGION

Kroger (2006) (Nampula regional dialect)			**Chatsworth Variety**
a	otth**a**ra	to follow	ottara
e	oth**e**la	to marry	othela
i	otth**i**ka	to return	ohokolowa
o	ok**o**ha	to question	okoha
u	m**u**tthu	person	muttu
aa	okil**aa**thi	to sit	okilathi
ee	okhun**ee**la	to cover	okhunela
ii	n**ii**tho	eye	niitho
oo	w**oo**tha	to lie	owootha
uu	owuruureya	ball	eballi

Based on Kroger (2006:3).

This table shows that there is a close similarity between the Chatsworth and Nampula dialects, with the exception of words that are borrowed from the English and isiZulu languages. It must be noted that the Chatsworth version has not been documented, so the spelling is that of my own. A detailed linguistic analysis of the Chatsworth variety is required and recommended in chapter six. A discussion, including further examples of the Chatsworth variety will be discussed in chapter five. It will also explore the influence of the Zulu and Indian populations to Emakhuwa spoken in the area.

Other varieties of Emakhuwa which might share similarities with the Chatsworth dialect are the Ruvuma, Ikorovere and Imitthupi dialects. Kisseberth's (2003) discussion of these dialects is as follows:

TABLE 1.3: COMPARISON BETWEEN EMAKHUWA SPOKEN IN NAMPULA AND THE CHATSWORTH DIALECT based on Kroger (2006:12).

ENGLISH	EMAKHUWA - NAMPULA	EMAKHUWA - CHATSWORTH
He takes me	O-nni-ki-kuxa	O-nni-ki-kusha
He takes you (sg)	O-nno-kuxa	O-nna-wu-kusha
He takes him/her/it	O-nni-mu-kuxa	O-nna-m-kusha
He takes us	O-nni-ni-kuxa	O-nna-ni-kusha
He takes you (pl)	O-nno-kuxani	O-nno-wu-kushani
He takes them	O-nna-kuxa	O-nna-wa-kusha

TABLE1.4: A COMPARISON OF SOME TENSE MARKERS IN EMAKHUWA (Kroger 2006:10).

ENGLISH	EMAKHUWA - NAMPULA	EMAKHUWA - CHATSWORTH
He cut coconut palms (Simple past)	Oo-thikila mikole	Oo-thikila ekole
He is cutting coconut palms (Present/continuous)	O-nni-thikila mikole	Onn-thikila ekole
He will cut coconut palms (Future)	O-no-thikila mikole	O-no-thikila ekole

Thus, both the communities use the same basic tense markers. There are a number of similarities between the two. In both tables the similarities between the dialects spoken in the

Nampula region of Mozambique and that of the community in Chatsworth confirms the impressions of Dr Katupha and Prof Mucamisa[1].

Table 1.5: VOWELS EMAKHUWA – RUVUMA

Kisseberth (2003) (Ruvuma dialects, Ikorovere and Imitthupi)			**Chatsworth Variety**
a	um**a**la	to finish	omala
e	n-l**e**tto	guest/visitor	nleto
i	ul**i**ma	to cultivate	olima
o	**e**hopa	fish	ehopa
u	uth**u**ma	to buy	othuma
aa	u-m**aa**la	to be quiet	o maala
ee	u-tt**ee**sa	to lift/carry	othesha
ii	u-w**ii**ha	to bring	orwiha
oo	i-p**oo**tiri	bottle	epothiri
uu	i-luulu	ululation	elulu

Based on Kisseberth (2003:548).

Kisseberth writes that this vowel system is clearly consistant with a range of other Makhuwa speech varieties: *Imeetto, Esaaka, Enlai* (dialects which he has studied in some detail) (2003:548). As mentioned earlier the transcription of the Chatsworth variety requires further research.

While Emakhuwa may seem to have developed new features in Durban, Batibo, Moilwa and Mosaka (1997:23) documented that some studies have also pointed out that Emakhuwa is radically different from the rest of the languages in North Eastern Bantu. Batibo, Moliwa and

[1] Prof. Mucamisa is a Makhuwa from Nampula and he works at the University of Eduardo Mondlane in Maputo. I was introduced to him by Dr. Katupha.

Mosaka (1997:23) reported that Emakhuwa shares a close structural resemblance with seSotho and this resemblance was recognised over three decades ago.

Janson (1991/2) explores this hypothesis of close unity further, suggesting that Emakhuwa (Guthrie's P.30) and Sotho-Tswana shared a period of common development in the area that was to become present-day Zimbabwe. Janson's hypothesis is based on similar developments in the two sets of languages, which he argues must be shared innovations. He adds that these innovations include the evolution of Proto-Bantu pre-nasalised voiced stops into voiceless unaspirated stops, for example *mb>p*; he contends that this unusual change does not occur elsewhere in Bantu languages (Janson 1991/2). Herbert and Bailey (2002) state that there are other similarities between Emakhuwa and seSotho languages, especially the seSotho varieties that show less evidence of contact with Nguni speakers.

Janson (1991) suggests that the Sotho-Makhuwa community was displaced in the eleventh century by incoming Shona, Chichewa and Sena groups. The result was that Emakhuwa was removed to the north and east, separated from the other Southern Bantu languages, and Sotho-Tswana moved to the south and west where it came into contact with Nguni (Herbert and Bailey 2002). This hypothesis, Janson (1991) contends, suggests that Emakhuwa is in fact a southern Bantu language which has undergone some change in contact with other Bantu languages; therefore it is not typical of the languages of the area of Mozambique where it is currently situated. In support of this position Nurse (1999) suggests that there is a general agreement that the phonological characteristics of Northern Mozambique are quite distinctive and warrant its exclusion from the languages further to the north. He adds that both Janson (on phonological grounds) and Ehret (on lexical grounds) propose that Northern Mozambique's nearest genetic linguistic affiliation is not with the languages to its north but with languages of Zone S, particularly seSotho. Also, that seSotho phonology in contrast to other languages in Zone S has not spirantized (i.e. developed fricatives from stops) and strongly resembles Emakhuwa in this regards (Nurse 1999). The table below will show these similarities mentioned above.

TABLE 1.6: SOME SIMILARITIES BETWEEN SESOTHO AND EMAKHUWA

SOTHO	EMAKHUWA	CHATSWORTH VARIETY	PROTO BANTU	GLOSS
-apea	-apea-	wapeya	yipika	'to cook'
-atamela	atramela	ataramela		'to come closer'
ke-	ki-	mi	ni-	'I' (1^{st} person)
pula	epula	epula	mbula	'rain'
podi	epuri	epuri	mbuli	'goat'
nare	enari	[2]	nyat	'buffalo'
leihlo	nitho	nitho	-yico	'eye'
mehlo	meytho	meytho	ma-yico	'eyes'
-ithuta	-isutra-	wushuta	jitunda	'to learn, teach oneslf'

Based on Bailey 1995:47

Richard Bailey (personal communication, Feb 2009) states that while the relationship between Emakhuwa and seSotho has been identified, further research is required to concretise this hypothesis. This research could raise awareness of the existence of Emakhuwa as a minority language that is spoken in South Africa.

Emakhuwa has continued to be a distinct language, spoken within the Zanzibari community, because it has helped to define their identity and distinguish them as a separate group from the local African population. The use of Emakhuwa in the community together with the culture and religion gave the Zanzibari community of Durban a particular status and made membership to the community attractive to other African groups like the Yao, Comorians, Tanzanians and people from local African groups. In the early days, while the community lived in Kings Rest, people from the Comores, Tanzania and Nyembane from Mozambique managed to assimilate into the community. The Yao, while living amongst the Makhuwa remained a distinct group, with their own language and culture. This difference of the Muslim

[2] As a result of migration and different contact situations there are several words that have been lost in the Emakhuwa vocabulary of the Makhuwa community living in Chatsworth.

Makhuwa was entrenched by their treatment under British colonial rule and later through the apartheid policy of separate development. This was contrary to the fate of the Christian Makhuwas, to be discussed in chapter three.

1.3 Rationale and background of this study

The victory of the National Party in South Africa in 1948 at an all white general election ushered in the apartheid era which was based on the policies of separation along the lines of colour and confirmed with the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the pass laws. “Language was used as a tool to entrench inequality through these segregationist policies” (Kamwangamalu 2000), which is evident in the Bantu Education Act of 1953. This act was formulated to protect white interests and impoverish black learners, and ensure mediocrity and under-achievement in black schools (Kamwangamalu 2000). In line with the objective of the Education Act, the government enforced the closure of the mission schools which offered quality education (albeit in small numbers) to black people, often on non-racial lines (Mesthrie 2002:18). This affected some of the children from the Zanzibari community. Mr. J reported that he and a few others from the community attended the mission school run by St. Francis Xavier Catholic Parish. When the school closed, their parents managed to register them at schools with isiZulu mother tongue education. Many of the children in the community that lived in Kings Rest attended “Zulu” schools mainly in the Clairewood and Umbilo areas, with the exception of a few who attended a “Coloured” school in Wentworth. This situation changed when members of the community were classified as “Other Asiatics” and the community was re-located to Chatsworth.

The Soweto Uprising of 1976 challenged the education policy and according to Kamwangamalu (2000) had consequences for language policy planning and implementation. This resulted in the boosting of English in the black communities, making it the language of the liberation and stigmatised Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor (Kamwangamalu 2000).

The post-apartheid South African constitution proposes that “Recognising the historically diminished use and status of indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages” (SA

Constitution 1996:6). In line with this objective South Africa moved from a language policy that was based on bilingualism (Afrikaans and English) to multilingualism or linguistic pluralism, with eleven official languages. According to Alexander (2003:15) the language policy of the new South Africa is geared to the strategy of reconciliation and nation building. South Africa is home to a variety of languages and cultures, which is a result of influx into the southern region of the continent for over the centuries, from the indigenous people the Khoi and San, the different Bantu groups to the Europeans (Portuguese, Dutch, Germans and English), the Malaysians, Indians and others. There must be at least 100 languages spoken in South Africa today, with the new immigrants from Africa, Asia, Europe and the rest of the world. The language in this study, Emakhuwa does not fall into the official list of languages spoken in the country, or on the immigrant language group list.

One of the main goals of the new language policy has been to promote the status of African languages by using them in higher domains such as education, the media and government administration (Kamwangamalu 2004). However, English is elevated above other languages, because it is the language most often used in the media, social media and even by politicians or government officials. Alexander (2003) accused the South African leadership at various levels of playing "lip service to the implementation of a policy of functional multilingualism", suggesting that even former president Mbeki's African Renaissance agenda failed the policy of functional multilingualism. There exists abundant discussion and information on the history of South Africa's language policies pre- and post-apartheid (Alexander 2003, 2004, Kamwangamalu 2000, 2003, 2004, Mutasa 2000, Webb 1996, 2004, Wright 2003, 2004) and the shift towards English. Linguists and activists have documented the implication of the dominance of English, its power and status over indigenous African languages in South Africa. So what are the implications for minority languages? The Zanzibari community is so small that most people are unaware of their existence outside of the Durban area. Emakhuwa is unheard of and not even recognised as a minority language in the country. In a few instances, when members of the community communicated to each other in town, Emakhuwa was often mistaken for seSotho. This often led to a conversation with the outsider about the language, the community and brief history. This lack of awareness and knowledge about the community continues because of the increased use of English by the younger generations active on social media like Facebook, Snapchat, WhatsApp to mention a few. So this research would help in raising awareness about the community, its culture and language and history.

1.4 Problems and Issues to be investigated

This study is interested in the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift, terms coined by Fishman in 1964. Swann et al (2004) define language maintenance as a term usually referring to the preservation of a language or language variety in a context where there is considerable pressure for speakers to shift towards the more prestigious or politically dominant language. The opposite of this term is language shift, which is the inability of a speech community to maintain its language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially more powerful or numerically stronger language (Swann et al 2004: 174-175).

Fasold (1984) asserts that language shift and language maintenance are usually the long-term, collective results of language choice. Language shift is the advanced state of a process whereby a speech community of Language A shifts to speaking another language, Language B. Fasold (1984) also states that when a speech community begins to choose a new language in the domains that were formerly reserved for the old language, it may be a sign that language shift is in progress. Trudgill (2000:191) concurs with this idea when he adds that language shift is the process whereby a community (often linguistic minority) gradually abandons its original language and, via a (sometimes lengthy) stage of bilingualism, shifts to another language.

Edwards (1985) points out that when languages and cultures come into contact and competition over resources develops, language shift is inevitable and will favour the language that provides the most power, prestige and economic gain. Language choices are influenced, consciously and unconsciously by social changes that disrupt the community in numerous ways, and these include a number of external pressures or to use Fishman's (1991) term 'dislocations'.

In his theory of intergenerational transmission, Fishman (1991:11) discusses cases where a 'speech community's native languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, with fewer and fewer users (speakers, readers, writers and even those with a basic understanding) or users with every generation. This may not have been the case for the minority group in question because according to Mesthrie (2006:11) the

Zanzibari speech community offers certain reminders to the student of language, which are as follows:

1. that language loyalty and cultural retention amongst small groups of people is possible, and does not preclude linguistic and cultural adaptation to a wider society (nation building);
2. that 'small' languages can survive despite their official neglect by educational and governmental authorities bent on imposing and promoting the codes of the more powerful, and
3. that the linguistic repertoires of small communities can be valuable cultural and national resources.

So what has happened to the language situation in the community, if anything, since Mesthrie's (2006) positive review in 2006? Is the idea of a Rainbow Nation and the shift to a new identity threatening this minority community and its languages? Is the death of its elderly population cause for concern? Has the culture, history and language of the community been passed down to the younger generations? Is it a case of the "old people making an issue out of nothing" (comments by some youth)? Also, with increased intermarriages and the predominance of English in the household domain, is the Zanzibari community becoming linguistically assimilated? These questions will be answered in Chapter five.

Another issue is raised by Webb (2008), who writes that despite the constitution and despite public pronouncements by presidents in support of multilingualism and linguistic diversity, the language used in public contexts by political and administrative leaders is almost invariably English. Webb (2008:34) adds that official reports, announcements, press releases, forms and all official publications and nationally important documents are only or mainly in English. Is English starting to dominate in the Makhuwa community which once had as Mesthrie (2006:11) wrote, a healthy balance between an outward-looking linguistic competence that includes English and isiZulu (for a majority), and inward-looking one that retains Emakhuwa and (for religious purposes) Classical Arabic?

Code switching, code mixing and lexical borrowing between Emakhuwa, isiZulu and English has become the norm within the community as a form of communication between generations and with the new neighbours since 1994 (recent immigrants from Malawi, Mozambique, DRC and Tanzania). This may be positive on one level of linguistic study. However, it may pose a challenge to the maintenance of the language in the long term. These issues will be discussed in chapter five.

1.5 Objectives

This community provides for interesting research because as a minority community it has managed to maintain its language (albeit with difficulty) for over 135 years during the colonial era, under apartheid, and in the post-apartheid period. The hegemony of English in the country and particularly in Chatsworth, Durban poses a challenge. The presence of English is observed in the different domains, for example communication with neighbours which used to be conducted in Emakhuwa, is now conducted in English, education is in the dominant language and the lifestyle of the community has changed. So the main focus of this study is:

- To contribute to academic research on cultural and language maintenance and shift of immigrant, minority speech communities.
- To contribute to the discussions on the role of age, attitudes, identity and religion on the cultural and language situation of minority speech communities.
- To highlight the role of gender and matrilineality in particular, in the discussion of cultural and language maintenance and shift.
- To help create an awareness of the history and existence of the Makhuwa and Emakhuwa as a minority language in South Africa.
- To provide recommendations for further research and work on the Zanzibari community in Durban, their culture, language and possible connections with the Makhuwa community in Mozambique, Tanzania, Malawi and Madagascar.
- To work together with existing organisations in the community to create a piece of work (in the form of a pamphlet) that the Zanzibari community could access and learn more about their history and language.

1.6 Research questions

(a) What are the theories and debates on language maintenance and shift, and how do they relate to the linguistic situation of Emakhuwa?

(b) What are the origins of the Zanzibari minority speech community?

(c) What is the linguistic repertoire of the community?

(d) What are some of the challenges experienced by the speech community as a minority group?

(e) Has the presence of other languages in South Africa, like English, Chichewa and isiZulu, induced lexical change in the Makhuwa language of the community in Durban and to what extent?

(f) To what extent do age, identity, attitude, politics and religion play a role in maintenance and shift?

(g) In what way does gender play a role in language maintenance and shift?

(h) To what extent does a differential household patterning of maintenance and shift exist in the community?

1.7 Self Reflection: Motivation for the research

According to Nilsson (2004:24), it is still not commonplace to be self-reflective about academic work although the positivistic view of science has been strongly criticised for its lack of reflexivity. Alzbouebi (2007:1) writes that as researchers we need to be committed to showing our place in the setting being investigated. So while this is an academic study of the Zanzibari community, it cannot be divorced from my personal experience of being born and raised in the community, in Bayview, Chatsworth. The challenging part of writing this thesis was trying to stay objective, keeping my personal motivations and biases out of the study.

This study has been a journey of self-discovery that has helped to clarify the different mis-matched stories we learnt about our history, of who we are and where we came from. The community was bilingual (English and Emakhuwa), with Emakhuwa being the dominant language and having a high status. My generation were proud of Emakhuwa, however, we spoke English and used Emakhuwa sparingly. Emakhuwa was helpful in school to talk about teachers and classmates or to get out of difficult situations. Emakhuwa and English were used interchangeably on the playground and at home. At Madrasah were spoke English and Arabic was used in the different lessons. IsiZulu was spoken in certain households, but was not as popular as it is today. While I grew up with parents and Elders in the community who were very rooted in Makhuwa culture and language, my own interest in my language and culture came much later.

The post-1994 period brought with it freedom of movement, providing an opportunity for new contact situations, association and the challenge of defining ourselves in the new SA. Being actively involved in university, the NGO community and travelling, I met with many different people and the questions; "who are you; where do you (pl) come from; what language/s do you speak; say a few words in Emakhuwa", became common. When I moved to England to study, my personal need to be articulate in my home language, Emakhuwa and knowledge of the culture increased. As an international student I came into contact with students from different countries, speaking different languages, who were knowledgeable about their history, culture and cuisine, which had me calling my mother every weekend for recipes. On my return home, I made an effort to re-learn Emakhuwa through keeping friendship with the older generation in the community, the very people that had encouraged me to embark on the research process. As my proficiency in Emakhuwa grew, so did the concern for the lack of maintenance of the language and culture.

This concern was confirmed on my return home, when young people were surprised that I was articulate in Emakhuwa and proud of it. I received comments like, "Oh my God, do you still speak that language?" or "Wow, it is interesting that you still speak the language" or with a dismissive attitude - "you like speaking that language". I started to write down words in Emakhuwa, document the history of the community by speaking with the elderly generation and online search, which led to this study.

The biggest concern to the elders (people in their 60s and over) is the loss of the Zanzibari (Makhuwa) identity, which they hold dear. They believe that their hard work of maintaining their Makhuwa identity, culture and language for over 150 years is being threatened in the new South Africa. Mrs A captures the concern of her peers when she states: *"Wo na hima womMakhuwa wihi suwelakah enlimi no wanyawo, wihi suwelaka milathi saMakhuwa*?" (Can you call yourself a Makhuwa when you do not know your home language, when you do not know the Makhuwa culture?).

Further discussion on insider/outsider research and positionality will be discussed in chapter three which focuses on the methodology used in this study.

1.8 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 is on research methodology and documents, the process and techniques employed to capture the relevant data for the study. It explores the insider/outsider debate, positionality and the method of triangulation used to gather the necessary data for the research.

Chapter 3 follows on the discussion of minority communities and covers the historical background of the Zanzibari community. The chapter explores the journey of the community as freed slaves, to the settlement in the Bluff after the period of their indentured labour and to their resettlement in Chatsworth as "other Asiatic" to the present day Zanzibari/Makhuwa community of Durban. It discusses the five stages involved in the making of the Zanzibari community that helped define the community as a distinct group. It also briefly discusses the situation of the Christian Makhuwas.

Chapter 4 covers the theoretical framework of existing literature on language contact and its outcomes. It explores the definitions, models of and factors influencing language maintenance and language shift within the sociology of language. It will also discuss the plight of two minority language groups in South Africa using Adegbija's guidelines of language maintenance and language shift in minority communities on the continent.

Chapter 5 provides the analysis and discussion of the data captured from the household surveys, interviews, and participant observation carried out in the community. These discussions are guided by the models and factors of language maintenance and language shift.

Chapter 6 summarises the essence of this research and its findings, and provides recommendations for future studies in the community.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an outline of the thesis, introduced the Zanzibari community as the community being studied, their language and concerns about the minority language. The concern for their language is not unique to the Zanzibari community, but has been dominant in language policy debates in the country. The concern for minority languages will be discussed further in the chapter four.

CHAPTER TWO
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will begin with a discussion of the research environment and participants, followed by the strategies employed to collect the data, the challenges experienced while working in the field, a discussion on the insider/outsider debate and some self reflection.

2.2 Research Environment and participants

2.2.1 The research environment

The research was conducted in Bayview, Chatsworth, as mentioned in earlier chapters, an area where the community was relocated to under the Group Areas Act, between 1961 and 1962. Bayview is a working class community nestled in the inner recesses of the Indian township of Chatsworth, with a total population of approximately 32 000 (Benjamin 2007). The interviews were carried out on Summerfield Roads (Road 240), from the intersection with Pelican drive till just after the area's main mosque, where the road intersects with Skylark Place, on Pasadena Crescent (A and B – Road 245), Seagull Place (Road 246). This is a small area in which the Zanzibari community live and are predominant. As result of a housing shortage in the community, there are members of the community that live in other parts of Bayview, like the flats area and other units in Chatsworth.

2.2.2 The Research Participants

The sample for this research was made up of 4 subgroups. Subgroups (a) comprised of 70 individuals, of different age groups, gender, and ethnic background.

Participants were approached directly and asked if they wanted to participate in the research. In the case of the subgroups friends and family were involved to help identify new immigrants to the community and help with introductions.

The largest group of participants were used for the household surveys, where every second house of this relatively small community was visited. Interviews were conducted in 70 households in the area, and the total number of participants who were interviewed was 70. In order to achieve as much data as possible the research tried to ensure a balance in age, gender, education, employment (unemployment) of the participants. All participants in this group had to be parents, to help assess if there was intergenerational transmission taking place.

A second, smaller group of 20 other participants were chosen for interviews. These participants can be divided into three different categories, the elders (oldest members of the community), who were chosen because of their active involvement in the community. These were community members that were informally recommended by their peers, who were known to me. After an interview, the elder was generally asked to recommended somebody that would help further with the research.

The youth (young members of the community, between the ages of 18 – 35) were chosen on the basis of how long they had lived in the community, their contact with the older generation and their willingness to be interviewed. The last group were the new immigrants (people that had recently moved into the community for various reasons and from different countries or areas within South Africa in the past 5 years). I had to ask members of the community to identify the new immigrants. I was then directed to 10 people, and this was based on their willingness to talk to me about their experiences. There were altogether 20 interviewees, made up of 10 elders, 5 youth and 5 recent immigrants. The latter were mostly men, who had immigrated to South Africa in search of work, to help their families in Mozambique, Malawi and Tanzania.

Another group of participants were whole families that were observed over a period of time in their homes. These were family and friends, which made it easy to walk in for an informal chat and observe the language use in this domain. A total of four families were observed over a period of six months.

2.3 Method of Data Collection

The techniques that were employed for data collection overall were varied: questionnaires, household surveys, participant observation, interviews and data sources (documentaries and reports). According to Johnstone (2000:21) sociolinguistic claims are based primarily on field research. However, it also includes finding and interpreting scholarly sources. These techniques are associated with both the quantitative and qualitative research methods. The latter is concerned with the more subjective aspect of people's lives and their experiences. It is a type of research that encourages those who are being studied to provide their own perspective in the research.

2.3.1 Interviews

According to Milroy and Gordon (2003) interviews have traditionally been the most common approach to data collection among sociolinguists and are one-on-one exchanges that differ from a survey in being relatively less structured. In a variationist sociolinguistic interview, the interviewer attempts to elicit more extended stretches of unscripted, conversational speech, with the basic objective being to observe the participant's[3] relaxed natural usage (Milroy and Gordon 2003). In this more sociological survey, the interviews conducted in the Zanzibari community were aimed at gathering information on the historical background of the community, the experience of life in the community, the knowledge of the Emakhuwa language, language choices and uses, culture and reception by members of the community when they moved to the area. The interviews with the elderly captured the community's move from Kings Rest in the Bluff to Chatsworth, and to verify existing data and information available on the Zanzibari community. The interviews have assisted in documenting the experiences of the community and the challenges their members of the community faced as a minority community in Kwa-Zulu Natal. The interviews remained open ended and assumed a conversational manner, but questions were focussed on the objectives of the study. Interviews averaged one to two hours in length, with some exceptions.

[3] Note that in the text Milroy and Gordon makes use of the word subject, but I refrain from using this word and instead chose to use the word participant, since it reflects more accurately the role of interviewee in the documentation of their history.

The interviews with the young members of the community were conducted to ascertain the group dynamics, social networks within the community, their experiences of growing up in the community and the young people's attitude towards the Emakhuwa language and culture. These interviews were much shorter and generally under an hour.

The interviews with the recent immigrants helped to shed some light on the origins of immigrants to the community, how they had heard about the community, their reception by members of the community, which aimed to verify Oosthuizen's (1982) discussion on the community having an integrated nature. This group of recent immigrants comprised of a Zulu woman who had come to the community through marriage (to a Makhuwa man), and four young men from Malawi, Mozambique, and Tanzania who have come to South Africa in search of employment and better opportunities and were drawn to the community because of religious beliefs.

Twinn (1998:660) argues that in order to 'maximise the quality of data', it is important to interview participants in their first language (see Irvine et al 2008). So while the interviews with the older generation were in Emakhuwa with much borrowing from the English language, with the younger groups it was mainly carried out in English with borrowing from Emakhuwa. In the interviews with the young men from Mozambique, I had to employ the help of a translator who spoke fluent Portuguese and Emakhuwa. We were able to communicate in Emakhuwa, with borrowing from English and clarifications in Portuguese. The interviews with the community members from Malawi, Tanzania and a Zulu woman married into the community were held in English. I used a tape recorder and asked people if they had any objections to being recorded. While most people had no objection, some people did ask for the recorder to be turned off during some responses and others asked that the tape recorder be switched off during the entire interview. I made notes during the interview and would return to the notes after the interviews and add information where necessary.

2.3.2 Survey: Questionnaire

A survey methodology is a highly developed technique for obtaining a representative sample of opinions and attitudes from an enumerated population, but the interactive technique used in such surveys is designed to keep rapport at a moderate level and filter out all information that cannot be coded in the scheme developed (Labov 1981:4). One of the methods of obtaining data common to sociology and sociolinguistics using the survey approach is by means of a written questionnaire.

Labov (1981) writes that when surveys are carried out appropriately, written surveys can provide good amounts of useful data in a fairly brief time-frame, and are better for addressing some of the research questions than others. Surveys, whether they are exploratory, confirmatory, analytical or descriptive, gather data which are intended to describe existing conditions, identify standards against which existing conditions can be compared or determine the relationships which exist between specific events (Cohen et al. 2007). I employed this approach to gather enough data within the community over a short period of time. A household survey was administered to 70 homes within the community, which would cover the three main roads in the area. The survey attempted to elicit the number of people in the family domain that spoke Emakhuwa, comparing the different generations and to establish whether there is an intrusion in this domain, and how? It also tried to assess whether gender plays a role in the process of maintenance or shift, as demonstrated in the studies cited earlier in chapter two.

The group targeted here were the parental generation, which is a large group that had to be broken down into different age categories. These categories were 25-34 (these were the young parents), 35-44 (average parent group), 45-54 (older parent generation some could even be grandparents) and the 55+ (these were the older parents, grandparent generation and were helpful to adding on the move of the community from Kings Rest to Chatsworth). Here I also tried to maintain a balance between the genders, and those who were employed or unemployed. While it was a helpful method to capture data, some of the responses concerning language usage had to be verified. This was achieved by observing communication between family members or starting an informal conversation with family members in the home or on the street.

I administered the surveys and allocated one hour for the completion of the questionnaires; however the length often depended on the age group being interviewed. The older participants had a tendency of adding short anecdotes and reflections on the status of the language in the past and today. Administering the questionnaire personally was positive as I had the opportunity to explain the purpose of my research and to clarify certain questions as we went through the questionnaire.

2.3.3 Participant observation

Milroy and Gordon (2003) take Johnstone's (2000) position further when they argue that all sociolinguistics share a common orientation to language data, believing that analyses of linguistic behaviour must be based on empirical data, meaning that the data is collected through observation. This research looked at the language use of the different generations in a few households and events in the community. Observation has always been central to sociolinguistic practice, both with the Labovian sociolinguistic tradition and the Hymesian ethnography of speaking (Coupland et al 2001). It also proved very useful for this thesis on the external history and sociology of language of the Makhuwa in Durban.

Johnstone (2000:80) holds that participation observation is a method of ethnography which has long been important in qualitative sociolinguistic work, and they are being used more and more explicitly in quantitative studies as well. She further adds that participant observation is a primary research technique within the ethnographic approach which entails long term involvement in a community and is fundamentally a pursuit of local cultural knowledge (2000). Gordon and Milroy (2003) hold that the principal benefits of participant observation are:

a) The amount and quality of data collected, and

b) The familiarity with community practices gained by the investigator.

As a member of the community being researched participant observation came natural to the research process. As a researcher from the community I had access to different domains from public to private. I was able to observe people at public gatherings, in the *Musjid* (mosque), the young people in schools and *Madrassah* (Islamic school), on the street and in their homes. So while I was able to observe the interaction of the different members of the community in public, I also chose to observe two different families, mentioned as family A and B. Family A is my own family, with grandmother, my parents, brother, aunt and cousin.

Family B are relatives and live across the road from my parents. The homes selected for the "close-up" observation were that of my own and a relative. These homes were chosen because: they were accessible, the time spent in these homes would not be an issue, conversation would be more natural, and there were more than two generations in each home. The main object was to observe the inter-generational dialogue that took place and the language/s used in these dialogues in each household. Here there was no set time frame. I would engage with the different family members based on the language of their preference.

2.4 Challenges

The Zanzibari community in Durban is suffering from research fatigue. The participants commented that they were tired of people coming into the community and conducting research, without explaining its purpose or providing eventual feedback. One commented that, "they were tired of being used".

In keeping with the previous position, the community was suspicious of my research, despite my insider status. What was I going to do with the information? Was it for the media, and were they going to be quoted verbatim? Rumours were started that I might try to record a cultural event (*Nimwari* initiation discussed in Chapter three) that would be televised. These were rumours addressed during field work when the objective of the research was explained and participants were made to sign a consent form. This was a challenge I faced as an insider, researching my own community. I will discuss the insider versus outsider debate further in section 2.5.

Another challenge experienced during the field work was where participants expected to be given some money. Again this related to the previous two challenges. Some members of the community were used to an outsider coming into the community, interviewing them and then giving them some money for their time. This was problematic and as a result, I committed myself instead to developing a pamphlet of the research findings that will be distributed in the community.

The issue of being an insider is also relevant, when the research is connected to another community project. Participants thought that this research was being conducted on behalf of the Zanzibari Development Trust (to be referred to as the ZDT henceforth)[4], and were initially defensive. Participants asked about Kings Rest land reclamation claim and whether they were going to get their monies? This relates to the South African government's payment of reparation to communities forcefully removed under apartheid, which is an important commitment but seen to be beset with complications and frustratingly slow for those "removed" from Kings Rest. When the research was explained, they then shared their frustrations regarding the land reclamation claims, which was helpful but consumed interview time. The speakers determined the choice of language/s used. The interview may begin in English but end up being a blend of both English and Emakhuwa.

As has been documented in the literature, in many instances, people say what they think the researcher wants to hear. For example, when participants claimed that they spoke the language or that their children spoke the language and in some cases claiming that they didn't or that the language was used in several different domains. Upon engaging in a discussion with the children on the street, some of the responses were confirmed or refuted. This will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Community politics is yet another challenge one needed to be conscious of and can be an advantage or disadvantage as an inside researcher. Family feuds, organisational conflicts and power struggles are some examples that researchers may encounter. I had to get permission to conduct research within the community. So for the purposes of the research and to avoid further conflicts I approached the ZDT, the Civic Association and Elders in the community. Also all participants signed the form or agreed to be interviewed on tape.

While there is a wealth of knowledge on the different language phyla on the continent, especially on the Bantu languages, there is a paucity of literature and information in South Africa on Emakhuwa. Furthermore, a number of completed works on Emakhuwa were documented in Portuguese and a few in French, which are inaccessible to me.

[4] The ZDT is a community trust that was established to represent the community in the land reclamation application. Once the land was reclaimed, the ZDT was supposed to coordinate the redistribution of the land and/or monies to the originally displaced people (from Kings Rest). Over five years later, this process is yet to come to fruition.

The most important challenge of all was related to recording. As a result of the issue of suspicion mentioned above, not all interviews were recorded. Some participants asked me to switch off the recording device when they shared certain information, while some asked if the device could be switched off throughout the entire interview. One or two refused to be interviewed. This was surprising, because I had assumed that because I was an insider, a member of the community, the people would welcome me.

It must also be noted that the trip to Mozambique, while it proved helpful for networking and gathering some information, was somewhat difficult because of the language barrier. Very few people spoke English and when Emakhuwa was used, it borrowed heavily from the Portuguese language. This trip relied on the Makhuwa social network in Maputo, friend of a friend links to get the necessary information, which was of interest to me as I was now entering the community as an outsider and heavily dependent on my contact. I made my own link, writing to Dr Katupha (a Makhuwa), who completed a linguistic study of Emakhuwa, and a former professor at the University of Eduardo Mondlane. He encouraged my research and introduced me to his Makhuwa network in Maputo.

2.5 Insider or Outsider research and its implications on the research

The debate of insider versus outsider in research is fairly new and Chavez (2008) highlights that it is largely that, a debate. Before engaging in a discussion on this debate, we need to understand what being an insider or outsider means. Merton (1972) defined the insider as an individual who possesses ‘a priori’ intimate knowledge of the community and its members. Jenkins (2000) defined an insider as a member of the ‘in-group’ with access to the past and present. Chavez (2008) adds that today, insider scholars have been characterised as total insiders; researchers share multiple identities (e.g., according to race, ethnicity or class) or profound experiences (e.g., wars, family membership).

Chavez (2008:474) writes that in the positivist tradition the outsider perspective was considered optimal for its “objective” and “accurate” account of the field. In contrast the insiders who possessed the deeper insights about the people, place and events were believed to hold a biased position that complicated their ability to observe and interpret. Kvale (1996) argues that insider research is an approach that allows for understanding through a rational discourse and reciprocal critique among those identifying and interpreting a phenomenon.

Banks (1998) rejects this distinction calling it a false dichotomy and elucidates that the outsiders and insiders have to contend with similar methodological issues around positionality, a researcher's sense of self, and the situated knowledge s/he possesses as a result of her/his location in the social order. Chavez (2008:40) takes it a step further and ultimately claims the that insiderness or outsiderness are not fixed or static positions, rather they are ever-shifting and permeable social locations that are differentially experienced and expressed by community members. She adds that researchers must negotiate rapport within the spectrum of social identity (Chavez 2008). She suggests that whether their researcher is an insider or outsider, neither has monopoly on advantage and objectivity.

According to Tagliamonte (2006:26) common personal association (ethnicity, religion, nationality, place of origin, etc.) are often critical, not only for being able to enter these communities, but also for mitigating the 'observer's paradox'. Shared background can make or break the temper of the interview situation, and this is true of my research experience in my community in Durban. My insider status can be recognised as having a shared culture, ethnicity, history, language, lifestyle, religion and concern for the future of the language and culture.

Baca Zinn (1979:209) postulates that a central theme in the recent critique of research on minority communities is the unequal relationship between social researchers and the communities they study. She adds that this relationship is unequal at best and exploitative at worst (Baca Zinn 1979). Meaning that researchers take information and eventually receive professional advancement, but the minority people receive nothing for their time and information they provide (Baca Zinn 1979:209). This may not fully apply to the situation in the Zanzibari community in Chatsworth, but the people have felt exploited. While I experienced some challenges, these heavily related to the research fatigue the community was suffering from as a result of prior research and little feedback.

My status as a member of the community (a person who was born and raised in the community and by the community) and as a student/researcher helped me gain access to different domains as mentioned above, in other words creating nearly instant access and rapport. Apart from some of the issues raised above, participants generally felt relaxed and divulged quite a bit of information during interviews, some of it off the record. As an insider researcher there are some challenges when conducting research in your own community. De Lyser (2001) writes that insider researchers may face difficulties during the research process because of over-familiarity with the research context and participants. For me the challenges were being too familiar with the community and trying to stay objective, trying not to be like the Elders and romanticise the past, balancing being the insider and the researcher. It was difficult and to be honest I do not think that I was able to remain totally objective. During this study, I relocated to another country and I think that the move helped to put a bit of distance or shift my romantic idea of Emakhuwa and its use in the community. More importantly to understand that shift/change is not necessarily a bad thing.

The participant observation method is based on a special form of observation in which the researcher is not merely a passive observer, but is expected to assume a range of roles and may actually participate in the events being studied. While this technique has advantages like the possibility of gaining access to events or groups that are otherwise inaccessible and for getting an insider viewpoint, it also has disadvantages. This relates to the researcher getting too involved in the activities of the community and thus clouding his/her judgement (Gordon and Milroy 2003).

Having grown up in the Zanzibari community, having been active in the youth programmes and constantly engaging with the elderly allowed me easy access to the elders. This network helped in guiding me towards the ideal participants to approach in order to document the history of the community.[5]

Also, I knew how to approach culturally sensitive issues, in particular to discussion and observation of the women's initiation ceremonies (Nimwari process) without offending and disrespecting the women elders in charge of this passage into womanhood. My status also helped during the ceremonies because I was called upon to be an interpreter for the elderly, to translate and explain the teachings into English for the young women being initiated.

[5] Also when I faced the challenge of limited access to written information on the community, one of the Elders sent me to another member of the community. He told me, "go to Mr A and tell him to give you all the necessary articles and paperwork you need, and tell him that I sent you". I approached the gentleman, used the elder's name and an hour later received some information that was helpful.

Chavez (2008) proposes that her status as an insider bound her to the participants in ways perhaps not felt by outsiders, especially with regards to reciprocity. She was compelled to reciprocate participants' contributions by offering to chronicle the participants' experiences into a family history album.

Overall I had a positive experience and I learnt a lot about myself, and my community. I agree with Chavez (2008) that if insider accounts are going to serve their role in bringing social justice to minority and indigenous communities, we must begin to attend to a systematic approach to being on the inside. While my community is unlikely to read this piece of work in its entirety, they still look forward to some information, some published work that will share their side of the story, and help understand the roots of the community.

2.6 Conclusion

In order to achieve the objectives of this study several different research methods were employed, in line with the triangulation method. Triangulation also known as the 'mixed method research' is an attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint (Cohen and Marion 1986:254). For the purposes of this study a household survey was used to elicit whether intergenerational transmission was taking place and if the concerns of the Elders and myself included were real. Interviews were used to gather information on the historical background of the community and the attitude of the people. Participant observation was used to observe language use in the different domains and to further elicit whether the language is being maintained or undergoing shift. Chapter five will outline the data captured using the above methods and discuss these findings.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORY: THE MAKING OF A MINORITY COMMUNITY, THE ZANZIBARIS OF DURBAN

3.1 Introduction

The Zanzibaris of Durban are predominantly Makhuwa. Makhuwa (Amakhuwa), also referred to in earlier texts as Makuas, Macua or Marqious, were probably part of the first "Southern Bantu" groups that emigrated out of central Africa. This migration took place during the first five centuries AD (Martinez 1988). In time the group that was to become Makhuwas progressively occupied the fertile planes next to the rivers in the northern part of Mozambique (Martinez 1988:44). The establishment of the Makhuwas in Mozambique during the 4th to the 8th century was a gradual process, which was at the same time a transformation from a nomadic existence to a more stable and permanent economic mode. During this time the focus of the group was upon settling in a particular area, ensuring food security and self-defence (Martinez 1988: 45).

The 9th to the 14th centuries mark the migration of other Bantu to the Southern parts of Africa. These migrations also directly affected the now sedentary Makhuwas and led to adjustments and changes in their lifestyle[6]. Pouwell (2000:252-3) wrote that the Makhuwas formed new commercial alliances and their need for defence against frequent attacks from slave raiders increased. He added that it was during 9th to 14th century that the Arabs appeared in the Mozambican area, initially in a non-violent manner, trading with the people in the area and in some cases living amongst the people (Pouwell 2000:253). Pouwell (2000) explains further that contact between the Makhuwa and Arabs was not only trade related, but exogamous, as Arab men settled into Makhuwa communities and married Makhuwa women. This contact situation introduced Islam to the Makhuwa people, and led to the conversion of

[6] www.webmissions.net/makua

some Makhuwas. The introduction of the Arabic language changed the linguistic repertoire of these communities. However, the contact situation later changed with the Arab involvement in the slave trade. The Arabs captured slaves and shipped them to the slave markets on the Indian Ocean Islands and the Middle East. The Arabs were followed by the Portuguese, who caused further oppression upon of the local Africans living in what came to be known as Portuguese East Africa.

Alpers and Isaacman (2005) report that the slave trade displaced many black Africans and saw many from Mozambique sent to different parts of the world. Slavery destroyed lives, families, and affected cultures, by creating new contact situations and new languages. Zimba (2005) noted that the master of La Licorne, a ship sailing to Haiti in 1788[7] lists four different ethnicities among the captives he was transporting Macous (Macua or Makhuwa), Massaous (Yao), Macondes (Makonde or Maconde), and Vambanais (from Inhambane). Zimba (2005) adds that these groups still inhabit what is today modern Mozambique.

This chapter will discuss migration as a phenomenon, in relation to the history of Zanzibaris[8], the contact situations which influenced the identity and linguistic choices, the repertoire of the community and cultural and language maintenance and shift which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

According to Ms F, the name Zanzibaris came about as a result of a misunderstanding by the ship's captain. Asked where did they come from (referring to the freed slaves), he assumed that he was asked where the ship had come from and therefore responded, Zanzibar. This might be a folk myth, though according to Sheriff (2008:557), the community became known as Zanzibaris, because they were described in the Natal press as 'East Africans from Zanzibar' and 'liberated Africans from Zanzibar'. This gave the community an opportunity to re-invent itself, a strategy of which Kaarsholm (2013:457) referred to as tactics centring on high-profile notions of diaspora – "flying the flag".

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[7] European Tribune, www.eurotrib.com/story/2006/6/16/0912/76586

[8] The group was classified as Zanzibari because they were former slaves that were freed from Arab dhows and taken to the island of Zanzibar for rehabilitation and then sent to Natal. However; Sheriff (2008) documents that very few of the freed slaves arrived in Zanzibar and that the name was adopted by members of the community to maintain their identity as a group separate from the local African population.

The 'Zanzibaris' (referred to as Ama-zizimbane or Ama-kheewa by the local Zulu population) were made up of Muslims and Christians. The Christian population which was 'adopted by the Roman Catholic Church were later dispersed by the government, and assimilated into the Zulu communities and townships of Durban (Seedat 1973). This Kaarsholm (2013:457) states is the second tactic of a migrant group which centres on gradual assimilation as a way to establish credentials as local residents. This he referred to as 'melting' (Kaarsholm 2013). Unfortunately, as they did not keep in constant contact with the Muslim population, little is known of their whereabouts. How this happened will be briefly discussed later in this chapter. The focus of this research is on the Muslim population, who negotiated their identity and through the use of language, culture, and religion as binding forces, were able to keep themselves together as a distinct group of people.

There is little literature available on the Zanzibari community, and thus this chapter had to depend on a few historical and sociological articles, viz. a study by Basil Fuller (n.d), in-depth research conducted by Zubeida Seedat (1973) and later C.G. Oosthuizen (1982), Abdul Sheriff (2008), Preben Kaarsholm (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013), and sociolinguistic research by Rajend Mesthrie (1996, 2006).

3.2 Migration as a Phenomenon: Sociolinguistic Perspectives

The history of the Zanzibari community is tied to forced migration, and involving translocation from Mozambique, where the slaves were captured and transported on slave dhows. These dhows were destined for the slave markets in the Indian Ocean Islands. The freed slaves were then transported to the British colony of Natal[9] and then the Bluff. They were later forced out of the Bluff by the apartheid government and sent to Chatsworth.

Migration is defined in very simple terms as the movement of a person or people (migrant/s) from one place to another, within a particular time frame. According to Parnwell (1993), migration is generally taken to involve "the permanent or quasi-permanent relocation of an individual or group of individuals from a place of origin to a new destination". The movement can take place within a country (intra-state) - usually rural-urban migration,

[9] The colony of Natal later became known as Natal Province under the National party government. Now it's Kwa-Zulu Natal province.

between two countries (inter-state), within the continent (intra-continental) or even between continents (inter-continental). These days the term ‘trans-nationalism’ is becoming popular for the last two types of migration. This movement can be forced or voluntary, which determines the length of stay in a particular place.

Meierkord and Jungbluth (2007:1-2) postulate that in modern times from the era of industrialization onwards, a number of different forms of migration have occurred, apart from the more traditional forms of slavery, indentured labour, settlements in the colonies and post-colonial migration. People migrate as manual workers, highly qualified specialists and students, entrepreneurs, refugees or as family members of previous migrants (Castle and Miller 1998:4). This is evident in the Zanzibari community which is made up of a combination of descendants of freed slaves, of merchants from Asia, migrant workers from neighbouring countries, refugees, and so on. Evidence will be revealed in chapter five.

Less traditional is the form of migration where the migrants who often remain undocumented are victims of human trafficking or who suffer the consequences of ‘ethnic cleansing’. Here migration whether forced or voluntary is driven by economic factors. This idea is supported by Ghai (1997), who proposes that migration, markets and the law are among the major factors that have facilitated globalization across regions and continents. He adds that starting from the 1950s, migration has brought the nations of the world closer and resulted in the diffusion (and sometimes the destruction) of cultures (Ghai 1997). In light of this study it also has implications on the language of migrants and host communities. Ghai (1997) asserts that the spread of markets is responsible, more than any other factor, for the integration of the world (not just its economies), the hegemony or demise of cultures (and therefore languages), the universalisation of production processes and the emergence of a common worldview.

Chambers (1994:5) somewhat poetically discusses migration as a movement in which neither the points of departure nor those of arrival are immutable or certain. He adds that it calls for a dwelling in language, in histories and in identities that are constantly subject to transition and mutation (Chambers 1994). Thus the completion and ‘domestication’ of this story becomes an impossibility. This was apparent in the Zanzibari community. According to interviewees, children learnt different narratives of their history. Now efforts are being made by members of the community to develop networks with the Makhuwa communities of Mozambique, trace family and community history with the guidance of Kaarsholm. The literature by

Seedat (1973), Oosthuizen (1982), Sheriff (2008) and Kaarsholm (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, and 2016) providing the foundation of these efforts.

Migration is a subject that requires an interdisciplinary approach, each discipline contributing something of its own, theoretically and empirically (Brettell and Hollifield, 2000). Brettell and Hollifield (2000) developed a matrix to summarise principle research questions and methodologies and dominant theories and hypotheses.

TABLE 3.1: MIGRATION THEORIES ACROSS DISCIPLINES

Discipline	Research Question(s)	Levels/Units of Analysis	Dominant Theories	Sample Hypothesis
Anthropology	How does migration affect cultural change and ethnic identity?	More micro/individuals, household, groups	Relational or structuralist and transnational	Social networks help maintain cultural difference.
Demography	How does migration affect population change?	More macro/ populations	Relational (borrows heavily from economics)	Immigration increases the birth rate
Economics	What explains the propensity to migrate and its effects?	More micro/ individuals	Rationalist: cost-benefit and push-pull	Incorporation depends on the human capital of immigrants
History	How do we understand the immigrant experience?	More micro/ individuals and groups	Eschews theory and hypothesis testing	N/A
Law	How does the law influence migration? And vice versa.	Macro and micro/ the political and legal system	Institutionalist and rationalist (borrows from all the social sciences	Rights create incentive structures for migrants
Political Science	Why do states have difficulty controlling migration?	More macro/ political and international systems	Institutionalist and rationalist	States are often captured by pro-immigrant interests.
Sociology	What explains immigrant incorporation?	More macro/ ethnic groups and social class	Structuralist and/or functionalist	Immigrant incorporation is dependent on social capital.
Sociolinguistics	How does migration affect society, cultures and languages?	Micro/ ethnic groups and speech communities	Language Contact theory, including language maintenance and language shift	Maintenance of a language by (subordinate) migrants beyond three

				generations is unusual.

Adapted from Brettell and Hollifield, 2000:3

The last row of this table on Sociolinguistics has been added, as it is the focus of this research. Sociolinguistics is concerned with language and migration, and migration as a leading cause of contact–induced change (Kerswill 2006:1). This position is endorsed by Jungbluth and Meierkord (2007) who state that mass migration was always closely linked to the spread of languages. Deumert (2005:58) agrees with this idea when she writes that growing linguistic diversity is one of the most notable consequences of the movement of people.

Kerswill (2006) writes that migration has profound sociolinguistic consequences, as the demographic balance of the sending and receiving populations is altered. He holds that migrants are typically young and economically active, and as they are uprooted from familiar social and sociolinguistic set-ups, in time form an ethnolinguistic minority (Kerswill 2006). This minority group has to relate sociolinguistically to a new 'host' speech community, which in turn becomes transformed by their arrival. Blommaert (2010) augments this statement when he states that migrants take their languages and cultural belongings with them, but the separation from their country of origin and the permanent nature of migration is always likely to bring pressure to accommodate to the host society.

Curtin (1997) reported that some early migration in Africa, over thousands of years ago, occurred with the invention of agriculture. These people, together with their agricultural skills and their language spread north into the Middle East and west across North Africa. Curtin's (1997) study on this process of migration in the African continent focuses on the Afro-Asiatic languages, which include Arabic, Hebrew and other closely related Semitic languages like Geez, Amharic and Tigrinya.

The Polynesians' seaborne migrations eastward into the Pacific in the first millennium B.C. are also relevant to African and large scale migration history. They were followed by the Malagasy, who also spoke an Austronesian language and moved west across the Indian Ocean from Indonesia to Madagascar, making them possibly the original settlers on the island. They brought with them their language which is now the dominant language on the island spoken by the descendants of the original migrants of Indonesia and those that migrated from the African mainland (Curtin 1997:67). Some of the migrants from the African mainland were Makhuwa, who migrated by force as slaves destined for the slave markets in Madagascar.

Since the Zanzibaris were not the first slave community in South Africa, I briefly look at the history of slavery in the Cape. The subsequent migration process into Southern Africa from Europe had major linguistic implications, like the predominance of English and Afrikaans in South Africa mentioned in the previous chapter. International trade relations led to the establishment of the Cape of Good Hope as a natural halfway station for traders like the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) which later established a settlement in the Cape. This led to the immigration of the Dutch, Germans, French, and British into the region, bringing with them their languages and culture. Also documented is the fact that the Company brought many Africans from different parts of the continent and Asians to fill labour requirements.

Armstrong (1979) commenting on the slaves in the Cape writes that the ethnic diversity of slaves also meant linguistic diversity. He adds that the slaves from Angola, Dahomey, Madagascar, various Indonesian Islands, South Asia and the East African Coast and its hinterland, would bring their own languages with them, consequently having difficulty communicating among themselves and their masters (Armstrong 1979). Armstrong (1979) notes that the native languages of the slaves had limited utility and survival value in their new environment. He continues that a communal identity based on their traditional languages and cultures was rapidly eroded away, even in the case of the numerous Malagasy.

According to Harris (2000) between 1807 and 1816 over two thousand captured slaves were released from ships in the south western Indian Ocean and liberated at Cape Town. These rootless people (often referred to as ‘Prize Negroes’), were then indentured for a period of 14 years to masters who were called on to provide them with a Christian education (Harris 2000). He adds that the Prize Negroes, also known as ‘liberated Africans’ constituted an important source of labour for the colony in the aftermath of the abolition of the slave trade in 1808 (Harris 2000). The active collaboration of the Portuguese with the British in the suppression of the slave trade led to the second wave of Prize Negroes entering the Cape between 1839 and 1846 (Harris 2000). While there is reference to the term Prize Negroes, there is insufficient information and explanation as to why the freed slaves were allotted this title. This group assimilated into the local groups in Cape Town, a different trajectory to the Zanzibari community that was brought to Natal.

According to Mesthrie (1992) “the British annexation of Natal in 1845 brought with it the introduction of Indian migrants to this region to establish and work on plantations”. An agreement between the government of Natal and that of India confirmed the migration of indentured-labourers, which led to the establishment of the Indian community on the coast of Natal. The Indian community today makes up 2.6%[10] of the South African population (and a much larger percentage in Kwa-Zulu Natal Province). He adds that the linguistic implication of this ratio and language contact with the plantation owners and local African population is given in Mesthrie (1992). The Indian community and the Zanzibari community have lived alongside each other for many decades, yet their linguistic situations are so different. The Indian community experienced language shift to the dominant language and the latter language maintenance to some extent. According to Seedat (1973) the initial contact between the Indian Muslim community and the Zanzibari community can be traced back to when the freed Africans who had settled in the Bluff (in Durban) travelled to attend the Islamic Friday prayers. They joined the congregation in the Indian-established Juma Masjid in Grey Street during the last quarter of the nineteenth century (Seedat 1973). This close proximity and its linguistic implications will be discussed later.

3.3 The Transplantation of Zanzibaris: Settlement in Kwa-Zulu Natal

3.3.1 Introduction

Harries (2000) reports that several thousand slaves were exported to the Comoros and Madagascar (destined for the Arab or French slave market) from small harbours and river mouths along the coast of northern Mozambique in the 1870s-80s. Harries (2000) adds that many of these were Makhuwa and Yao, but they also included people captured from up the Zambezi and inland. It has to be noted that the group of Prize Negroes mentioned above was separate from the group of ‘Zanzibaris’ that arrived in Natal much later. This section will

[10] www.info.gov.za/aboutsa/people.htm

provide a historical background of the Zanzibari community, their experiences, religion, language and culture to characterise how this minority community was established. It will also discuss the successes and challenges, the factors that contributed to the communities' efforts to remain a distinct group, maintain their culture and language. As there is little knowledge and information about the Zanzibari community, the next section will look at the historical background of the community of study.

3.3.2 The Five Stages in makings of the Zanzibari Community in Durban

This section will discuss the makings of the Zanzibari community in Chatsworth, Durban by using what Seedat (1973) identified as a five stage process:

Stage 1: Migration to Durban, Kwa-Zulu Natal

The migration of the Zanzibaris to Durban was the result of forces beyond their control and linked directly to Britain's role in trying to abolish slave trading activities of Arabs and the Portuguese along the East African Coast (Seedat 1973). According to Seedat (1973), efforts were made by a number of British Consuls-General stationed in Zanzibar to engage the Sultan and get him to stop these activities. However, they were unsuccessful.

The British continued their campaign; naval patrols seized Arab dhows and freed slaves they had on board. The Makhuwa were the dominant group on board the dhows. The British then faced the question of where to settle these freed slaves. Britain's work must be understood in the context of history and the era that had just begun: colonialism and building the British Empire. Seedat (1973) suggests that the transplantation of the freed slaves to Natal served two purposes:

a) To solve the British's problem of trying to place slaves that were freed from the Arab dhows, and
b) To solve the problem of acute labour shortage in their colony in Natal.

These suggestions were viewed by Seedat (1973:6) as the first stage in the makings of the Zanzibari community and which were quantified by the leadership in Natal who reported the following:

a) The freed slaves would not feel alien in the colony because they were still on African soil.
b) There was ample scope for the employment of the freed slaves and subsequent location.
c) The East Africans from Zanzibar were advanced in comparison to the indigenous populations with regards to industry, thus being in a position to introduce new resources and develop old ones.

Realizing the benefits the freed slaves would provide to the colony, the Government in Natal began making the necessary arrangements for their arrival. On the evening of the 4^{th} August 1873, HMS Briton arrived in Durban with 113 freed slaves (Oosthuizen 1982). Oosthuizen (1982) documented that this first batch of freed slaves was comprised of 28 adult men, 22 adult women, 18 girls under the age of 12 years, 37 boys under the age of 12 years and 8 infants. These were mostly young people, which confirms Kerswill's (2006) generalisation that migrants are typically young and economically active and in time form an ethnolinguistic minority.

The freed slaves were placed under the protection of the Protector of Immigrants, who housed them in the 'Coolie Barracks' then used to house indentured Indians at the Point near Durban harbour (Seedat 1973). My elderly informants had no recollection of this event and stated that they only knew about Kings Rest, where many were born in the early days of the settlement. They were conferred a special identity partially linked with that of the Indians, which was to be perpetuated. Kaarsholm (2006-7:51) confirms this point when he writes that while the indenture of the community was criticised in humanitarian circles at the time, being given parallel terms to Indians provided longer-term opportunities for new immigrants or at least for those of them who remained Muslim. Seedat (1973) regarded this as the foundation in the creation of the Zanzibari community in Natal.

Stage 2: The origins of the community

The second factor that contributed to the development of the Zanzibari community in Natal was the origins of members of the community. Seedat (1973:9) provided some evidence from correspondence between officials in Zanzibar and Natal, which stated that the freed slaves belonged to different tribes from the Mozambique area. In this correspondence it is revealed that the freed slaves were not able to communicate in the local languages of Natal. So the services of a translator (a native of Zanzibar of the Makhuwa tribe) were required to help the authorities communicate with the freed slaves (Seedat 1973). Their language and features (the *pelele* lip ring worn by the women) were clues to the origins of the group of free slaves that arrived in Natal. The *pelele* lip ring was worn by women of a number of tribes in East Africa, which also appears to be a characteristic of the Makhuwa people who are from the Northern region of Mozambique and southern part of Tanzania. These origins are also confirmed by Sheriff (2008).

Oosthuizen (1982:9) notes that ships arrived sporadically with slaves on board until 1880, although very few came in after 1878. This brought to an end the entrance of ex-slaves into Natal. This labour force comprised of two groups the Muslim and Catholic slaves. Seedat (1973) mentions that there were two groups, however Oosthuizen (1982) contends that there were three.

Oosthuizen (1982) mentions that there was a third group, however he did not discuss this group. He may be referring to the Amatonga labourers, but there is no evidence that links the Amatonga to the first two groups. Palmer (1957) noted that the idea of recruiting the Amatonga to address the labour shortage in Natal was introduced in 1858, in a meeting in Durban. Palmer (1957:14) adds that the first two attempts failed due to the lack of interest by British authorities and then the lack of commitment by the Amatonga Chiefs. Kearney (2002) writes that the earliest reports of a settlement at the Point area in Durban, talk of an Amatonga village, where the immigrant Tonga workers resided. He adds that they worked both for the port functions and the various harbour works of Vetch and Patterson in the 1860s and 1870s (Kearney 2002:3). Zeleza's (1997:166) research on the economic history of Africa, also mentions the importation of Amatonga labourers and how this contributed to the resumption of indentured Indian immigration. Zeleza (1997:166) adds that while indentured labourers were valued by the planters, the Amatonga increasingly flocked to the better paid jobs of the Transvaal mining centres. While some of the older members of the Zanzibari community recall the Christian group, there is no recollection of the Amatonga.

Stage 3: Religion: The unifying factor of Islam

Fuller (n.d:15) documented that when the Mozambicans and Zanzibaris reached Natal, nearly all belonged to the Mohammedan faith (meaning that they were Muslim). The Muslims among the freed slaves were *Sunni*, believing in the *Sharia* (the infallible law), and having contact with Islam that can be traced back to the contact with Swahili society (Oosthuizen 1982). As a result of African–Arab trade networks the Swahili society came into existence on the coast and islands of East Africa, where Islam existed. According to Oosthuizen (1982) the formation of the freed slave community in South Africa employed the same ideas of integration evident in Islamic society. He contends that the Makhuwa (Muslim freed slaves) found and held onto Islam’s emphasis on the demonstration of unity through religious observances and beliefs (Oosthuizen 1982). This proved an integrating factor of immense importance. For this reason they could not be dispersed among the local African population (Oosthuizen 1982:16), which is a position held by the community to this day. Seedat (1973) wrote that this was the third stage in the development of the Zanzibari community, and came with the gradual completion of the labour contracts of the freed slaves. In terms of the legislation, left them free to settle where they wanted.

Oosthuizen (1982) reports that the Indian Trustees of the Juma Musjid Mosque, (of the Juma Musjid Trust formed in Durban in 1916), “took a keen interest in the well-being of the Muslim freed slaves”. This according to Seedat (1973) discouraged integration with the Christian and non-Christian blacks in the area. However some community members interviewed were of the opinion that this interest was opportunistic in nature, as will be discussed below. Seedat (1973) notes that while the freed Muslim slaves came to be popularly known as the Zanzibaris in Natal, some of the Indians referred to them as ‘Siddhis’. Siddhi is a Sanskrit word meaning magical or spiritual power for control of self, others and forces of nature (Wikipedia). They may have been referred to as Siddhis because some members of the community were herbalists or spiritual healers who used their knowledge of herbs to cure illness. Another reason dates back in history to the migration of East Africans to India in the 13th Century. Siddhis were a mixture of slaves, sailors, soldiers and merchants that arrived on the coast of India from the African continent as a result of the Arab slave trade. The 17th century saw the largest influx of Siddhis to India. These were slaves that were sold to the Hindu princes by Arab and Portuguese slave traders. They later escaped into the forests and formed their own community (Sheriff 2008)[11].

The Muslim slaves were settled at Kings Rest in the Bluff area. Fuller (n.d) wrote that these freed slaves bought land after their indenture. Oosthuizen (1982:17) later reports that in 1899, as the Trustees of a Mohammedan Trust, seven Indian Muslim merchants purchased 43 acres of land, especially for the settlement of the Muslim freed slaves. Some Muslim Zanzibari families went to settle at Kings Rest, where a simple wood and iron structure was erected for the purposes of a mosque. The adjacent property was purchased by the Indian Muslims for use as a cemetery. Seedat (1973:30) states that this was for the regular weekly attendance by the Muslim freed slaves at the Friday congregational prayers in the Grey Street mosque and the general religious zeal of the people, which made a deep impression on a number of Indian Muslims.

[11] Also, www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siddi, and www.theeastafrican.co.ke/magazine/-/434746/.../-/index.htm

PICTURE 3.1: FIRST MOSQUE IN KINGS REST

Source: Mrs J. An interviewee.

Seedat (1973) reported that the arrival of Mustapha Osman in the late 1880s, an African Muslim from the Comores Islands, played a significant role in the religious development of the Zanzibari community. Osman was asked by the Juma Musjid trust to be the Imam, a spiritual guide to the Zanzibaris, and teach the children the Qur'an in Arabic. He lived in the community and later married a Zanzibari woman. Seedat (1973:33) suggests that he became recognised as a respected Imam or Khalifa (religious head), a key figure in this social network that can be equated to the role of Saturnino do Valle among the Catholic Zanzibaris of Durban. Once again it proved difficult to corroborate this information, because most members of the community had no recollection of Mustapha Osman and mentioned other people who taught in the *Madrassah*. Also, if one is revered and given such elevated status in the community, s/he would be expected to remain in the oral history of the community. No such memory remains among the Elderly people interviewed.

These Indian Muslims felt that the Muslim freed slaves should be assisted and helped to maintain their community identity and religion. However, some members of the present-day community feel that the interest in the Zanzibari community was a pretext for the Indian Muslim merchants to purchase land in Kings Rest because “non-whites” were not allowed to purchase land there under the by-laws that existed. However, this could be part of what Kaarsholm (2013) refers to as the community’s ideological approach to redefine themselves as victims of apartheid and sometimes even victims of exploitation by the Indian Muslims in Durban. An example could be Seedat’s (1973) report that when some of the members’ of the community struggled to pay rent, the Indian Muslim community had to step in to help. This account is challenged by some of the informants in the present-day community, stating that they had to pull together their resources to help each other. According to Mrs J in the case where someone did lose their homes, they moved in with relatives and some of their homes were allocated to poor Indian Muslim families. These homes were on roads 240, 245 and 246 in Chatsworth, Durban.

Stage 4: Demographics and lifestyle

Oosthuizen (1989:17) notes that while the ‘Zanzibaris’ were free to go or work wherever they wished after the expiry of their indenture, they decided to stay at Kings Rest. Gradually those who had completed their five-year indenture, built up a community there. Sheriff (2008:567) writes that (initially) only the Makhuwa-speakers may have come together at Kings Rest or the Bluff in Durban, given their strong attachment to the ancestral mother tongue and the sense of identity it conferred. This helped to establish and maintain the Zanzibari enclave in the Bluff. This will be discussed and explained further in the next chapter. Seedat (1973) refers to this as the next/fourth stage of the development of the Zanzibari community.

a) Life in King Rest

The Muslim freed slaves established a unique community in South Africa pertinent to the villages that were significant to Swahili society (Oosthuizen 1982). The Zanzibari settlement in Kings Rest provided what Kloss (1966) referred to as religio-societal insulation, which absorbed quite a few Indians, local Zulus and ‘foreign’ Africans from Portuguese East Africa and Malawi (this group mainly comprised chiYao speakers).

The community constructed homes out of corrugated iron, with a few homes made with thatched roofs. Members of the community that were interviewed recalled with pride and nostalgia the large yards that each home possessed for children to play, where people were able to plant fruits and vegetables. Many of the informants that were interviewed spoke about the big homes their parents' had built in Kings Rest with enough rooms to house the big families. They recalled the big yards that were filled with trees of mangoes and avocados, most of which were sold to the local stores at the market on Fridays.

In the recollection of the community, Kings Rest is associated with something of a Golden Age. Many of the informants romanticised the life in Kings Rest with smiles on their faces, described it as being very pleasant. They emphasised that they had lived happily with each other and the soil, which helped to sustain families and the community. They commented that some worked on farms or as domestic labourers, and others made a living by fishing. Mr R. added that in Kings Rest, even if someone was unemployed they never went hungry because the community would feed you. Another informant, Mrs D. recalled the community spirit that existed: people lived a communal life where everything was shared, and people's doors were always open to family and friends, especially those in need. She stated that the communal lifestyle of King Rest was most evident at the death of a community member. It was a time when the whole community came together to help the bereaved family, ensuring that the family was fed throughout the mourning period of forty days. This showed the true spirit of brotherhood and sisterhood, in-keeping with the teachings of Islam. Mrs D. repeated that this showed the unity that existed in those days. Taking into consideration the concerns of the Elders (mentioned earlier), this memory does not simply transmit information from the past to the present; it also transmits responsibilities (c.f. Poole 2008:149). Poole (2008:149) argues that insofar as collective memory has a cognitive aspect, it makes claims about the past, which may be confirmed or disconfirmed by historical research. This does not mean that collective memory is bad history. It is more like history written in the first person, adapted somewhat for the present, and its role is to inform the present generation of its responsibilities to the past (Poole 2008).

Another informant emphasized that in Kings Rest, the community lived in a multicultural environment with white people and members of the Indian community, Malawians, Tanzanians, and even people from the Comoros Islands, who were themselves Muslims. Mr A. continued with a distant look on his face as if he were picturing the life in Kings Rest, by stating that the community lived their lives in accordance with Islamic principles and the *Sharia* and therefore all who lived with or near the community lived together as brothers and sisters. He added that some white people understood and respected the community, their religion and culture. While this sounds interesting, it is hard to believe that this existed during the period of apartheid.

This romanticised idea of Kings Rest was supported by another informant, Mr E who recalled that all the children played together and that when the *Azaan* (call to prayer) was heard, all playing stopped. Later the young men from the community established a football team called Rovers, which was a mixed team of Makhuwa, Indian, Zulu and Coloured young men. He added that this helped him to practice the English language he was learning in school. This complements Seedat's (1973) report that for over a period of time and as a result of the intervention and support of outside influences, Muslims and Christians separated by a few acres, lived their quiet existence together, almost unnoticed by the outside world in the Bluff area.

b) Employment

According to Mr R. the Makhuwa people were highly skilled to work at sea or with ships, skills they had brought from Mozambique. Most male members of the community therefore found ready employment by the Port of Natal authority. The Makhuwas' fishing skills can be attributed to the contact the community had had with Muslim maritime communities in Mozambique and that the Makhuwas come from fishing communities. Alpers (2000:304) documented that representatives of the maritime commercial community settled on the coast of northern Mozambique and later populated Sofala. Other avenues of employment cited by Mr R included work as civil servants, employment by petroleum companies in the area like BP and Mobil, and factories. There was also unemployment in the Kings Rest during the period 1940s. Those that were unemployed in the urban sector tilled the soil, as active market gardeners producing fruit and vegetables. The other men that were self-employed were fishermen and herbalists. Herbalists were predominantly men who held key positions in the community, as leaders and advisors – a position they shared in common with a *mwalimu* (male teacher). Pouwells (2000:255) writes that *mwalimus* were given the status of advisors – a position they still enjoy in the community today. While in the old days the *mwalimus* were mostly men in the Zanzibari community in Durban, today there are more women as *mwalimu*. However, in this case the status of advisor is removed.

A large number of the women were formally unemployed in the Kings Rest, they were housewives who ensured that the house was in order and the children attended school and *Madrassah*. The role that was allotted women in the community was that of socialising the children about the culture and traditions of the community and helping to organise events in the community. This role will be explored further in chapter five in connection with language maintenance. The few women that were employed worked locally as domestic workers or as part-time help, doing washing and ironing for their white neighbours.

The informants agreed that while they were not rich and did not have electricity, they had lived well in Kings Rest. They were able to practice their religion and culture without harassment or persecution. The challenges were with regards to taxation which the community fought against and the Group Areas Act.

c) Challenges: Taxation and the identity debate.

The sheltered and relatively self-contained way of life of the Zanzibaris in Kings Rest was eventually disrupted with the imposition of the poll tax (Seedat 1973). The Native Taxation and Development Act of 1925 demanded that every male between the ages of 18 and 65 pay two rand per annum as poll tax. Some members of the community paid these taxes, collected by Chief Mole who was assisted by an elder from the Zanzibari Muslim community, Ali Madadi (Seedat 1973). According to Seedat (1973), a number of the freed slaves cited Arab descent from the island of Zanzibar in order to avoid this tax. She added that the community organized themselves and with the intervention of the Protector of Indian Immigrants proclaimed that they were 'freed slaves' or 'descendants of freed slaves', and therefore temporarily avoided the payment of the poll tax (Seedat 1973). Here tactic of "flying the flag" mentioned earlier in the chapter becomes more relevant, however; it created other problems for the community. As a result many people (local and foreign Africans) began posing as Zanzibaris and even seeking refuge within the community (Seedat 1973). This situation was further exacerbated when a man called Hassan Fakiri appealed against his conviction for not paying taxes, and this went to court (Seedat 1973). He argued on the basis that he was not an African, since the island of Zanzibar was not on the African continent. According to some of the older interviewees, many members of the community waited apprehensively, on the decision as it would determine the legal status of the community. The community lost the case at the highest court in the country, the Appellate Division, which meant that they were regarded on the same level as local Africans and therefore subject to the poll tax (Seedat 1973). So while the community was considered to be the same as local Africans to pay tax, they were not considered the same when it came to reclassification and relocating the community.

Stage 5: The Politics of Classification and Identity: The Freed Pass, Group Areas Act and Reclassification

On arrival in Durban, the freed slaves received a document called a 'Freed Pass', which exempted them from further exploitation, and clearly identified them as a separate group from the local African community. Oosthuizen (1982) reported that on the whole, the freed slaves had been young, with only a few over the age of 45. Therefore special regulations had to be drawn up for the large number of mainly destitute children among the group. Seedat (1973) documented that there were several regulations that had been introduced to protect the original freed slaves. The government legislated that:

a) They had to be taught some useful trade or occupation by their employers and were to be apprenticed for a period of seven years.
b) These young people were to be apprenticed until the age of sixteen.
c) A family of freed slaves was not to be broken up.
d) That they were also to be instructed in the Christian faith or attend industrial school but their lodgings had to be "separate from those of the kaffir servants of the colony".
e) The freed slaves were to be placed on an equal footing as Indian immigrants.
f) A woman's contract could be terminated by her husband when she married, and she could be moved from her master's service.
g) No pass system was in place; therefore they could not be arrested when found away from their employments' premises without a pass.
h) Liberated Africans could also not be flogged, until the Lieutenant Governor's consent had been obtained. (Seedat 1973, Kaarsholm 2016:451)

Although officials were appointed to ensure that freed slaves be treated well, the opposite was often reported. These officials in Natal were concerned that any word of the bad treatment of freed slaves to the officials in Zanzibar would result in a cessation of cheaper labour coming to Natal. While the British concern for the freed slaves was based on their need for cheap labour, it did however, help keep them as a distinct group. This situation would later be challenged by the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Kaarsholm 2016).

The Group Areas Act of 1950 saw the community uprooted once again and dispersed to areas like Newlands and Wentworth (which were 'Coloured' areas) and Chatsworth. The latter is an Indian area created in the 1960s by the same Act, and is where the majority of Zanzibaris were relocated and continue to live to this day. The Group Areas Act was contrived under Apartheid to force physical separation between races by creating different residential areas for different races. When it came to the Zanzibari community the apartheid government was faced with the challenge of where its members should be placed. They were unable to be properly classified on several grounds. Physically most looked somewhat like the local African community, but they spoke an entirely different language and practiced a different culture. On the other hand, they shared the religion of Islam with the local Indian Muslim population. So before the government could resolve the problem of placing the community in a particular area, they had to find a suitable label that would be befitting the Zanzibaris. Seedat (1973) wrote that in the meantime the Zanzibari community were referred to as "Lost Tribe' (by the media), a term loathed by the community because they reported that they knew who they were, and were fully aware of their roots. An informant strongly rejected the label because 'someone who is lost does not know where they come from and how to move forward'. However, she made the telling remark that when some parents got really angry with their children for some wrong doing, or a thoughtless action, they would rebuke them with the words, 'that is why you are a lost tribe' (interview with Mrs M.). Seedat (1973:43) cites a quote by the late Mr Talib Tinambo in *Drum* Magazine, which shares the first sentiment. He states:

> It hurts us each time we are referred to as the 'lost tribe'. We were never a lost tribe. I admit that we were uncertain of our future for many years, but we knew where we had come from and knew our ancestry as well as other races in this country.
>
> (Seedat, 1973:43)

With the challenges of trying to reclassify the Zanzibari community into the existing groups of Bantu, White or Coloured, the community became more anxious. It was clear that they were not white and while they carried reference books and were made to pay taxes, thus sharing the same status as the local African, the government felt that they did not quite fit the Bantu classification (Seedat 1973). So the more suitable classification under apartheid legislation was thought to be Coloured, which, according to Kaarsholm (2013) involved many contradictions[12]. However this decision was met with objections from the Coloured community, who cited various reasons why the Zanzibari community should not be so classified. Public protests followed from the Coloured community, leaving the Zanzibari community feeling rejected and demoralized (Seedat 1973). My interviews suggest that despite these troublesome times of identity ascription by the government and other population groups, religious faith (i.e. Islam) was a strong pillar holding the community together. When the Minister of Interior announced that the Zanzibaris would be classified within the Coloured group under the sub-group 'Other Asiatic'. The community found this resolution ludicrous because they had no ties with Asia. They nevertheless accepted the title because it afforded them higher status than the local Africans, in line with the Indian community. According to Kaarsholm (2006-2007), the reclassification of the Zanzibari community to "Other Asiatics" and consequently "Coloured" in the broader sense of apartheid legislation meant that they were now citizens to be issued with identity cards instead of pass or reference books. This announcement together with the intervention of the Juma Musjid Trust led to the expeditious resettlement of the Zanzibaris to Chatsworth.

Chatsworth is a large township that was created as a result of the Group Areas Act and is situated in the south of Durban with approximately 450 000 inhabitants. While this research will not delve into further discussions on reclassification, it must be noted that the issue posed many problems, like breaking up families, and causing problems regarding the classification and identity of individuals. For example, some family members received different classifications, which in some cases meant that these families would be torn apart under the Group Areas Act. This is verified by Sheriff (2008), who wrote that the Classification Act exposed all the absurdities of the apartheid racial policies, one large family chose to be classified Indian because the legal father or grandfather was classified as an Indian. However

[12] The contradictions were that Coloured identity might signify both purity and mixedness, belonging as well as reluctant inclusion, a right to certain level of citizenship and elevatedness above other categories, but also rootlessness and absence of homeland (Kaarsholm 2013:457). This legal category included subgroupings from Khoi-San origins, Cape Malay to Other Asiatics and groups of racially mixed origin. Indians were also classified as Coloured until 1961 (Kaarsholm 2013).

not all members of the family were successful, and so kept the identity card, saying 'Other Asiatic'. Some families were classified Coloured because their legal fathers or grandfathers were designated in their birth certificates as Coloureds. They therefore had to move to Coloured areas such as Wentworth (Sheriff 2008:573).

These are the five stages highlighted by Seedat (1979) that played a role in the making of the Zanzibari community. While these stages provided a strong foundation for the establishment and maintenance of the Zanzibari community in Durban, there remained the hope that they would one day return to their homeland. This hope together with other factors played a role in their perseverance as a distinct group in Durban.

The reclassification, relocation of the Zanzibari community, together with the support of the Juma Musjid Trust, saw the development of this community in the larger Indian enclave of Chatsworth. Insulated within an Indian community they continued to practice their culture, language and religion, with a few changes to adapt to the new environment.

3.4 Christian Zanzibaris: A case of Assimilation

According Kaarsholm (2008:13) the case of the Zanzibaris demonstrates how religious institutions and agendas may provide very different avenues, strategic opportunities, and outcomes of accommodation for immigrants. He adds that the mediation and competition of religious institutions played a crucial role in forming the migration destinies and identity strategies of the Zanzibaris (Kaarsholm 2008:14), the Muslim community and the Christian community.

The research study is based on the Muslim community, and this chapter has discussed the historical background of the community and looked at religion as one of the factors that kept the Zanzibari Muslim community as a distinct group. According to Kaarsholm (2008:15) the Islam that the Zanzibaris met with, encouraged them to emphasize, preserve and develop their 'original' distinctive cultural features and customs. The community held on to Islam, without any more ambitious aim of being used to proselytize among 'local' Africans.

On the one hand, the Roman Catholic Church, who – like many other 19th century missionaries – had found it difficult to make headway among the Zulu. They were keen to find ‘foreign African’ Catholic agents to take their cause forward (Kaarsholm 2008:14). The next section will briefly discuss the situation of the Catholic community, their relationship with the Catholic Church and assimilation.

3.4.2 The Catholic Community

The situation of the Christian Makhuwas can be likened to that of the Mozambiekers in Cape Town, who according to Kaarsholm (2013) ‘melted into the local tapestry’.

Oosthuizen (1982) asserts that initially there were about three different religions represented by the freed slaves or ‘Zanzibaris’. He adds that although this is not recorded, there were followers of the Christian, Muslim and traditional-African religions, which later developed into two distinct communities in Kings Rest, Muslim and Catholic. Seedat (1973) supports this position and explores it further. She reports that in Natal, the Catholics had started their first Zulu mission in 1855, but were forced to abandon their missionary activities as they were unsuccessful in making an impact with the Zulu chiefs and thus the community (Seedat 1973). The Catholic mission thought of a new strategy to get the Zulu community to convert to Catholicism. Bishop Allard suggested that the only way to convert the Zulus to Catholicism was to introduce foreign Catholic Africans into Natal. So the Church introduced the Christian free slaves to the local Zulu population. The Church encouraged the intermarrying of African free slaves with the local Zulu population, because the Church (Bishop Allard in particular) thought that through further interaction the Zulu people would then be brought into its fold (Seedat 1973:27). This was the initial step in the process of assimilating the Catholic freed slaves in Natal.

The arrival of Saturnino do Valle in 1872 was ‘a blessing in disguise’ (Seedat 1973:27) for the Catholic Church as he became the catalyst in the plans they wanted to implement. It is noted that he arrived in Durban on foot from the Inhambane region in Portuguese East Africa, carrying a Bible. It was believed that Saturnino (a black Mozambican) was baptized as a child by a Portuguese planter and was later employed at Inhambane by a Catholic priest, who taught him to read and write. He settled in the Fynnland area in the Bluff locality, where he acquired a boat and made a living as a fisherman. It was there that Saturnino gathered around him a number of freed slaves whom he instructed in his faith, conducting the prayers in Portuguese. Seedat (1973) also reports that Saturnino is revered as the ‘pioneer lay apostle, of Zulu Catholicism’. A number of freed slaves had settled in the area after they completed their labour contracts. This made it easy for the Church to mobilise them and begin to implement its plans, therefore paving the way into the second stage towards assimilation.

According to Seedat (1973), the Catholic Church bought a large property (in Brighton Beach) which was immediately occupied and named the St. Francis Xavier Mission. On December 3, 1880 the first baptisms of adult freed slaves and Zulus took place in the new church building on the premises. These initial few baptisms were followed by a flow of conversions to Catholicism. In 1893 the Holy Family Sisters started a school. Even some members of the Muslim community sent their children to this school to learn English. As a result of their contact with children of the local Zulu community, the children also learnt the Zulu language to some degree (interview with Mr Y., of the Zanzibari community in Chatsworth). It must be noted that while he learnt Zulu in school, he was not allowed to speak the language at home. This was the case for many of the children within the Muslim freed slave community.

The Catholic Church maintained its ideal of mixing the freed slaves with members of the Zulu community to ensure an increase in conversions to the Catholic religion. The growth of the mission led to the complete integration of the Catholic freed slaves into the Zulu community (Oosthuizen 1982). The idea of Catholic villages was developed and twenty families from St. Xavier Mission were taken to Oakford in the Inanda district to settle among the Zulus there in an effort to attract potential Zulu converts. These Zanzibari families were under the leadership of Domingo and the mission that was founded was called Sacred Heart. This was the third and major step in the move towards assimilation.

Father Mathieu, who was responsible for the area, noticed that the freed slaves were still treated as foreign black and made to carry special passes. He responded by registering the group as belonging to the Amakolwa (Zulu for ‘believers’), with Domingo as the Chief. The Amakolwa were the first of the natives of Natal (mostly Zulu) to convert to Christianity (Houle 2011). The dispersal of the Zanzibari Catholics meant the spread of the Church. Some of the freed slaves were also taken to Red Hill and Lamontville in Durban. Later, in the early

1960s the last of the homesteads of the Zanzibari Catholics were demolished by the government as part of the Group Areas Act and the people were resettled in the nearest Native Administration townships, such as Glebelands and Umlazi, which meant that they lost their identity and sense of community (Oosthuizen 1982:20-1). He cites the Sunday Express of 4 October 1959 referring to the group as having gone “native”, implying that the community had now become fully assimilated into the local African population.

Seedat (1973:29) concurs that from the inception of the St. Xavier mission on the Bluff, the freed slaves who had become Catholics were encouraged to marry and assimilate with the local African populace. In this manner more local Africans were introduced to the Catholic faith, so that in time the Catholic freed slaves were unable to retain their distinctive identity, language or culture. They spoke isiZulu, adopted the Zulu culture and were assimilated into Zulu communities, as mentioned in the previous paragraph. The role of religion in the development of the Catholic Zanzibaris was contrary to that of their Muslim counterparts.

While religion was clearly a key factor to binding the community (see Seedat 1973 and Oosthuizen 1982), my study reveals that it was not the only social identity variable that fostered a collective social/ethnic identity vis-a-vis other South African groups. Culture and language were also important factors which contributed to the maintenance of the community.

3.5 Conclusion

Migration, frequent contact with other communities, individuals and their identities, and switching of roles may find expression in what Rampton (1995) calls mixed identities. Kluge (2007:129) adds that in the course of migration, a person’s identity is prone to change; it becomes more or less fluid, and at least for some, migration offers a chance to ‘re-invent themselves’. Although all aspects of the language-identity link become particularly conspicuous when minority groups are involved, this does not mean that the link itself does not apply to the majority, dominant group too (Kluge 2007). It is simply the case that matters of language and identity become most visible when social obstacles appear. Consequently, it is with group contact that linguistic identity issues become most pressing. This is evident in the Zanzibari community.

This chapter discussed the transplantation, plight and perseverance of the Zanzibari community of Durban in establishing themselves as a distinct group, and maintaining their culture, identity and community. It also discussed the path of the Christian Makhuwas, who also arrived in the Natal region and were assimilated into the Zulu population of the area. The path of the Christian Makhuwas is not unique. The ‘Prize Negroes’, Mozbiekers who settled in the Cape who were assimilated among the Coloured people or the Malay community in the Cape.

It must be noted that the position and ambition of the Zanzibari community to stay together was effective in lobbying the government in the land reclamation application.

CHAPTER FOUR
LITERATURE REVIEW: LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT

4.1 Introduction

Janson (1991/92: 99) theorises that Emakhuwa and seSotho shared a common history up to the start of the millennium, resulting in a few linguistic similarities. Less explored is the linguistic influence of the contact situation between the Makhuwa and Arab traders, which has influenced the repertoire of the Muslim Makhuwas. These are the outcome of contact situation created by historical Bantu migration, dramatic population growth (Janson 1991/92:63-4), the expansion of the Bantu languages, trade, slavery, colonialism and so on. Thomason (2001:06-8) argues that languages have probably been in contact since the beginning of humankind. She adds that contact is everywhere and that there is no evidence that any languages have developed in total isolation from other languages (Thomason 2001).

This chapter presents an overview of the literature, debates and discussion related to language contact and its outcomes, particularly language maintenance and shift, which were introduced in chapter one. It will review several models of language maintenance and shift and identify key issues relevant to the study of the Zanzibari minority community. This chapter will take a closer look at the factors influencing language maintenance and shift as these will be used to analyse the language situation of the community being studied.

The family is an essential domain for language transmission and maintenance of the community language. It is within this domain that children are socialised, learn their mother tongue, culture and their identity. This would provide the study with a better understanding of the subject of study and validate the assumptions and methodology used. It will also discuss aspects of bilingualism, code-switching, borrowing and loanwords which are contact effects of enormous relevance to the field of maintenance and shift.

This chapter concludes with a discussion of the language situation in South Africa and the different trajectories of two minority languages, which are also official languages, Afrikaans and Khoisan. The idea is to provide a “backdrop” of the situation of minority languages in the country, the factors that play a role in the maintenance or shift of these languages. For example, apartheid language policies which helped in the maintaining and expanding Afrikaans and marginalized to the point of ‘genocide’ the Khoisan people which led to the demise of Khoisan languages in South Africa. The linguistic situation of the Khoisan people is part of the history of endangered languages as documented by Nettle and Romaine (2002:2), who reported that ‘approximately half of the known languages of the world, have vanished in the last five hundred years’. According to these authors the disappearance of languages has been attributed to several factors like the death of all or almost all their speakers through aggression amounting to genocide, assimilation to the dominant language, urbanisation and the effects of globalisation (Nettle and Romaine 2002). While Afrikaans is an official language and Khoisan is merely a protected language in SA constitution, little is known about the existence of Emakhuwa in the country.

4.1.1 Language contact: A prerequisite for language maintenance and shift

This research uses Thomason (2001:1), who explains the phenomena of language contact as, “the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time, involving face-to-face interaction among groups of speakers of the different languages, some of whom speak more than one language in that particular locality”. These contact situations may be friendly, with mutual benefits or hostile as experienced in colonial times in Africa. Sankoff (2001:640) adds that language contact has, “historically, taken place in large part under conditions of social inequality resulting from wars, conquests, colonialism, slavery and migrations – forced or otherwise”. This is a type of history experienced by the community being studied, and for the purposes of this study to add apartheid to the list. Thomason (2001:3) adds that often with individuals, “the contact situation is a result of exogamy (marrying someone from outside ones own ethnic group)”. Exogamy will be discussed later in the section on language and gender. These have an impact on the languages being used.

The contact situation can be balanced, meaning that the languages in a particular speech community can co-exist in a long-standing harmonious relation, without any dominance relationship (Aikhenvald 2006). An example of a balanced language contact situation would be in Paraguay. Spanish and Guarani (an indigenous language) are the official languages in the country and both languages are maintained. Guarani is spoken by the majority population of the population and is also spoken in neighbouring countries (Thomason 2001). While the opposite situation is displacive language contact, which is the dominance of one language over the other resulting in language displacement and language shift. This is evident in the Americas where there is a language shift towards the European colonial language, Spanish.

4.1.2 Outcomes of Language Contact

According to Gomez Rendon (2008), language contact mirrors the way languages react as dynamic structures to their sociocultural environments. Sankoff (2001:640) "the linguistic outcomes of language contact are determined in large by the history of social relations among populations including, economic, political and demographic factors”. Languages in contact influence one another linguistically, like in the case of Emakhuwa and English. This is evident in the number of loanwords, codeswitching and level of bilingualism within the Makhuwa community. Clyne (2003: 111) shares a number of motives by which languages in contact adopt new items at the level of vocabulary (lexical transference). This section will discuss the different linguistic outcomes of contact situation, relevant to the study.

4.1.2.1 Bilingualism

Milroy and Muysken (1995:1-2) document that widespread bilingualism exists in the modern world, and is the result of the increasing use of international languages stimulated by migration, modernisation and globalisation. Siemund (2008:4) confirms that the degree of bilingualism is probably one of the best predictors of contact-induced language phenomena.

Appel and Muysken (2005) definition of bilingualism will be used for the purposes of this study. They propose that societal bilingualism occurs when in a given speech community two or more languages are spoken (Appel and Muysken 2005). It has been mentioned that the Zanzibari community is a bilingual speech community, with the majority of its members being proficient in more than two languages. Weinreich (1953/1968: 73) argued that “the ideal bilingual switches from one language to another according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation and certainly not within a single sentence”. A growing number of studies on contact-induced change have shown evidence of proficient bilingual speakers employing code-switching at different levels (discourse, sentence, phrase, and morphemes) and for different purposes. Reasons in the community vary, for example certain words in the modern world do not exist in Emakhuwa, or a particular word is not frequently used or that it is employed as a strategy in order to be better understood (Heredia and Altarriba 2001:65). An example of this would be:

"It is very important *para ama mamma o wa wushutiha anaya enlimi no wani, milathi*, because this is what makes us unique. *Ewimwele ekano* and understand these valuable lessons".

(It is important for mothers to teach their children their home language and traditions, because this is what makes us unique. They must listen to the teachings and understand these valuable lessons.)

This was a comment made by an Elder during a *nimwari*[13] ceremony. She expressed that it was important for the young girls to understand Emakhuwa or the education process becomes meaningless.

4.1.2.2 Code-switching

Code-switching has been characterised as 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems (Gumperz 1982:59), a conversational strategy (Gal 1988:247), the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation (Milroy and Muysken 1995:7), and a phenomena which involves several types of bilingual language mixing (Winford 2003:101).

Code-mixing occurs when conversants use both languages together to the extent that they change from one language to the other in the course of single utterances (Wardhaugh 1993:106). Gardner-Chloros (2010:192) writes that the code-switching (CS) can arise in situations of widely varying stability, which gives rise to it can be of differing durations, and

[13] Girls initiation

can affect different sections of the community in different ways. The change can be fast or slow and can affect all aspects of the language (Gumperz and Wilson, 1971; Dresler and Wodak-Leodolter, 1977). It can take place over several generations (a gradual process), or effectively within a single generation. It may be difficult to detect, losses being masked by code-switches (Trudgill, 1976-7) or internal restructuring (Tsistipis 1998), and it can occur either with heavy linguistic symptoms such as morphological loss or without them (Dorian 1981; Schmidt 1985). A range of linguistic configurations can arise along the road to extinction, CS being only one of the possible outcomes.

Wardhaugh (1993:106) identifies two kinds of CS: "situational and metaphorical. Situational CS occurs when the languages used change according to the situation, the speakers speak one language in one situation and the other in a different one". He adds that sometimes the situations are socially prescribed that they can even be taught, as in ceremonial and religious functions (Wardhaugh 1993:107). An example of this situation would be at the *Musjid*[14] during Friday prayer lecture. Here the lecture depending on the speaker would be in English or a mixture of English and Emakhuwa, with references from the *Qur'aan*.

An example from the introduction of such a lecture:

"*Assalamu alaikum warah mathullahi wa barakathu* dear brother and sisters. *Bismillahir rahmanir rahim*, I welcome you to *Juma* prayer. Today I want to talk about *fithna, hasad,* jealousy."

("May the peace, mercy and blessings of Allah be with you dear brothers and sisters. In the name of Allah, the beneficent, the merciful, I welcome you to Friday prayer." This would normally be followed by the speaker reciting a verse from the Quraan, followed by a direct translation.)

According to Wardhaugh (1993) this kind of CS differs from diglossia. Diglossia is a term used to indicate a situation where two forms of the same language can co-exist and complement each other within a language community. This is evident with the Arabic language (Classical Arabic used in the Quraan and colloquial Arabic which is a spoken

[14] Musjid also written as Masjid refer to a place of worship.

variety) in the Arabic speaking countries (Ferguson 1959). These would be classified into the H variety and L variety. The H variety is the classical form and symbolic of high culture used in literature and prayer. The L variety is associated with everyday use in conversations, shopping and so on. In certain situations or domains the High variety is used and in others the Low variety.

Wardhaugh (1993) defines "metaphorical CS as a change in code resulting from the redefinition of the situation". He adds that "a particular group of people may employ code switches and code mixing for different purposes, and the choice of code reflects how they want to appear to others" (Wardhaugh 1993:107). An example that comes to mind is a classroom situation when I was in school. I recall Emakhuwa being used, especially by two Indian Muslim boys who grew up in the community. They used Emakhuwa both to impress the other children in the classroom and also to annoy the teacher. It was employed to talk about other classmates, the teacher, to share answers to a test or get out of a situation.

An example is from a reading exercise in an English lesson:

"*Ekse*[15], *wimwa va. Mammula o na veha* and you know how she will *nyakula. Ki wolihe e-textbook awo? Kin ro hokolosha ka mala o soma*. Please my sister."

"Friend, listen here. This teacher (mam) if strict and you know that she will make a noise. Lend me your textbook? I will return it when I'm done reading. Please my sister."

These conversations were frequent and employed much borrowing from the English language, and Afrikaans slang with reference to *Ekse* or *Stekkie.*

4.1.2.3 Borrowing

According to Haugen (1953:212) borrowing is the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:37) document that borrowing is usually associated with situations of language maintenance, and has been defined as "the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language, by speakers

[15] A slang word used to refer to a friend, equivalent to dude.

of that language. It is the transfer of any features of any kind from one language to another as a result of contact" (Trask 2000:44). Key elements borrowed are words, and in the wake of words, associated derivational morphological elements and idiomatic meanings of phrases (Muysken 2010: 272). Hickey (2010) defines borrowing as a process manifested in situations of contact between cultures wherein an item or structure is copied from one language to another without speakers shifting from the recipient language to the donor language.

Borrowing is a phenomenon of language contact and loanwords are a type of this phenomenon. So loanwords according to Winford (2010) are simply lexical items that have entered into a recipient language through the agency of native speakers.

One of the reasons speakers of a recipient language borrow from a donor language is when the recipient language has a semantic 'gap' in its lexicon (when there is no existing word in their language with the same meaning as the loanword). Therefore the speakers have to borrow a word to express the concept (Haugen 1953:373). Borrowing is a consequence of cultural contact between two language communities. Winford (2003:37) documents that the social factors that motivate lexical borrowing vary from situation to situation, however two factors are frequently mentioned are "need" and "prestige". He adds that most borrowing associated with "distant" contact seems to be motivated by "the need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts. The cultural contact between the Makhuwa and the Indian community in Kings Rest and Chatsworth was highlighted in chapter one and will be discussed further in chapter five. It mentioned the linguistic influence of Indian languages on Emakhuwa, especially in relation to food. Words like *dhal* (lentil soup), *methi* (fenugreek), *roti* (bread) to mention a few.

Here is an example of borrowing that is motivated by need, because the word/s do not exist in Emakhuwa spoken in Chatsworth.

"*Wapeya dhali nim rama, wo braisi enama*."

("Cook lentil soup and rice, and braise the meat".)

Another example of borrowing where prestige is the motivation occurs when parents are talking about their children.

"*Ni rowale para* e-parents meeting. Teasha *kura* my child is very bright. *O walala*. A quick learner and articulate. *O lata*. We always emphasise that the children need to be well rounded. We also buy them books to encourage the learning process. *Ankili mali*[16]."

["We went to a parents meeting. The teacher said that my child is bright. Intelligent. A quick learner and articulate. The child took after the parents …. Knowledge is money" (literal translation)].

4.1.3 Definitions of Language Maintenance and Language Shift

Paulston (1994:3) argues that "the main linguistic outcomes of a prolonged contact of ethnic groups within a 'modern nation-state' are language maintenance or bilingualism and language shift. Winford (2003:11) adds that it is possible to distinguish three broad kinds of contact situations. These are "situations involving language maintenance, those involving shift and those that lead to the creation of new contact languages (creoles)" (Winford 2003:11). In Chapter one this study shared a few definitions of both language maintenance and shift from current literature.

4.1.3.1 Language Maintenance

This phenomenon is a result of a community consciously maintaining its language. Paulston (1994:22) writes that language maintenance can be considered a social resource by ethnic groups in competition for access to goods and services of a nation. She considers language loyalty as a chosen strategy for group survival. The same loyalty Mesthrie (1996) observed within the Zanzibari community. This loyalty to Emakhuwa, together with the Makhuwa culture and religion, helped the community to remain as a distinct group, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Other factors to consider are language attitudes, and language use.

Paulston (1994) examines three major reasons for a scenario where languages are maintained. These reasons are self-imposed boundaries externally imposed boundaries and a diglossic-

[16] This phrase is difficult to translate, however the closest translation would be knowledge in money. Knowledge and education are seen as the key for a rich, successful, and better life not just for the individual but the family.

like situation. Paulston (1994) explains that the self-imposed boundary maintenance occurs for reasons other than language, often for religious purposes. She cites the example of the Amish people in parts of the USA. The second reason explaining externally imposed boundaries, is drawn from Schermerhorn's (1970) degree of enclosure, where one group is denied access to resources, services and jobs. This can be carried out by the super-ordinate majority or minority. South Africa under the apartheid regime is a good example of how a powerful minority can impose boundaries, like the geographical isolation of rural Black people in the form of Bantustans. However, this was less successful in the cities for example in Johannesburg. The third explanation was around the lines of a prolonged bilingualism, with a diglossic-like situation.

Paulston (1994) also draws attention to situations where ethnic groups see the learning of a dominant language to be in the best interest of their children, evident in the community of study. As mentioned earlier, that the Elders and parents encouraged their children to speak English when they community was relocated to Chatsworth, because English was a requirement for entry into the local schools. This point will be discussed further late in this chapter and in chapter five. Paulston (1994) further states that where opportunities are available to learn the language, like in the local schools, children become bilingual or even eventually shift to the dominant language. However, when these same groups observe or experience stigmatisation, economic exploitation and systematic unemployment instead of socioeconomic opportunity and social upward mobility, they are likely to use the original mother tongue as a strategy for mobilisation. In such a case language maintenance is the expected outcome. Paulston (1994) proposes that language boundary maintenance is reinforced and this factor together with the religion of the group becomes a stronger tool for language maintenance. In my experience this could be said of the Pakistani community in Bradford, West Yorkshire, which practices strict endogamy. The community arranges marriage partners for their children from within the Pakistani community in England or from Pakistan, with adherence to Islam being the rationale for this kind of arrangement (Samad and Eade 2002). Paulston (1994) concludes that the success of maintenance of a language can be explained using two criteria: (a) lack of incentive to become bilingual and this is usually economic in nature, and (b) lack of access to the dominant language. The opposite of this phenomenon is language shift.

4.1.3.2 Language Shift

The opposite of language maintenance is language shift. According to Weinreich (1953:68) it is a phenomenon which can be observed in unstable bi- or multilingual situations in which one community gradually changes ‘from habitual use of one language to that of another’. It’s a situation in which people find less relevance in their traditional language, with the younger generations identifying more with the new language and have a positive attitude towards the new language instead of their mother-tongue. A characteristic of language shift is the decrease in the number of speakers of a language, a decreasing saturation of language speakers in the population, a loss in language proficiency or decreasing use of that language in different domains (Cooper 1989). This decline in the transmission of the community language to the younger generations is a sign that shift is taking place and reminds us of Fishman’s (1991) hypothesis mentioned in chapter one. Romaine expressed that “there is usually considerable intergenerational variation in patterns of language use and often quite rapid change in communicative repertoires of community members” (1994:212).

Sociolinguistic literature shows that there is a correlation between language change and particular social factors of the speech community. Fasold (1984) outlines factors like industrialisation, migration, and other economic changes, urbanisation, higher prestige of the dominant language, and smaller population. Paulston (1994:17) deduced that other social conditions are: participation in institutions, for example schooling, military service and religious institutions; access to mass media; access to roads and transportation; travel, including trade, commerce, war, and evangelism; occupations which necessitate interaction with native speakers; and demographic factors, such as the size of the group.

Paulston (1994) noted that ethnic groups vary in their pride and ethnic stability in cultural maintenance. Some groups may even retain key ideas and values of their ethnicity after they have shifted from their ethnic language to the dominant language and become socially incorporated into a nation.

The scientific literature available on the topic of language contact, bilingualism, the significance of majority and minority speech communities, migration, and language survival may seem immeasurable. At the centre of these discussions and debates on language maintenance and language shift is the study of how a language is replaced by another over a period of time, alternatively, how some languages resist the replacement by another language. This is related to the attitudes, choices, network of the groups in a bilingual or multilingual situation. The following section will contextualise these into the different models and factors of language maintenance and language shift, which will be used later on in the thesis.

4.2 Models of Language Maintenance and Language Shift

Many of the factors outlined to discuss the phenomena of language maintenance and shift come from studies conducted in immigrant (minority) situations. These factors are consolidated into models and typologies. This section will discuss some of the main models of language maintenance and shift that have shaped sociolinguistic thinking on the topic. However; some of these "western" models are outdated and cannot be applied uncritically to the African situation.

4.2.1 Kloss: Clear-Cut versus Ambivalent Factors

Kloss (1966) study of the American immigrant language situation provided a model which identifies clear cut factors promoting language maintenance and shift and factors that are ambivalent, meaning, that they can promote either maintenance or shift. It is noted that Kloss (1966) focussed his work on the European, minority, immigrant communities in the United States, like the Dutch, Spanish and French, not the African American community or the First Nations people. The factors discussed by Kloss (1966) have been discussed many times in the language maintenance and shift literature. This section will borrow these factors and discuss them in the context of the Makhuwa community, a minority African immigrant community.

Kloss (1966:211) outlines the clear cut factors promoting language shift as: exogamy (marrying outside the community) and cultural similarity to the dominant culture. The factors promoting language maintenance as:

a) religio-societal insulation (members of religious groups withdraw from the world, like the Amish);
b) time of immigration, actually referred to the attitude of the majority towards the minority group at the time of entry;

c) existence of language islands is the circumscribed area where the minority language is predominantly used;
d) affiliation with denomination fostering parochial schools is connected to a and b;
e) pre-immigration experience with language maintenance efforts, which means that there will be more determination by the group to maintain a language if it was threatened before (Kloss 1966).

Looking at the community of study, the Makhuwa managed to maintain their culture and language against the odds. While some Makhuwa men and women married outside the community, these outsiders were "converted into the community", meaning that they converted into Islam, were taught the culture and language of the community, assimilated into the Makhuwa community, as discussed in chapter three, the section on marriage. The Makhuwa culture is very different to the dominant culture, and there was contact between the two cultures. The community did not live in total isolation and did not have the parochial schools, but continued with cultural schools (informal) and madrassah education, which played an important role in the maintenance of language, culture and religion. Recent immigrants revived interest in the mother country and language. It could be argued that 'time of immigration' is an ambiguous factor since the dominant policies and attitudes will change and affect language shift or language maintenance accordingly (Clyne 2003).

Kloss (1966) also outlines ambivalent factors, which are either favourable or unfavourable to language maintenance:

(1) Educational Level of speakers (high educational level of the immigrants or low educational level of immigrants);
(2) Numerical strength (smallness of the group or large groups of speakers);
(3) Cultural or linguistic similarity (to the dominant group);
(4) Attitude and policy towards minority language or group
(5) Socio-cultural characteristics of the group.

For the first ambivalent factor the assumption is that the higher educational level of the speaker meant that the speaker was more exposed to the dominant culture and encountered pressure to learn the dominant language. This would lead to language shift. The opposite situation would be that the lower educational level meant less contact with the dominant group and therefore promoted language maintenance. The situation of the Makhuwa was different because the first freed slaves had low education, and were employed as indentured labourers, putting them into contact with the dominant culture. Even though there was contact with the dominant group, the Makhuwa maintained their culture and language.

The second ambivalent factor concerns the number of speakers of a language. The assumption is that a larger number of speakers guarantees language maintenance than a small group, however there are exceptions to this factor, like the community of study. Also, according to Clyne (2003:48) a large number of speakers would have multiple contacts with other groups including the dominant group and this would promote language shift. The members of the community lived in the same area and many worked in the same area, places of employment. Many members in the community were employed in the clothing factories (Wrangler, Prestige, Man about Town, to mention a few) in Jacobs and Mobeni, south of Durban. This situation encouraged the use of Emakhuwa in the workplace.

The third ambivalent factor is the linguistic and cultural similarity. The assumption here is that if there is a big difference between the dominant language and culture and the language and culture of the minority group then language maintenance is guaranteed. The opposite is that linguistic and cultural similarities would promote language shift. This is relevant to the Zanzibari minority, whose language and culture are very different to the dominant group. This together with the loyalty promoted language maintenance.

The next ambivalent factor is the attitude of the majority to language or group. According to Clyne (2003) the positive attitude of the majority can either favour or help language maintenance or it can cause apathy which would lead to language shift. The attitude of the minority group to their language and culture is just as important. A positive attitude is a reflection of their loyalty and pride in their language and culture which promote language maintenance. A negative attitude would lead to the opposite result, language shift. As mentioned earlier, the Elders in the Zanzibari community regard their language and culture as symbols of their identity and a motivation to be loyal, positive and proud of their language and culture.

The final ambivalent factor is socio-cultural characteristics of the group. These are interethnic differences which include cultural value systems and social characteristics resulting from migration. Clyne (1991a:88) comments that the concept of interethnic differences is enigmatic and looks to core values and ethnolinguistic values to explain these. Clyne (2003) asserts that Kloss's (1966) model is context dependent and points out that religious variables and the circumstances existing in the homeland that (immigrant) minorities have left can also be double-edged swords when it comes to minority language maintenance and shift. So while Kloss (1966) is used in literature on language maintenance and shift, providing an outline of some factors, it is limited to the European minority immigrant situation in the United States. A context that is very different to the African immigrant minority community that experienced slavery, colonialism, apartheid and challenges to the culture and language of this minority group.

4.2.2 Conklin and Lourie's Model

Conklin and Lourie (1983) also focussed on the immigrant situation in the United States, and developed a model to explain factors promoting language maintenance and shift relevant to the contemporary urban situation. The purpose of their work was to inform, educators, the general public and policy makers about issues related to language. The difference between the previous model and that of Conklin and Lourie (1983) is that the latter considered all factors to be ambiguous. Conklin and Lourie (1983) differentiated between factors promoting language maintenance and factors promoting language shift, which they divided into three categories or clusters, (i) political, social and demographic factors; (ii) cultural factors and (iii) linguistic factors.

Under the first cluster of factors, Conklin and Lourie (1983) explain that:

(a) Demographics focus on where the speech community is concentrated. They argue that if the majority of the members of the speech community live in the same area, then this encourages language maintenance. If the members are scattered in different areas, then the possibility of language maintenance is low. So the fact that the Zanzibari community lived together in Kings Rest in the Bluff and then after the Group Areas Act were concentrated in Chatsworth encouraged cultural and language maintenance of the community.

(b) Time of migration from the homeland is a relevant factor as it considers how recent the immigration happened and whether it is ongoing. This is relevant because new immigrants from the same group would ensure continued communication in the language of the homeland, thus promoting language maintenance. While the community of freed slaves were brought to Natal in the late 19th century, they remained in contact with the Makhuwa community in Mozambique through individuals who came as labour migrants or religious leaders. Since 1994 there has been an increase in the number of new immigrants to the community. This has also brought some challenges. An example is that some of the new immigrants, some who are in the country illegally or because of the xenophobic attacks want to assimilate into society quickly. They have opted to learn and speak isiZulu. This will be discussed further in chapter five.

(c) The geographical proximity to the homeland focuses on ease with which the community can travel to the homeland. This is linked to the social and economic mobility, since people must be able to afford to travel back and forth and retain social links in both territories. The post 1994 period created opportunities for cultural exchange between the Zanzibari community in Chatsworth, Durban and the Makhuwa community in Mozambique. This has been in the form of travel to Mozambique (Maputo, Ilha de Mozambique, Nampula Province and so on), hosting of events like the Ziyara (Moulood-un-Nabi), and cultural events.

(d) The permanence of residence is regarded as a contributing factor to language maintenance or language shift. If immigrants are living in a particular area for a short period of time, with the intention of returning to their country, then the possibility of language shift is low. However, if the move is permanent then the immigrants have to learn the dominant language of the host country. This factor is not ‘clear cut’ when reflecting on the Zanzibari community. While their move to Natal was permanent, they were under the impression that one day they will return to their homeland. So while the younger generations in Kings Rest learnt the dominant language for school, employment, Emakhuwa was still the dominant language in the community and household.

(e) The concentration in a particular occupation. If this is high it creates the opportunity for the language to be maintained and if low leads to language shift (Clyne 2003). An example is the minority community being studied, where a large number of Makhuwa people worked in the clothing factories and using Emakhuwa in the workplace to communicate with each other. This will be discussed further in chapter five.

(f) Social and economic mobility, which when high leads to language shift and when low encourages language maintenance. Before 1994 very few people left the Zanzibari community to live in other areas in Durban or moved to Johannesburg or Cape Town. Some were forcefully removed from the community because of the Group Areas Act. Since 1994 more individuals left the community but their families remained in the community.

(g) Educational level of the immigrant group is a factor because if the education level is high, then it language shift is possible. Alternatively, if the education level is low, it ensures maintenance.

(h) Ethnic group identity if high is positive for language maintenance and if low, can lead to language shift. The Zanzibari community take pride in their Makhuwa ethnic identity and this has helped in maintaining their culture and language.

The second cluster of factors are; cultural factors and is divided into three sub-categories.

(a) The existence of community language institutions is a factor as these are likely to encourage language maintenance. It must be noted that within the community of study, there are no community language institutions. Instead cultural events, like the *Nimwari* ceremonies are used to promote culture and language.

(b) Whether or not religious and/or cultural ceremonies require command of the community language is important because the use of the community language in these domains could help language maintenance. The use of host country's language in these domains may be a sign that language shift is taking place. The former is evident in the Zanzibari community, as mentioned above.

(c) The emotional attachment to the community language as a defining characteristic of ethnicity is a relevant factor. When the emotional attachment is positive it leads to language maintenance (Clyne 2003). There was and still is an emotional attachment to Emakhuwa in the community and this was evident in the sense of pride the people (both young and old) expressed when speaking about their language.

The linguistic factors focus on the status of the language and concerns:

(a) Whether the community language is the standard written variety and if it is, this would promote language maintenance. If the community language is a minor, non-standard and/or unwritten variety, this would likely contribute to language shift. The Makhuwa community is unique in this sense as it has managed to pass down the culture and language of the community for over a century through the oral tradition.

(b) Whether the community language uses Latin script, which would be positive for the maintenance of the language in an environment that uses the Latin script (e.g. Western Europe). However, this may not always be the case and may depend on the community and other factors that contribute to maintenance or shift, as evident in Ahmed Othman's research discussed below.

(c) The international status of the community language is important to language maintenance or shift. The status of a language could also influence the attitude of the community to their language, so if its international status is high then there is a strong possibility for language maintenance and if low, it may lead to language shift.

(d) Whether the speakers are literate in the community language and if community language literacy is used to communicate within the community and with the homeland, helps language maintenance.

(e) Some tolerance and flexibility for loanwords can contribute to the maintenance or shift of the community language.

Othman (2006) in his study of the Arab community in Manchester highlighted that this community fulfilled the requirements for maintenance in the different clusters of Conklin and Lourie's Model. It has a high concentration of Arabs in the area; it has established many Arabic schools in which the language is learnt; and it holds functions like prayers and the reading of the Quran in Arabic[17]. All these contribute to language maintenance according to the first and second cluster. Othman (2006:15) observes further that in the case of his informants, the community spoken language is a non-standard variety, while the community's written language is the Standard Arabic. Furthermore, that Arabic does not use the Latin script and the distance from the dominant language could be a challenge for the maintenance of the language.

According to the factors in the second and third clusters of Conklin and Lourie's Model, the minority Zanzibari community should have shifted to the dominant language. No formal language institutions have existed in the Zanzibari community, however Emakhuwa was practiced and used at cultural and religious ceremonies which about 15 years ago were frequent events which brought members of the community together. Emakhuwa as mentioned in chapter one and above is a spoken language in the community. An example of the written form of Emakhuwa existed in a form of an old bible owned by Salim, an Elder in the community. This has been seen by a select few. Emakhuwa does not have international status. However, like in the case of Arabic, the strong emotional attachment to the home language promoted its maintenance.

4.2.3 Smolicz: Cultural Core Values

Smolicz (1981) and his colleagues have outlined a model that highlights cultural 'core values'. Smolicz (1981:76) explains that, "When people feel that there is a direct link between their identity as a group and what they regard as the most crucial and distinguishing element of their culture, the element concerned becomes a core value for the group. ... any attempt to alter its traditional culture, brings forth counter measures that help to pinpoint

[17] He does also highlight the diglossic situation in this community with classical Arabic used in the recitation of prayers and the Quran and the standard variety used in everyday life.

those values that the group considers as its cultural core, and, therefore, as meriting all efforts in their defence".

In short, this model proposes that each group or culture has a number of elements or specific values that are perceived to be key to the group's existence and continuity, and become a prerequisite for group membership. Members rejecting these values run the risk of exclusion from the group. Drawing upon the Australian experience, Smolicz (1981) argued that different ethnic groups place different values on language. Language is claimed to be a core value for some groups, like the Greeks, Poles and Chinese. This is a perception held by the elders within the Zanzibari community, who have managed to preserve their language in a minority situation because of the high value they attach to their Makhuwa identity, culture and home language.

Smolicz (1998) adds that a core value and in this case language, is usually more effective when it is combined with other core values like religion and when such core values necessitate the use of the language for particular purposes in a particular domain. Religion, class, national and regional identity within a 'language group' may determine variation in attitudes to the language (Smolicz 1981). To return to the Arabic example mentioned above, this language has respective claims to authenticity as a language of the Quran (Clyne 2003:65), and hence the language of prayer and worship (Othmane 2006).

Smolicz's (1981) work was regarded to be part of a larger project, which helped certain ethnic minority groups (namely; Greeks, Poles, Latvians and Chinese) advocate for language education in Australia. The aim to have the native languages to be taught in schools was to ensure cultural maintenance and the survival for certain ethnic groups and resistance to assimilation. Smolicz (1981) does not consider the plight of the aboriginal people, when discussing the native languages in Australia. Clyne (1991) points out that the core values have been represented as static and resistant to change, which contradicts the dynamicity of immigrant communities. Edward's (1994) general critique is that the concept of Core Values says more about historical changes, and different environments than it does about central differences across ethnic groups per se. In other words the real interest is whether it is a change in core values that results in language shift, or are core values eroded when a community gradually shifts to another language. The latter point draws the reader back to the concerns of the Elders mentioned in chapter one.

4.2.4 Milroy: Social Network Theory

The social network analysis of the kind which is most relevant to sociolinguistics was developed in the 1960s and 1970s by a group of mainly English social anthropologists. According to Milroy (1987) the idea of social network (as an analytic concept) was originally introduced by Barnes (a social anthropologist) to describe an order of social relationship which he felt was important in understanding the behaviour of inhabitants of the Norwegian village of Bremnes. Williams (1992) refutes this position and states that the study of Social Network Theory was derived from the psychometric work of psychologists.

A fundamental postulate of network analysis is that individuals create personal communities which provide them with a meaningful framework for solving the problems of their day-to-day existence (Mitchell 1986:74 in Milroy and Wei 1995:137-8). In Swann et al (2004), a social network is defined as a group of individuals who interact regularly with each other. Also noted is that Lesley Milroy's study in Belfast has been particularly influential in developing a network model of language change and language maintenance. Milroy (1987:178) defines social network as an informal social relationships contracted by an individual and therefore, a network is a group of people who know each other in some way or the other, with different levels of relationships.

This group consists of an anchor person at the centre who has different ties to different people from various domains in his/her life. An example in the Zanzibari community could be an Elder, *Mwalimu* (teacher) or *Imam* (Muslim priest), who would have different ties to different people from his family, to members of his congregation and colleagues. These form important sites for subgroups within the social network. But an anchor person can also be an 'ordinary' individual, with no strong 'public' presence.

Milroy (1987:47) explains that a social network acts as a mechanism both for exchanging goods and services, and for imposing obligations and conferring corresponding rights upon its members. The basic assumption of this theory is that the interaction of individuals with their social and cultural environment happens largely through the medium of language, that is, language serves as a means to socialise (Milroy 1987). It is through this socialisation that individuals, with language as a tool, are able to depict social roles ranging from gender, religious, professional and institutional roles and receive in turn confirmation of these roles by other members who share socio-cultural knowledge with them. An example of how social networks played a role in the maintenance of Makhuwa culture, language and religion is evident in Kaarsholm's (2015) research.

Kaarsholm (2015:473) documents that the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century networks served predominantly to facilitate trade, migration, education and religious and cultural interaction – providing the machinery of exchange in a 'religious economy'. In relation to the Zanzibari community he adds that the "connection with Mozambique provided important linkages of education and support as well as cultural resources, in the field of cultural expertise and healing. Kaarsholm (2015:473-4) also mentioned that the link between the Durban Zanzibaris, Northern Mozambique, Zanzibar and Comoros islands "were the central nodes in the networks through which the *Rifaiyya*, *Qadiriya* and *Shadhiliyya* Sufi networks expanded towards Mozambique and South Africa from the end of the nineteenth century". These networks helped intensify the Zanzibari community's relationship with the Makhuwa communities in Mozambique and helped in the cultural and language maintenance. Many members of the community have travelled to Maputo, Nampula or Ilha de Mozambique on their own or through organised cultural excursions/exchange. A few young people have recently married Makhuwas from Mozambique and further strengthening contact and existing networks.

Stoessel (2002) makes the point that social network theory is an important theory in language maintenance and shift because of the strong influence that social networks have on language usage and culture. Social network theory defines the social groupings that may have an effect on the individual's language attitude and behaviours. However, social network alone cannot account for the individual's linguistic development and socialisation process which can influence language attitude, choice and use. While the network approach is in particular attractive for the study of small groups where speakers are not discriminable on any kind of social class index, this model is based on a western style society and does not look at the issues of history, power, push and pull factors of migration that can influence language. J. and L. Milroy (1993: 74) also state that, Sociolinguistics urgently requires a more accountable and integrated approach to the social variables which provide a means of understanding patterns of linguistic variation and the mechanisms of linguistic change.

4.2.5 Fishman: Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

If elders (grandparents) in a community speak their traditional language but their grandchildren do not. This could mean that the language has not been transferred from the parent generation to their children and this is a sign that language shift has occurred (NWT Literacy Council 1999). In order to understand the situation in this community and many others Fishman (1991) provides a model called the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). This model serves as both a framework to evaluate the degree of shift and 'reversing language shift' or according to Clyne (2003) is concerned with intergenerational discontinuity and how it can be arrested and reversed. Fishman's (1991) model uses an'eight stage analysis and prescription' to revive the threatened languages and for ensuring sustainability. Stages eight to five focus on assigning particular functions for the community language in order for it to be transmitted intergenerationally. Stages four to one involve what Fishman (1991:401) refers to as 'increased power-sharing rather than diglossia'. On this scale the higher the rating, the lower the expectations of the language continuity of the group. These stages for language revival are as follows:

Stage 8: At this stage there are very few speakers (mainly the elderly) available. So the focus is on the reassembling of the language in its advanced stages of language shift or death. This stage does not apply to immigrant languages because their heartland lies outside the country in which they reside and the language will be actively used in their country of origin, such as the case of Emakhuwa in Durban.

Stage 7: This stage deals with the learning and relearning of the language. It relates to the acquisition of the language by adults, who actually act as apprentices, learning the language from the elderly through language classes. This is recommended when most of the remaining speakers of the language are few and socially isolated from other speakers of the language.

Stage 6: The third stage is the creation of a socially integrated population of active speakers (or users) of the language. The language is introduced in localities with a reasonable number of people habitually using the language to communicate with each other. The idea is to encourage the informal use of the language amongst people of all age groups, starting with the family domain and then strengthen its daily use throughout the domain of local neighbourhood and its institutions where language is used, encouraged and protected. Fishman asserts that this is a crucial stage to reversing language shift because of the focus on a demographically concentrated area and on intergenerational transmission.

Stage 5: At this point the focus will be on the areas where oral competence in the language has been achieved in all the different age groups in the community and where literacy in the language is encouraged. However, this is not dependent on the assistance (or goodwill of) the state education system. Members of the language group understand the importance of their language and heritage, therefore introducing formal linguistic socialisation in the form of agencies and institutions like ethnic supplementary schools held after schools or on weekend day, madrassah (Islamic schools), cultural schools, etc.

Stage 4: At this stage the language group is in a position to advocate the use of the language in state education, provided that it meets minimal requirements for numbers of students. A good example based on Clyne's research in Australia, where in the State of Victoria the acquisition of languages other than English is compulsory throughout primary school and in the first four years of secondary school (2003:61). Some of the major community languages are taught in mainstream Victorian schools, in addition to German and Mandarin.

Stage 3: Where the above stages have been achieved and consolidated, the focus is turned to encouraging the use of the language in the workplace. The aim is to enable or reinforce the implementation of a government policy that promotes a multilingual work environment. An example can be drawn from the South African context with government's multilingual policies. Job applicants are often required to be fluent in English and one indigenous language, preferably an indigenous language spoken by the majority of people in the area, like isiZulu in Kwa-Zulu Natal.

Stage 2: At this stage in the process of language revitalisation the focus is on encouraging the use of the language in local government offices and in the mass media. This means ensuring that radio transmissions in the community languages and newspapers are accessible to the community. Also, that the local government offices ensure that documents are translated in the local languages and information is readily available to the communities.

Stage 1: This is the last stage, prior to which the other stages have been achieved and consolidated. The focus is on encouraging the use of the language in higher education and government, which would strengthen and support the efforts of the previous stage.

This model of language revival is intended to direct efforts to where they are most effective and to avoid wasting energy to achieve the later stages of recovery when the earlier stages have not been achieved. For example, advocating the use of a language in the media, television or in government services when the community, the family domain in particular do not use the language. Language classes were introduced in the local Summerfield Primary School in the area, however this was not sustainable because the programme was not properly and systematically organised. The programme lacked materials, qualified teachers, a teaching plan, community engagement and partnership (it wasn't a collective effort, the elders were not involved, parents were not consulted, and so forth). The idea was good, but it lacked research, planning and proper implementation.

According to Lambert (2008:17) scholars tend to conceive intergenerational language transmission as a form of language planning, according to which parents set specific goals on behalf of their children and elaborate appropriate linguistic strategies. For example, if English is considered as the language of progress, and in relation to the community of study a key to entry in schools in Chatsworth, then it was encouraged in the community. However, Fishman (1997) believes that if a language is to be maintained by a particular speech community, then the community needs to use their language in the home domain.

Fishman cited by Clyne (2003:63) emphasised that the intention of this model should be to serve as an instrument for diagnostic and programmatic location of a particular language and that it should provide the basis for the development of linkages between high and low-order stages of reversing language shift. He adds that this scale should serve as a tool to enable people to identify where their language stands and what needs to be done to improve the position of their language. However, it has been noted that this model is not as straightforward or clear-cut as it may appear.

According to Lewis and Simons (2009:7) have done an assessment of GIDS and concluded that, a) its description of the level of disruption is fairly static, and does not adequately account for the directionality of LS versus language development, b) it does not provide an adequate description of all the possible statuses of a language, c) it is lacking as a framework for describing languages at any or all stages of its life cycle. They add that it should have several additional levels, which they provide in their model.

4.2.6 Edwards Typology of Minority Language Situation

John Edwards (2010) provides a comprehensive summative account of the factors involved in the different models of language maintenance and shift discussed so far.

Edwards (2010) explores the socio-political aspects of minority language maintenance and loss and proposes that attempts be made to produce a framework of variables which could serve to highlight the contexts of language maintenance and shift. His framework combines three categories of variables, speaker, language and setting, that in his opinion emphasise the interactions between language and the environment with another category of variables that take into account different perspectives like demography, sociology, psychology, linguistics, history, politics (law and government), geography, education, religion, economics and the media (Edwards 2010).

On the basis of this framework Edwards (2010) compiled 33 sample questions, which act upon the two sets of variables. This study outlines 31 questions, as question 4-6 on geographical outlines have been repeated. He acknowledges that these questions are not specific enough to comprise an all-inclusive typology, however, contends that they provide a framework for one (Edwards 2010). Edwards (2010) suggests that the problem with many research questionnaires is that they only draw on the beliefs (or convictions) of respondents and not necessarily their attitudes or feelings.

Edward's Typology of the Minority Language Situation

Questions raised by Edwards (2010) in his typology of minority language situation:

1. The number and concentration of speakers?
2. Extent of the language?
3. The rural-urban nature of setting?
4. Geographical outline?

5. Economic health of speaker group?
6. Association between language(s) and economic success/mobility?
7. Economic health of the region?
8. Socioeconomic status of the speakers?
9. Degree and type of language transmission?
10. Nature of previous/current maintenance or revival efforts?
11. Linguistic capabilities of speakers?
12. Degree of standardisation?
13. Nature of in and out migration?
14. Language attitudes of speakers?
15. Aspects of language-identity relationships?
16. Attitudes of majority group towards minority?
17. History and background of the group?
18. History of the language?
19. History of the area in which group now lives?
20. Rights and recognition of speakers?
21. Degree and extent of official recognition of language?
22. Degree of autonomy or 'special status' of the area?
23. Speaker's attitudes and involvement regarding education?
24. Type of school support for language?
25. State of education in the area?
26. Religion of speakers?
27. Type and strength of association between language and religion?
28. Importance of religion in the area?
29. Group representation in the media?
30. Language representation in the media
31. General public awareness of area?

According to Clyne (2003), "Edwards Taxonomic-Typological Model differs from that of Kloss insofar as it is more exploratory and less experimental". He adds that it seeks distinctions rather than concentrating on the issues that present themselves as factors of language shift in the situation being researched. Clyne (2003:54) writes that this model may thus be more useful across a wider range of linguistic minority situations, not just situations specific to immigrant minorities. Edwards (1995) believes that a comprehensive typology would be a useful tool for the description and comparison of minority language situations. This would lead to a more complete understanding of minority language situations, and also possibly permit predictions to be made concerning language maintenance and shift outcomes (Edwards 1995).

This study agrees that a comprehensive typology is required, because these questions make the linguistic situation in the Makhuwa community look dire. However, this minority community has managed to maintain Emakhuwa as a spoken language for over a century, without support from the government and media, and no economic success. Meaning, that this community contradicts the theories that suggest that language maintenance is feasible through economic incentives. So what are some of the factors or incentives that influenced language maintenance in this small community?

4.3 A closer look at Factors influencing Language Maintenance and Language Shift

Crawford (1996) asserts that attitudes coupled with the change in social and cultural values would affect languages, causing people to shift languages. He adds, the larger systems of beliefs like individualism (putting self-interest ahead of community interest), pragmatism (not defending principles that may seem old-fashioned, but focussing on what works) and materialism (prioritising consumerism and neglecting the spiritual, ethical and moral beliefs) do play a role in the process of shift (Crawford 1996). Therefore, to reverse this shift demands a move away from these newly acquired values by all members within a community.

This section will now discuss the factors that determine the linguistic outcomes of language shift and maintenance with some references to the South African context, and the language situation of the Zanzibari community. These factors were identified for the purposes of this study.

4.3.1 Language Repertoire

The precolonial linguistic repertoire of South Africa's inhabitants comprised of the indigenous languages spoken by the Khoe and San, as well as individual Bantu languages spoken by a larger number of people (Mesthrie 1995). The eras of slavery, colonialism and migration and migrant labour brought with them new contact situations and new languages, English, Afrikaans, Malay, Emakhuwa and Hindi to mention a few. This contributed to the diverse linguistic repertoire that exists in the country.

According to Milroy and Milroy (1990), a linguistic repertoire is the spoken or written style, which is available to a community, and the members of this community select the proper style to fulfil various communicative needs from the repertoire. This implies that an individual's linguistic repertoire is the sum total of varieties of a language or languages that he has acquired and uses to communicate with others within the community, and outside the community. For example a Makhuwa learner may use English in school to communicate with teachers, and some of their peers, Emakhuwa at home to speak to their parents and a mixture of the two to communicate with friends on the street. However, one's repertoire could also include a language one knows but no longer uses or have very little opportunity or need to use.

Earlier research by Ferguson (1973) documented that as soon as a child begins to speak, s/he varies in his or her mode of expression depending on the person s/he is talking to, the situation s/he is in, and the thing s/he wants to say. He adds that children from a relatively early age may have complex repertoires of registers, dialects, or languages which they use for different functions (Ferguson 1973). Ferguson (1973) elaborates that as a child matures, typically his or her repertoire becomes differentiated. The child learns to choose from the variety of adult languages or dialects available. Ferguson (1973) concludes that in the life history of an individual some varieties of speech may diminish in importance or disappear.

The concept of language repertoire has been a core concern in one way or another to sociolinguistic study for over half a century (Laitin 1992:5). Laitin (1992) argues that since people use different languages in different contexts to achieve particular effects, multilingualism should be regarded as a norm rather than as the exception. The notion of a repertoire thus goes beyond the mother tongue and suggests that languages allow individuals to play several roles, not merely to convey information.

Holmes (2001) suggests that choosing the appropriate variety from a wide linguistic repertoire depends on social factors like the participants in the conversation, the setting, topic and function of the conversation. These factors are coupled with social dimensions of the relationship of the participants which take into consideration the relative social distance of the participants, their status, the formality of the setting or type of interaction, and the referential and affective functions. All of these are important in accounting for language choice in many different kinds of speech community. Holmes (2001:7) concurs that in every community there is a range of varieties from which people select according to the context in which they are communicating. In monolingual communities these take the form of different styles and dialects.

So for the purpose of this research linguistic repertoire will be used to refer to the languages, written and spoken, dialects of the members of the Zanzibari community to communicate with other members of the community, and across social networks and with members of other language communities. Mesthrie (2006) identified four languages that contributed to the repertoire of the community and these were Emakhuwa, English, isiZulu, and Classical Arabic. This research will add chiYao and Swahili, which also exist (marginally) in the community .

a) Emakhuwa has been discussed in chapter one and was the dominant language spoken in the different households and other domains in the community. It has existed in the community for over four generations.

b) English was a standard variety and spoken in every household. It was the second language used in the home after Emakhuwa. It was used mainly by the children. The parents used a combination of English and a bit of Emakhuwa to communicate with their children.

c) The existence of isiZulu can be traced back to early contact with the Zulu community whilst living in the Bluff. This contact occurred in school domain, as some members of the community attended Zulu schools and in the workplace domain. An informant mentioned that while they could speak some IsiZulu, it was never allowed in the community in the Bluff. Elders and parents did not allow their children to speak isiZulu at home and in the community.

d) Qur’anic Arabic is another language that holds high status in the community. All family members in almost every household have a reading knowledge of Qur’anic Arabic, as this is learnt in the Madrasah and taught to all converts. However, very few can speak and understand the language, in its classical or modern form.

e) Another language not mentioned in Mesthrie (2006) is Chichewa, which has existed in the community, since a few Chichewa speakers joined the community when they lived in Kings Rest, the Bluff. It must be noted that although Emakhuwa and Chichewa existed together in the community for several decades, very few Makhuwas learnt Chichewa and vice versa.

A detailed discussion of the current repertoire of the community will be provided in chapter five.

4.3.2 Language and Attitude

The elders of the community being studied mention that ‘the youth have a bad attitude’. So what is attitude and how does it relate to language? In sociolinguistics and the social psychology of language, attitudes have traditionally been of great importance. This is because people’s reaction to language varieties can reveal their perception of speakers, and views of identity.

Baker (1992:10) draws on the definition of attitude from McGuire (1985) and Ajzen (1988), when he defined the concept as a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution or event. In the life of a language, attitudes to that language appear

to be important in language restoration, preservation, decay or death (Baker 1992). The status, value and importance of a language is most often and most easily (though imperfectly) measured by attitudes to that language.
The study of attitudes in general begins with a decision between two competing theories about the nature of attitude. According to Fasold (1984:147) most language-attitude work is based on a mentalist view of attitude as a state of readiness. Fasold (1984:147) adds that attitude is considered as an internal state aroused by stimulation of some type and which may mediate the organism's subsequent response. This implies that, a person's attitude, in this view, prepares him/her to react to a stimulus in one way rather than in another. However this approach is deemed problematic for the experimental method because the findings of the report depend solely on the self reporting of the interviewee, which may not be as consistent or reliable as the respondent might think. On the other side is the behaviourist view which is based on people's responses to particular social situations. It is necessary to observe, tabulate and analyse overt behaviour. Baker (1992:10) states that attitude is a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour.

Fasold (1984) states that some language attitude studies are strictly limited to attitudes toward language itself and the subjects in these studies are asked if they think a given language variety is 'rich', 'poor', 'beautiful', 'ugly', 'sweet sounding' and so forth. Fasold (1984) adds that most often, however, the definition of language attitude is broadened to include attitudes towards speakers of a particular language or dialect. Furthermore, the definition of language attitude allows all disparate forms of behaviour concerning language to be treated, including actions towards language maintenance and planning efforts (Fasold 1984).

For the purposes of this study, the definition by Baker (1992) will be used, which states that "language attitudes provide a measure of the sociolinguistic vitality of a particular language group". This measure of language attitude may give an indication of the stability of that language in the community in the presence of other language groups. Language attitudes are feelings people have about their own language or that of others (Crystal 1992).

In her study of language shift in the isiXhosa community in Grahamstown De Klerk (2000:100) states that language shift is closely linked to language attitudes, since these influence an individual's motivation to learn a second language. De Klerk focussed on the experiences and attitudes of Xhosa-speaking parents who sent their children to English-medium schools in Grahamstown and the relevance to the rate of language shift. She concludes that her respondents viewed sending their children to English medium schools as a positive move. This move would help to create an English friendly environment and help their children acquire better educational opportunities, cultural and sports facilities. This incentive would also apply to the Makhuwa community in Chatsworth. An informant Mr R mentioned that the parents in the community encouraged their children to learn and speak English, because it was a requirement for registration in the Indian schools in Chatsworth.

Also since English was an international language it would help their children to be competitive in the modern world, namely to acquire better job opportunities. De Klerk's (2000) research also found that the dominant language, English, had entered the domestic domain which was formally reserved for isiXhosa - a sign of possible language shift. This example reveals that most historical changes in language-use owe much more to socio-economic and political pressures than to just attitudes (Edwards 1985:146).

4.3.3 Language and Identity

The association between language and identity is well established in research in the fields of applied linguistics (Ivanic 1998), sociolinguistics (Labov 1966), sociology of language (Fishman 1999, Omoniyi 2000) and the social psychology of language (Giles and Bourhis 1976) among others (Omoniyi and White 2006:11).

The very nature of identity is contentious. One of the purposes served by identity as a concept is that of constituting a frame of reference within which recognition takes place. There are two dimensions to the recognition process: the physical visual (normative, social, and behavioural) and the cognitive (abstract, mental). Even though these dimensions are not discontinuous (cf. Joseph 2004:5), the former is directly observable, while the latter can only be inferred from other phenomena such as behaviours and actions.

Identity deals with the questions of who am I? How do others perceive me in the community of which I am a member? How do I actually want to be perceived (Kamwangamalu 1992:33)? Edwards (2009) writes that identity can refer to an individual's own subjective sense of self, to personal classification ‘markers’ that appear as important, both to oneself and to others, also to those markers that delineate group membership(s).

According to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) a poststructuralist approach to identity frames it as socially constructed, a self-conscious, ongoing narrative an individual performs, interprets and projects in dress, bodily movements, actions and language. Identity is conceptualised as being negotiated through language and consequently any linguistic act is understood as being an “act of identity”. This characterisation of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985:9-13) stresses that through language individuals project their identity, their inner universe and shape it according to behavioural patterns of the group with which they wish to identify. Collier (1998:131) maintains that being a member of a cultural–identity group occurs when interlocutors demonstrate their ability to use and understand the language code, symbolic forms, and interpretations, share worldview premises and sense of history.

A poststructuralist inquiry highlights further that identities are constructed at the interstices of multiple axes such as race, age, class, ethnicity, gender, generation, sexual orientation, geopolitical locale, institutional affiliation and social status, and that each aspect of identity redefines and modifies all others (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004:16). This section will now discuss ethnicity, culture, gender and religion in relation to language and identity as these are key to the discussion on the language situation in the Zanzibari community.

4.3.3.1 Language and Ethnicity

The older generation raised the concern, how can the youth identify themselves as Makhuwa if they are unable to speak the language. This link between language and ethnicity is made without hesitation. However Rudwick (2005) writes that the distinct language of an ethnic group does not necessarily have to be used actively in order to remain a constituent of the ethnic identity of the group. Hence, language shift may take place without a shift of the construction of ethnicity linked to a particular language community.

According to Parsons (1975:53) the phenomenon ethnicity is ‘an extraordinary elusive concept and very difficult to define in any precise way’. It is abstract and includes the implicit reference to both collective and individual aspects of the phenomena (Isajiw 1993:

411). Earlier discussions of ethnicity defined the phenomenon as a political tool, operating within contemporary political context (Cohen 1969:190), primary focus of group identity (Parsons 175:53), a chosen identity, where a ‘conscious form of identity is critical’ (Patterson 1975:309) or something ascribed at birth, deriving from kin-and-clan structure of human society (Isajiw 1993:408).

Now for the purposes of this study the definition of ethnicity by Isajiw (1993) will be ‘broken down’ further to include ‘a collective name, common myth or awareness of descent (ancestral heritage), shared history, distinctive shared culture, association with a specific territory, a sense of solidarity (Smith 1986:22-23) and language (Rudwick 2005). Padilla (1999:115 cited in Fishman), adds that the ancestral heritage of a group, for example the Makhuwa, is multidimensional in nature and involves the biological, cultural, social and psychological domains of life. Padilla (1999:115) writes that the psychological dimension of ethnicity is perhaps the most important because it evokes feelings of acceptance, belonging and solidarity. In relation to the community being studied the psychological attachment to the Makhuwa ethnicity, culture, history and language, were very important in the maintenance of the community as a distinct group. According to Padilla (1999) language is the glue that binds people together as members of an ethnic group and provides a mantle of distinctiveness from non-speakers of the language. It creates boundaries between groups and for the Makhuwa created an ethnic enclave in the Bluff and Chatsworth.

It must be noted that the majority of members in the Zanzibari community are of Makhuwa descent (sharing point of origin, history, shared culture and heritage). So while all the Makhuwas can claim to be Zanzibari, not all the members of the Zanzibari community can claim to be of Makhuwa ethnicity. These members were attracted to the community because of religion and exogamy, and were consequently integrated. This will be discussed further in Chapter five. When conducting this research I was of the opinion that most members (excluding the Indian and Yao) of the community were born Makhuwa, as they spoke the language and knew the culture. However, research revealed that some were not Makhuwa but were Zulu or “Coloured” people who were adopted by Makhuwa families, converted to Islam, and taught the religion, language, and culture.

4.3.3.2 Language and Culture

There are several definitions of culture. The sociological perspective defines culture as the total of the inherited ideas, attitudes, beliefs, values, and knowledge, comprising or forming the shared foundations of social action (Mahadi and Jafari 2012:231). Likewise, from the anthropological and ethnological senses, culture encompasses the total range of activities and ideas of a specific group of people with common and shared traditions, which are conveyed, distributed, and highlighted by members of the group through language.

According to Wardhaugh (1993:218), Sapir acknowledged the close relationship between language and culture, maintaining that they were inextricably related so that you could not understand or appreciate the one without knowledge of the other. Brown (1994:165) supported this view when he added that language is a part of culture and a culture is part of a language; the two are intricately interwoven. Edwards (1985:36) writes that language is the key to the heart of culture.

In sub-Saharan Africa, certainly, language functions as one of the most obvious markers of culture. Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000:122) note that in Africa, ‘people are often identified culturally primarily (and even solely) on the basis of the language they speak’. This sentiment is shared by older members of the Zanzibari community which will be discussed further in chapter five.

The Makhuwa community of Durban believe that the Makhuwa culture is connected to their language- Emakhuwa, and therefore the loss in language is perceived to contribute to the loss of their culture and therefore their identity. The culture of the Makhuwa is different to that of other African cultures in Durban. The Makhuwa culture is a combination of the Islamic religion, way of life and African culture. It must be noted that many of the respondents did not see a difference between religion and culture because the two have co-existed for so many years. Also, the Makhuwa interpretation of religion supported the role of women in Makhuwa culture, in which women influenced formal and informal education. This combination of culture and religion plays a pivotal role in the lives of the community, which helped the community “fly the flag” of African Islam and maintain its identity. This section will briefly discuss the different phases in the life of a Makhuwa person, from birth to death, to show the relationship between culture, religion and language in the community. The information on the different practices was borrowed from Seedat (1973), Oosthuizen (1982) and Kaarsholm (2011, 2012) because these practices exist to this day.

Phase one: Birth to Childhood

When a baby is born, the Azaan (call to prayer) which is in Arabic, is read to him/her. On the 7th day the grandmother gives the baby a bath and cuts his/her hair and the child is named. After the cutting of the hair, the grandmother takes the baby and while standing in the doorway shows him/her to the sun, she then brings the infant inside and ties a *ntokalo*[18] around the neck and waist (Oosthuizen 1982). Both mother and child live in seclusion until the 40 day ceremony, where they are both given a ritual bath to clean off impurity. During this time the mother is initiated into motherhood, educated and prepared for her new role. The language/s used during this process is dependent on the linguistic competence of the new mother. If she has a good grasp of Emakhuwa, then she is taught in Emakhuwa. If not, both Emakhuwa and English will be used to educate the new mother. The Makhuwa believe that a baby learns their mother tongue through the mother's milk. Meaning that a baby learns Emakhuwa through the act of breastfeeding.

Phase two: The Rite of Passage

Culture and religion play a key role in the way a child is raised and the initiation schools are vital to this process. The initiation schools are vehicles that the community uses to maintain their culture and language and a lot of what is taught is passed down orally through dance, lectures, poems, songs and storytelling. The initiation schools could be seen as a language institution (Conklin and Lourie 1985), which was used to pass down the culture and language from generation to generation. These were conducted only in Emakhuwa, however; recently both Emakhuwa and English are used as some of the participants do not understand Emakhuwa. Many of the Elders who are in charge of these initiations schools, are opposed to the introduction of English into this domain. They argue that with the use of English, the meaning of the lessons and messages get lost.

[18] Ntakalo is made from a type of plant placed in a black cloth worn like jewelry, for protection

As far as the initiation of boys is concerned, Seedat (1973) reports that circumcision as a transition ritual has its rites of separation, segregation and integration, and within the Zanzibari community it is a compromise between African traditions and Muslim circumcision. Oosthuizen (1982) adds that the stress is on the Islamic rite, with some elements of traditional African rite to indicate transition from childhood to adulthood, which takes place as early as six years of age.

In relation to the girl child, the initiation process begins when a girl starts to menstruate. However, her attendance at the initiation school does not necessarily occur at once. A special guardian would be allocated to the girl who will instruct her and guide her through the journey of life. The special guardian steps in to begin her role once the girl has her menstruation. After the seven days are over a ceremony is held and she is given gifts.

In the old days (when the community was settled in Kings Rest around the 1900s until about 1963) when a girl reached puberty she was taken out of school, prepared for womanhood and marriage in particular. In modern times girls are allowed to continue with their education, which some of the old people think is a challenge to their customs and tradition. Apart from western education seen as posing a challenge, moving to Chatsworth has proven to be a challenge too (insufficient space for separate initiation dwellings) because many of the rituals had to be curtailed as evident in the next level of the girls initiation, *okhelampani* or ‘going inside the house’. The young woman would now become a nimwari.

Initially the initiation processes took place over a period of three months in seclusion from their families and the general public; however it had to be adjusted to suit the Chatsworth environment. During this time the initiates are educated according to the teachings of the culture. The lessons, stories and songs were originally conducted in Emakhuwa, covered the following themes:

a) respect for women (especially mothers),
b) obedience to one’s parents, and the mwethi (the maternal uncle),
c) respect for elders and understanding their importance in the community,
d) respecting themselves and being a good man,
e) loyalty to the community,
f) being helpful,

g) working together,

h) appropriate and good behaviour, and

i) sexual matters.

This phase supposedly helps to set the foundation and values that would help the individual become an active and productive member of the community. Marriage and parenthood ensure that this information, knowledge and values will be passed on to the next generation.

Phase three: Adulthood and Marriage

Once a person completed their rite of passage, was mature and ready for adulthood then they were prepared for marriage. While in the old days parents arranged marriages for the children, today young people choose their own partners. Even though young people find their own partners, the older process is still respected in many ways. When a young man was interested in marrying a young lady, in the old days she would most likely be a *Nimwari*, his parents would start the process. They would approach the boy's maternal uncles and close male friends and ask them to initiate discussions with the girl's family. As mentioned earlier, Makhuwas are a matrilineal community, so the mother's brother would play a key role in the process. The father's brothers are there as support and to show unity. The *mahari* (dowry) is discussed. This is a religious settlement and this is for the bride alone to keep as a 'nest-egg'.

The day before her wedding, the young woman receives a visit from her *mwethi* (God mother who would be a maternal aunt) and the elderly women who give her final advice. This ceremony is called '*o singiya*'. They bring a jovial mood filled with singing and dancing and lessons that would help the young woman, *nimwari* through the next phase of her life. These sessions where normally conducted in Emakhuwa. However, today, Emakhuwa still dominates these sessions, but English is also used. English is used to explain the process and advice, if the young bride to be is not fluent in Emakhuwa. The eve of her wedding is spent with a drumming festival at her home that goes on till the early hours of the night. The songs are predominantly in Emakhuwa with some Arabic.

If the bride or groom is not a member of the community, then when the family comes to ask for the bride's hand in marriage a process is outlined. This entails an explanation of the Islamic way of life, Makhuwa customs and traditions, the wedding and conversion if they have not converted. These were generally conducted in Emakhuwa, with translation, but now

English is used. If families are in agreement the negotiations go ahead. If not, then the message is taken back to the couple and their families. The couple would then plead with their families to reach a compromise.

Marriages outside the religion and these have taken place outside the community, with little or no representation from members of the community. If the couple lives in the Bayview area of Chatsworth, they become active members of the community. This meant embracing the culture, learning the language and attending all ceremonies from the birth of a child to the funeral of a member of the community.

Phase four: Death and the Burial

When a member of the community is about to die, the *Imam* (religious leader) or learned member of the community is called in to read the final prayers. The deceased is given a ritual bath by a respected elder and two assistances in accordance with the *sharia* (Islamic Law) and then wrapped in white calico (2 sheets for a man and 3 sheets for a woman). The body is then placed on a mat and on the *jenaaza* (bier); it is then covered with *mikumi* (traditional cloth), which is then hung in the house for forty days. When people have viewed the body, the final prayers are held and the *shahaada* is recited as the deceased is carried out of the house. The women continue to recite the *shahaada* until the hearse leaves to the *Musjid* for the final *jenaaza* salaah (the last prayer for the deceased in congregation) before the burial. The women continue to recite prayer after prayer. The entire ceremony is conducted in Arabic, while information and logistics are provided in both Emakhuwa and English, the latter especially for outsiders.

When an individual dies their family members and friends stay at the house for the 40 days, sleeping on the floor with the men in the lounge and the women in the bedroom. On the 40th day a ritual is conducted in the early morn, followed by a *fathiha* (ceremony) with members of the community. This symbolises the process of letting go, allowing the soul to move on and take its place among the ancestors. The role of the ancestor is to guide a person throughout their life, so it is considered good practice to connect with the ancestor, remember them in prayer and to give thanks for their presence in one’s life. The next section will look at the connection with the ancestors and the information was borrowed from Arnfred’s (2011) study of the Makhuwa in Mozambique. The information was used in this research because these practices are prevalent in the Makhuwa community of Durban. For the purposes of this study, phase five is added which looks at the community and its spiritual connection with the ancestors.

Phase five: Connection with Ancestors

It is believed that even after death, a soul has a role to play, to guide the living. The Makhuwa believe that the world is divided in two, the physical and spiritual. While the men have the responsibility of keeping order in the physical world, it is the women that play a pivotal role in the spiritual world. According to Arnfred (2011:236), women have a central position in Makhuwa cosmology. She adds that the essential link between the dead, the living and the unborn members of the lineage is maintained through female powers (Arnfred 2011: 236). Different ritual ceremonies are performed to communicate with the ancestors like *ephepha*, *erewa* and *eshano*.

The pouring of *ephepha* is a way of entering into communication with the ancestors and has to be done in an appropriate place, which is sacred to the lineage. The *ephepha* is ground flour of *mapira* (sorghum), which is regarded as a female crop because the cultivation, weeding and harvesting are exclusively conducted by women (Arnfred 2011:236). Arfred (2011) adds that even the pounding, grinding and ceremonial pouring is a female affair. However, in Durban this process has changed. In the old days this process of preparing and pouring the *ephepha* followed the way it was done in Mozambique, but today the women use maize meal bought from the store. The pouring of *ephepha* is done before any big ceremony/event and is conducted in Emakhuwa by an Elder (oldest woman) in the family or community.

A ceremony held to identify people who are possessed is called *erewa*. Dunbar (20001:399) writes that spirit possession long viewed as elements of popular or marginal culture must be viewed within the broader conceptualisation of Islam. Of an Islam that acknowledges spirit possession as an important spiritual expression by practicing Muslims (Dunbar 2000:399). *Erewa* is the drum that is beaten to summon the jinn. The possessed persons are identified when they stand up and start dancing. All the people that fall into a trance are women. Some speak in “deep”[19] Emakhuwa, which is noticeably different from everyday Emakhuwa while

[19] Deep is a slang commonly used in the community and in this context it is used to describe an in-depth knowledge of the language, the language of the ancestor.

others speak Swahili. The possessed persons are then assembled together. The singing continues and *lobaan* (frankincense) is burnt. The smoke and sweet scent are used to ward-off the spirit.

Eshano is the next phase. This ceremony is conducted to treat the affected people. Special people read for the possessed and they are lined up on two sides facing each other. They are placed in two groups and handed a long sugar cane. They are asked to pull at the sugar cane, like a tug-of-war, and this motion symbolises the fight between good and evil. Sugarcane is used as a symbol of protection. The leaves of the sugar cane have coarse edges which are used ‘to cut the jinn’. The sugarcane is cut into pieces and each person is given a piece to eat. The consumption of the sugar cane symbolises their protection from evil spirits for a year.
Both these ceremonies are conducted annually, calling the spirit mothers to watch over and protect their children. These are conducted in Emakhuwa, which is the language of the spirit mother. The role of the mother, and women in general, as discussed above, is considered important in Makhuwa culture. Therefore, the next section will discuss the relationship between gender and language (the bearer of culture).

4.3.3.3 Language and Gender

The relevance and impact of gender have been recognised in the transmission of languages in situations of language contact (Winter and Pauwels 2005). So what is gender? The term ‘gender’ in linguistics referred to the grammatical categories that indexed sex in the structure of human languages. Feminist theorists of the 1960s and 1970s used the term gender to refer to the construction of the categories ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ in society, and this construction was related to biological sex in contested ways. Gender is a way of classifying phenomena, a socially agreed upon system of distinctions (Scott 1986). Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003:9) state that gender is embedded so thoroughly in our institutions, our actions, our beliefs and desires, that it appears to us to be completely natural. They add that gender is so deeply engrained in our social practice, in our understanding of ourselves and of others that we always take gender into consideration before committing an act (Eckert and McConnell 2003).

Much of the early research on gender and language devoted a great deal of energy to addressing the issue of ‘women’s language’ and its use of specific linguistic features

(Romaine 2000). Linguists have approached language and gender from a variety of perspectives, namely; the deficit approach, the dominance approach, the difference approach and the dynamic or social constructionist approach (Cameron 1992). Ige and de Kadt (2002) report that the post-structuralist perspective deemed it necessary to explore gender identities in order to understand gender power relations and bring about change, the deconstruction of the male/female dichotomy and the weakening of gender polarisation. Drawing from Cameron, they add that the emphasis should be shifted from ‘gender difference’ to the ‘difference gender makes’ (Ige and De Kadt 2002:148)

As this research is interested in the possible difference gender makes to language maintenance and shift it would be appropriate to look at Gal’s work in Austrian village of Oberwart. In her research, Gal (1979) discovered that young women were leading the shift from Hungarian to German. Gal (1979) highlights that this choice made by young women, which could be viewed as an indirect linguistic expression of their rejection of peasant life. These women did not want to be associated with peasant life because their lives would be affected by the type of person they married, which meant that they would have to work harder and under worse conditions as a peasant wife (Gal 1979). The women were increasingly choosing non-peasant husbands, which meant that they were speaking more German. Gal (1979) also discovered that on the other hand peasant men were finding difficulty getting wives and therefore had to marry exogamously, finding wives outside their community. As these were usually monolingual German women, language shift from Hungarian to German was being accelerated.

Some on the subject of language and gender propose that language shift frequently begins with women (granted access and incentive), that it manifest in choice of code (Schlieben-Lange 1977); in choice of marriage partner (Gal 1979; Brudner 1972); and eventually in the language which they choose to raise their children (Eckert 1983)”. Paulston (1994) comes to the conclusion that the most common explanation is that women, who are in a subordinate position in society, are sensitive to issues of power, including the language of power, but there exists no generally accepted explanation for the shift.

Winter and Pauwells (2005) conducted research among the immigrant communities in Australia and found that there was a strong level of language activism amongst the Greek-Australian community because the community was positive and confident in communicating using the Greek language. Also that both men and women were linguistically competent, making it easier for the language to be passed down to their children. The situation in the Greek community differed from that within the German-Australian community, which migrated to Australia in the 1870s, almost a century before the Greeks (arrived in the 1960s). Winter and Pauwells (2005) reported that the German women were confident and more active in using the language in different domains (in the household and in public with friends). They added that the spoken voices of the German men were by and large absent in their community (Winter and Pauwell 2005:160-161). However, Winter and Pauwell (2005) have compared two communities that do not share the same time-depth in terms of their immigration to Australia.

Burton (1994:12) reports that there are 3 functions for women in bilingual and multilingual contexts:

(a) Some women mediate between cultures as bilingual and multilingual speakers;

(b) In some contexts women are held responsible for maintaining the vernacular by speaking it themselves and transmitting it to their children;

(c) Women are said to find linguistic loyalty and a personal source of pride in the preservation of their cultural heritage.

After reading Burton's (1994) position on the function for women, the question that could be asked is, where are the men? Communities differ in their social, economic, cultural, religious factors and way of life and how they influence language usage between men and women. Burton's (1994) position does not mention these factors. It might be a response to earlier approach to language and gender, which considered "women less proficient bilinguals than men, thus lacking linguistically while being behind them" (Stevens 1986).

Mukherjee (2003) adds to Burton's (1994) position that women are expected to be language bearers and transmitters in the community, even if not all the women play this role. This is evident in the situation in Makhuwa society.

The Makhuwa society which follows the matrilineal system of kinship (mentioned above), and is different from a matriarchal (women have power) society. In Emakhuwa the name for the family unit or clanship is known as *nihimo* or *nloko* (Bonate 2006:141). It refers to a common female ancestor symbolically defined as *erukulu* (a womb) or *nipele* (a breast) (Bonate 2006:141). Arnfred (2011:237) concurs that women have key positions in Makhuwa society, as providers of life and nutrition; descent and inheritance of land pass through the female line, as does identity and belonging to a matriclan, *nihimo*. Women remain with their own family at marriage, and children belong to the mother's lineage. The husband moves in to live with the wife's family. The maternal uncle (mother's brother or cousin) with the guidance from the grandmother, will be the man responsible for/with authority over his sister's children (Arnfred 2011:11). In some cases it is the maternal uncle, his wife and sisters that share this responsibility. The maternal grandmother is head of the family and household. This is the case in the traditional Makhuwa household.

Certain elements of the matrilineal society still exist in the Zanzibari community of Chatsworth. In some households the grandmother still holds her position as the head of the family or household, responsible for the education and guidance of the children and grandchildren. This means that the grandmother ensures that the children attend school, madrassah and cultural school. She also helps in the transmission of culture and language. However, patriarchy, which is also tied to religion, Islam also exists in the community. For example, the title of the head of the family or household in several homes is given to the breadwinner or the oldest man. The implications of matrilineality to language maintenance or shift will be discussed in chapter five.

Some of the above discussions show gender as a variable in language maintenance and shift as playing a key role in ensuring that language is transmitted to the younger generation.

4.3.3.4 Religion

Religion is considered to be a strong component of people's identity, and ethnic groups identify with particular religious practices (Omoniyi 1999:374). Religious identities are like ethnic ones in that they concern where we come from and "where we are going". It is these identities above all that, for most people, give profound meaning to the names we identify ourselves by, both as individuals and as groups (Joseph 2006 in Omoniyi and Fishman

2006:165). As mentioned earlier, the members of the community are Muslims and Islam is the religion of the community. While some of the informants mentioned that as Mulisms, Islam is the way of life, they also highlighted that the Makhuwa culture has existed parallel with the religion. They did not see any contradictions in the two co-existing, and in fact the two complemented each other. Sheriff (2008) regarded Islam as the second criterion of identity (Makhuwa ethnicity being the first) of the Zanzibari community and a core value. Oosthuizen (1982) supports this position when he writes that to the Zanzibaris Islamic elements and African practices are accepted parallels.

While the focus here is on the influence of religion (including religious movements or organisations) on language, this research will look at a few sociological definitions of religion.

Aldrige (2003:28) argues that religion gives people a sense of identity, purpose, meaning, and hope. It expresses and creates shared values and social bonds which hold society together (Aldridge 2003:28). However, it also causes friction, strife and wars. Edward (2009:101) writes that there are many important social and psychological points of connection between language and religion, some having to do with their complementarity as markers of groupness, some dealing with the language of religion and some involving the work of missionaries. Kamwangamalu (2006) writes that South Africa has a history of language struggle, a history in which religion has been deeply embedded. Kamwangamalu (2006:86) adds that religion has been implicated among the dehumanising forces in SA and has been entangled with economic, social and political relations of power that sought to privilege the white minority at the expense of the majority who were excluded from human empowerment.

The role of missionaries has been criticised in history as indirect allies of colonisation. However, Kamwangamalu (2006:87) highlights that by introducing literacy and education in SA, missionaries contributed to the development of the country and its linguistic heritage (even if that was not the intention). This research is interested in a similar type of organisation like the missionaries, but in the form of Islamic movements or organisation. These may not have been active in religious conversion as the missionaries, but explored as a factor that influences language maintenance and language shift in the community.

Kaag (2007:85) writes that Islamic organisations represent one of the significant power blocs in today's world because they try to enhance people's material and moral livelihoods by humanitarian aid and proselytising activities. In addition to offering medical help, food, and educational facilities, these organisations also offer rules of behaviour and a sense of belonging to the *ummah*, the global community of the Islamic faithful (Kaag 2007:85).

Kaag (2007) documents that as Islamic NGOs (and not merely NGOs run by Muslims), the organisations also have a missionary function: they are ultimately concerned with advancing Islam, by converting non-Muslims (Islamisation) or by deepening current Muslims' understanding of Islamic principles and improving their religious practices (re-Islamisation). Kaag holds that this missionary urge is most explicit in their activities in the field of religious education and through sponsoring Qur'anic teachers, distributing educational material (2007:91), helping in the construction or renovation of *Madrasah*, religious celebrations, and youth camps. The impact of this approach is evident in the community. Before 1980s, the *Madrasah* was another domain where Emakhuwa was the dominant used together with Arabic and English had a minor status in this domain. The Teachers were from the community and the teaching method encouraged oral repetitions of lessons memorised, including lessons from the Quran. Examinations were taken orally and the brighter students were given the opportunity to read at a *Moulood-un-Nabi*[20] *and/or Zikr*[21]. Another incentive for the children was invitations to read at private homes, both in Chatsworth and outside. They often received monetary reward for a job well done.

In the period between 1980 and about 1987 a more structured education system was introduced and the teachers were both from the local community and new immigrants from Malawi. English and Arabic became more dominant, and Emakhuwa was used to a lesser extent. While the education was more structured, the curriculum was still locally driven. Written exams were introduced, and the teachers were the examiners. The culture of *Moulood* and *Zikr* still prevailed.

[20] Moulood (or Mawlud) un Nabi is the observance or the celebration of the Prophet Mohammad's birthday in the third month of the Islamic calender.

[21] Zikr or Dhikr is a ceremony conducted to praise and remember God, Allah.

From the end of the 1980s until today the *Madrasah* institution evolved into a structured education institution, which follows the curriculum from IEOSA (Islamic Education Organisation of Southern Africa). The teachers are educated to implement the set curriculum, all materials are sent from head office, lessons are taught in English with recitations in Arabic. Exams are in English and conducted by external examiners. As a result of the external influence and one Makhuwa teacher at the *Madrasah*, Emakhuwa is not used in this domain.

The above discussion shows that no factor alone is responsible for language maintenance and shift in communities, but a complex array of factors like the socio-economic pull, education and religion.

4.4 The situation of linguistic minorities on the African Continent, with particular reference to South Africa.

4.4.1 Introduction

Africa, a continent inhabited by about 700 million people, brought together under different colonial administrations within colonial territories, speaking about 2,000 indigenous languages, typifies a legacy of colonial rule (Ayuk 1999). Africa is known to be the most linguistically diverse continent, and according to Grimes (2000) makes up for one third of the world's linguistic heritage. However, Africa faces a major problem concerning the safeguarding of linguistic diversity, which is as a result of the lack of documentation of languages, the death of languages, and national language policies that neglect the importance of African languages for development. Bamgbose (1991:6) states that "there is a general feeling that language problems are not urgent and hence solutions to them can wait. ... Language policies in African countries are characterised by one or more of the following problems: avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuation and declaration without implementation". The lack of political will and responsibility to preserve African languages is counterproductive to growth and development of African languages.

The languages in Africa can be divided into indigenous languages, colonial languages and lingua franca. Most research into the indigenous languages of Africa report that these languages can be divided into four language phyla, namely the Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan, Niger-Kordofanian (including Niger-Congo) and Khoisan. The latter is now agreed to be not a family but a set of unrelated families. Lodhi (1993), however, adds a fifth, Malayo-Polynesian (or Austronesian languages), which relates more to the languages spoken on the island of Madagascar. The Indo-European languages will be discussed briefly under colonial languages. Sign language should not be forgotten. Mesthrie (2002) advocates for the inclusion of sign languages to the genealogies of language, and the need to devote as much space to them as any other language family in sociolinguistic surveys.

As a result of decades of colonisation by European nations the African continent plays host to several European languages that have come to dominate certain indigenous languages in some countries. These languages like English, Portuguese, French, Spanish, and Arabic enjoy national status and power, thus rendering some of local indigenous languages weak and in some cases dead. Lodhi (1993:80) writes that we can divide the linguistic map of Africa into Anglophone, Francophone, Lusophone, Arabiphone and Swahiliphone parts, as far as the choice of the language of administration is concerned. He adds that most of the African countries have chosen colonial languages as their official languages, at times together with one or more African languages as national languages for political and/or economic reasons (Lodhi 1993). The dominance of these languages deprives the majority of the Africans access to knowledge and hinders them from participating in national politics and the decision making process. Though the European languages in Africa are unquestionably part of the European imperial intrusion, they paradoxically act as a unifying force in many of the African national territories. These European languages are simultaneously political forces of unification and cultural instruments of domination.

Adegbija (1994:33-4) writes that post-colonial policy makers in Africa have largely rubber-stamped or toed the line of language and educational policies bequeathed to them by the colonial masters. Educational systems, which have widened and extended beyond what they were in colonial days, have been further used to entrench and perpetuate the feeling of the inviolable worth of colonial languages (Adegbija 1994).

Prah (2007) adds that what is remarkable is that since the beginning of the post-colonial era in one state after the other, Africans have elected to designate as national languages a number of their local languages. But there is hardly any movement in elevating the status of these languages to official languages (Prah 2008). In many African constitutions these national languages are given lofty and almost equal status to the colonial languages on paper. But, this remains on paper. There is little practically done to implement the thinking behind such policies. Instead, what we invariably find is that the entrenchment and expansion of the role of the colonial languages has steadily increased.

4.4.2 Southern Africa

According to Pierce and Ridge (1997) the current status of multilingualism in Southern Africa is as complex as the social, economic and political history of the region. They add that before European political and missionary engagement with the people in Southern Africa, a richly nuanced linguistic situation prevailed (Pierce and Ridge 1997). This was then modified by colonial rule which places African languages in a subordinate position. The contact situation in this region resulted in the European languages like English, Dutch, Portuguese and German thriving in the region and this prevailed through to the current day where the ex-colonial language serves as one of the official languages in the different countries. For example, English is the official language of all the SADC countries except the two ‘Lusophone’ countries, Mozambique and Angola (Pierce and Ridge 1997). However, it has been noted that Mozambique has introduced the teaching of English in primary and secondary school education and is being used as a means of communication, because Mozambique has joined the (British) Commonwealth (Pierce and Ridge 1997:172).

4.4.3 The Plight of Indigenous and Extraneous Minority Languages in SA

This section will discuss the situation of two different, known and recognised minority languages in South Africa. In comparison to Emakhuwa, there are debates, discussions, documentation, research and activism around the maintenance, and restoration of these languages.

Adegbija (2001) documents that the principle causes of language shift in the African context or why several languages are under threat is because of the following:

a. The presence and prestige of ex-colonial languages, which enjoy disproportional prestige and are used in different domains in society (education, work, political and in some cases the home domain). The official dominance of ex-colonial languages is therefore a potent language shifting trigger constantly pulled by the desire to rise on the vertical and horizontal social and economic ladder.

b. The inferiority syndrome associated with African languages, evident in the official neglect of indigenous languages, which are considered as obstacles to civilising missions.

c. The marginalisation of minority languages. The more powerful and functionally dominant a language, the more pressing its attraction and pull, and thus the greater the tendency to shift towards it, given that the pressure for social mobility is virtually irresistible.

d. Low emotional, intellectual and functional investment in languages plays a role in language maintenance and shift. These however, are also dependent on attitude towards languages.

Adegbija concludes that attitudinal doldrums with respect to language constitute the principle precipitator of language shift (2001:288). Using his hypothesis, this research will discuss two different communities in South Africa that exist as linguistic minorities. The one is the indigenous Khoesan community, which confirms Adegbija's position on the plight of indigenous languages. The other is the Afrikaner community that ensured that their language was maintained.

4.4.3.1 The Case of the Khoesan Indigenous Languages in SA

Ancestral San peoples have lived in southern Africa since ancient times and the early contact between Khoe and San and proto-Bantu speaking peoples led to the formation of the Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho and Tswana chiefdoms (Lee 2002). The mixing between the groups resulted in clicks in isiZulu, isiXhosa, Setswana and Sesotho (Lee 2002).

Traill (1995:1) writes that the sociolinguistic story of the South African Khoesan languages is one of language death. He cites Elphick (1985:51) to the effect that in the early seventeenth century there were about eleven closely similar Cape Khoe varieties from the Cape of Good Hope in the west, along the southern Cape coast and its hinterland, as far as the Fish River. He further states that within a period of sixty years starting from 1652, the traditional Khoikhoi economy, social structure and political order had almost entirely collapsed (Traill 1995:3). A major smallpox epidemic ravaged an already fragile population, contributing to the disappearance of the Khoe language.

Langerveldt (in de Wet 2006) supports Traill (1995) when he writes that the surviving Khoe and San peoples have suffered severe culture loss and have been assimilated into the dominant western society, while other groups were able to maintain their languages and culture. The Khoe and San peoples have experienced discrimination, marginalisation, subjugation, dispossession and exclusion throughout the centuries, especially since 1652 with the arrival of the Dutch (De Wet 2006). Brenzinger commented that from a sociolinguistic perspective, the experiences of the indigenous peoples, which ranged from warfare, disease, starvation, enslavement to genocide satisfy virtually every requirement for language death (Brenzinger 1992 cited by Traill 1995).

De Wet (2006) reports that in response to the continued political and social change (and linguistic changes) in South Africa, the Khoe and San people’s have begun to reposition themselves and formed community based or cultural organisations, as prescribed by government departments like Arts and Culture department in the Western Cape, in an attempt to empower themselves for effective redress, which is largely influenced and supported by the global arena of the indigenous movements and its network. Traill (1995:1) adds that in the case of the Cape Khoekhoe languages or dialects, historical and other records have been rich enough to allow specific sociolinguistic reconstructions of the circumstances surrounding their death.

Traill (1995) commends Kohler (1981), Westphal (1971) and Winter 1981) for their contribution in documenting most of the Khoesan languages that are extinct or extant, De

Wet (2006) argues that documentation is not enough. She believes that much has to be done to reverse the language situation for the minority groups that exist in South Africa and the rest of Southern Africa. She contends that the Khoe and the San people lack the capacity to fully engage with the different institutions with regards to the law, their rights and so on (De Wet 2006). While post-apartheid South Africa has introduced laws and institutions to ensure the empowerment and protection of minority groups, this does not ensure the revival, development, education and maintenances of these languages.

4.4.3.2 The Case of Afrikaans

The case of Afrikaans in SA is very different to that of the indigenous Khoesan language. As mentioned above, South Africa has moved from a bilingual to a multilingual language policy and this has had an impact on the Afrikaans language. Afrikaans enjoyed the status of a majority language even though its speakers were demographically by no means a majority. Afrikaans was the dominant state language and by the 1980s was a widely-used lingua franca in South Africa and Namibia (Louw 2004). Van der Merwe (1951:23) concludes that Afrikaans originates from the 'colloquial Dutch of the 17 century', and that the language was influenced by the speakers who were of non-Dutch descent. They add that in the 18th century there were more non-White speakers of Afrikaans than White' (Donaldson 1991:30), which included slaves and political prisoners from Indonesia, the subjugated Khoekhoe , people of mixed descent, and French- and German-speaking settlers (Branford and Claughton 1995:214).

Louw (2004) describes three phases that Afrikaans passed through. The first phase was the resistance to Milner's policy directed towards the anglicising of white Afrikaners, which included making English the language of commerce and industry, the language of state administration and forbidding the speaking of Afrikaans in schools (Louw 2004:44). The second phase was characterised by the apartheid policy which revolved around Afrikaner nationalism. During this period Afrikaner cultural forms and the Afrikaans language were actively promoted by the state through the building of Afrikaans-medium schools, universities, and colleges. The development and empowerment of this minority group came at the expense and oppression of the majority of the population in South Africa. According to Giliomee (2003:545), by 1970 Afrikaans was fully established as a public language.

The promotion of Afrikaans continued through the following means:

(a) establishment of an Afrikaans book-publishing industry,

(b) the establishment of the SA Academy of Language, Literature and Art (SA Akademie),

(c) the establishment of SABC radio service and national television service which broadcasted 50% of their programmes in Afrikaans

(d) the requirement that advertisers on SATV Channel One were required to produce all advertisements in both English and Afrikaans, and

(e) sponsorship of the state of the translation of overseas television programmes into Afrikaans and the subsidisation of the production of Afrikaans television programming, Afrikaans films and theatre (Louw 2004:45).

The political and socio-economic power of the Afrikaner minority ensured that the status of Afrikaans was enhanced to that of a co-dominant language with English, with increased use in the different domains, political, education, work and in some households. As mentioned earlier it was also to be used as a *lingua franca* among non-Afrikaners (Louw 2004). However, this status shifted in the third phase.

The third phase according to Louw (2004) began at the end of apartheid as a policy, the transition to the new government, which also meant the transition of Afrikaans from a dominant language to a minority language. Reagan (2004) writes that South Africa is by no means a linguistic utopia, nor is the linguistic reality of the country a monolithic or uniform tribute to multilingualism. Reagan adds that the post-apartheid era has been characterised not only by rhetorical commitments to multilingualism, but also simultaneously by a very real increased dominance of English in social, economic, political, and educational spheres (2004:108). Louw (2004) notes the decline of Afrikaans at all levels of society, from national government, advertising, commerce and industry to the decreased use in the media and in some households. The shift from Afrikaans to English in the different domains including the family is evident of the shift in the status of the language. Louw (2004) believes that like the other languages that are threatened by the dominance of English, efforts have to be made to ensure that the Afrikaans language is sustained. While there have been instances of language shift from Afrikaans to English, as noted by Louw (2004), Afrikaans is not threatened and does not suffer like most linguistic minority languages in South Africa.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift, models and factors involved and the plight of linguistic minorities in South Africa. The dominance of English and its impact on minority languages has been discussed and this relates to the concerns raised in the Zanzibari community. Emakhuwa is a minority language that is not recognised, is a low standard variety, there are no government resources invested towards its documentation or maintenance. However, it is the positive attitude and loyalty that has contributed to the maintenance of the language. Chapter five will look at the research findings and discuss whether this continues to be the case in the community.

CHAPTER FIVE
DATA ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and evaluation of data captured during the household surveys, interviews and participant observation in relation to the study questions. The aim was to elicit whether the Makhuwa language was being maintained or language shift was taking place in the community and discuss the reasons that contributed to either phenomenon. It must be noted that since starting this study in the Zanzibari community of Durban in 2008, some of the participants (interviewees, survey respondents and members of households that were interviewed and observed) have passed away.

5.2 Outline of Household Survey

A questionnaire was developed and conducted in 70 households in the community. Every second house was visited (odd numbers in the streets where Zanzibari members reside), and as a result of refusal (2), absence of members, or empty houses, we went back to the beginning and went to alternate households.

Q1 – 13	Captures the background information of the respondent, including age, gender, marital status, place of birth, ethnicity, employment, religion, head of household, tenants and relations to tenants if any.
Q14 – 18	Captures the language repertoire of the respondent in the present day.
Q19 – 26	Captures the language repertoire of the respondent as a child
Q27 – 29	Captures the repertoire of the respondent's family
Q30 – 32	Captures the history and language pattern of the respondent's family, parents and grandparents
Q33 -	Captures information on the respondent's attitudes toward Emakhuwa
Q34 – 35	Captures respondent's language use as an adult
Q36 – 41	Captures children's language use in the household, school and public space
Q42 – 44	Captures the ethnic profile of the household
Q45 -	Captures how long the respondents' lived in the community

Q46 – 47 Captures language use during cultural events

Q48 – 49 Captures language use during religious ceremonies

Refer to the questionaire in the appendices. The order of the questions meant some vacillation between information about the community and more specific questions related to language.

5.3 Data Analysis

Q1 Age of Respondents?

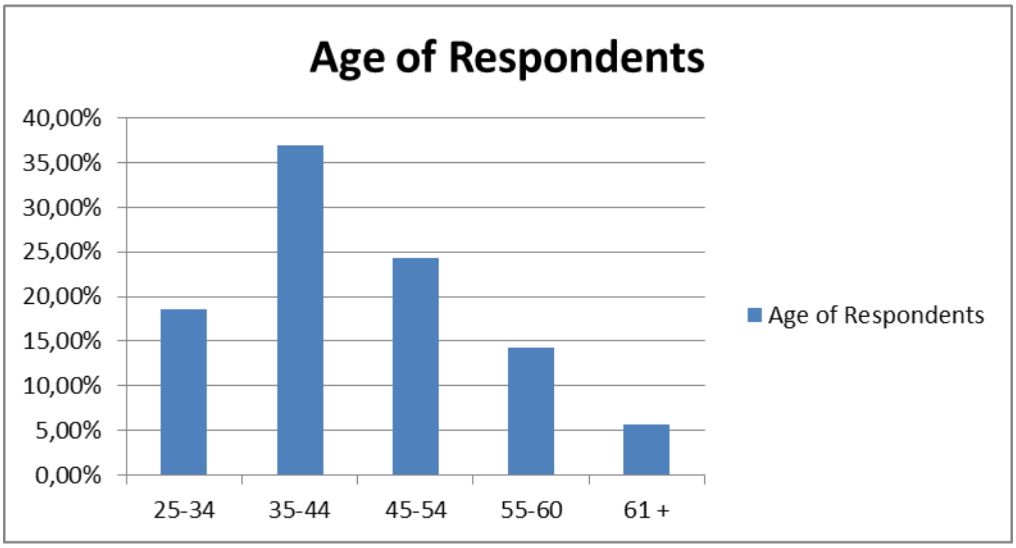
Initially this question Q1 asked for the name of respondents. All respondents preferred to remain anonymous. So the age of respondents was used instead of name. They were all informed of the ethical responsibility of the researcher. The target group for the household surveys was the parent generation. The reason for interviewing parents was to elicit if intergenerational transmission was taking place. Were parents passing down the language and culture to their children? The age groups were arranged as follows:

1. Ages 25 – 34. This group comprised of the young parents, numbering 13 out of the 70 respondents.
2. Ages 35 – 44. This group of parents numbered 26 out of the 70 respondents.
3. Ages 45 – 54. This group of parents, comprised of both parents and grandparents and numbered 17 of the 70 respondents.
4. Ages 55 – 60. Most members of this age category were now grandparents and some even great grandparents. The number of respondents in this group were 10 of the total number of respondents.
5. Ages 61 and over. This group comprised the oldest parents in the community and all were grandparents or great grandparents. The number of respondents in this group amounted to 4.

TABLE 5.1: AGE OF RESPONDENTS

AGES	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE (%)
25 - 34	13	19
35 – 44	26	37
45 - 54	17	24
55 - 60	10	14
61 +	4	6

GRAPH 5.1: AGE OF RESPONDENTS



The average age of the respondents was calculated to be 43.9 years. The largest group interviewed were parents in the 35-44 years age group, most of whom were born in Chatsworth a few years after the re-location of the community to this area from Kings Rest.

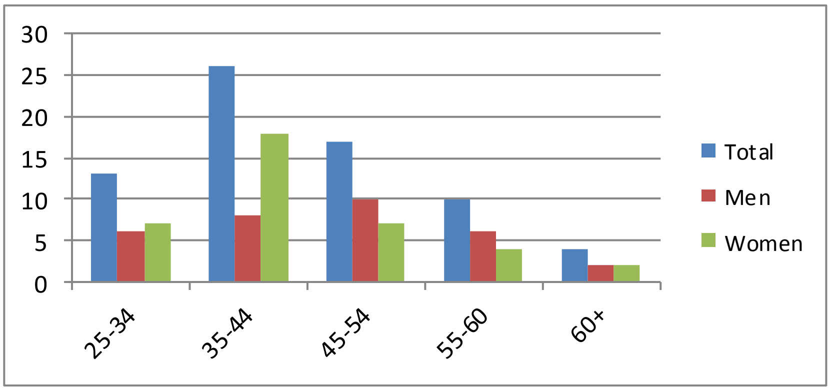
Q2 Sex of respondents?

This question looked at the ratio of men and women that responded to the questionnaire. Out of the 70 respondents, 38 (54%) were women and 32 (46%) were men. If we break it down further and look at the sex of respondents according to the age categorisation then we have the following:

TABLE 5.2: SEX OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO AGE

AGES	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN
25 - 34	13	6	7
35 - 44	26	8	18
45 - 54	17	10	7
55 - 60	10	6	4
60 +	4	2	2
Total	70	32	38

GRAPH 5.2: SEX OF RESPONDENTS



While the research tried to maintain a gender balance, more women than men were interviewed for the household survey. The reason was people's availability, those who were at home at the time of the visit. In some cases homes were revisited because parents were not available at the time of the initial visit.

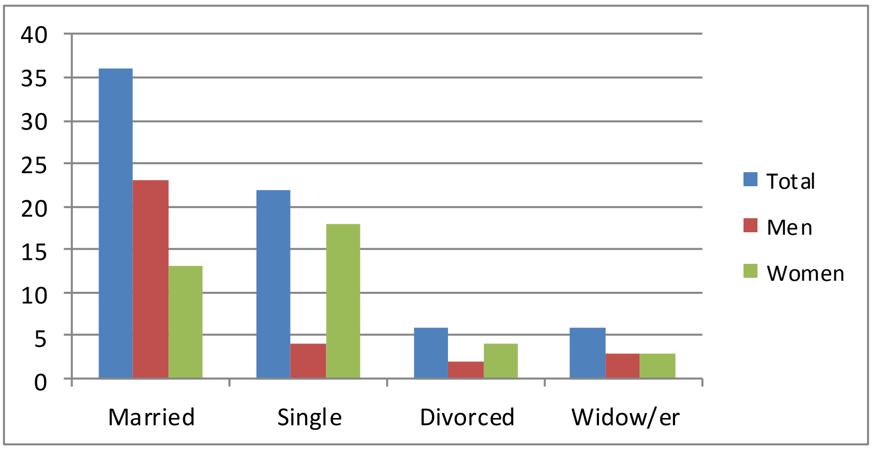
Q3 Marital Status of the respondents?

This question was asked to elicit the marital status of respondents, whether they were married, single, divorced or widowed.

TABLE 5.3: MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS.

Marital Status	Married	Single	Divorced	Widow/er
Total	36	22	6	6
Men	23	4	2	3
Women	13	18	4	3

GRAPH 5.3: MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO SEX.



A majority of the participants were married however a large number of women reported themselves to be single mothers. Some women stated that it was "complicated", another mentioned that she was married but separated and therefore considered herself single even though the divorce was not yet official. The significance of this will be considered in the discussion on the role of gender in language maintenance and shift.

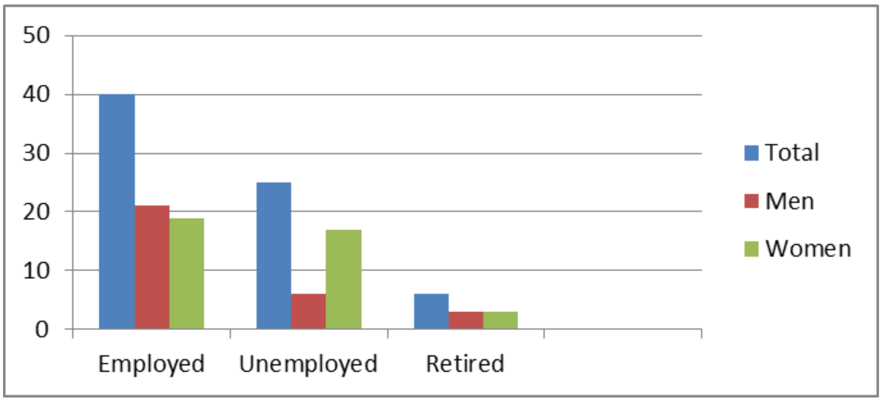
Q4 Occupation?

This question was asked to help understand the socio-economic situation of respondents, and to observe the gender roles in the family. Who worked, and who stayed at home to look after the children and thus influencing the repertoire of the children in the household, and that of the adults. Also, it tried to determine if their employment status influenced language choices.

TABLE 5.4: OCCUPATIONS OF RESPONDENTS.

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	EMPLOYED	UNEMPLOYED	RETIRED
Total	40	25	5
Men	21	8	3
Women	19	17	2

GRAPH 5.4: OCCUPATION OF RESPONDENTS BY SEX.



This was broken down further to establish the employment status according to age and gender.

TABLE 5.5: EMPLOYMENT STATUS ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX.

GENDER	MEN			WOMEN		
Ages	**Employed**	**U/E**	**Retired**	**Employed**	**U/E**	**Retired**
25 – 34	5	1	-	5	2	-
35 – 44	7	2	-	11	7	-
45 – 54	8	1	-	1	6	-
55 – 60	1	4	-	3	1	-
60 +	-	-	3	-	-	2
Total	21	8	3	20	16	2

Most of the men (66%) were in some form of employment. Those respondents that are employed varied into two groups, the first were employed by a company or organisation and the second group were self-employed, people who run their own businesses, like *Spaza* shop[22], mechanic, and herbalist. There were a few men (25%) who were unemployed, some who worked 'shutdown', which meant short contract employment. However these were 'few and far between'. The remaining (9%) were retired.

Among the women 53% were employed. Five of the respondents reported that they were home executives; these were women who considered their work in the household as a form of employment. A large number of women (42%) were unemployed. Here too some women mentioned doing odd jobs or short contract employment, which they did not consider as employment in the formal sense. They defined employment as a long term (more than six month) contract between the employer and employee, with a fixed salary at the end of each month. 5% of the women were retired. The people that have retired received a pensioner's grant.

[22] Is a local, informal convenience shop run from the owners home and selling basic, everyday household items.

Other types of jobs that the respondents reported ranged from low paying jobs like those of cleaners to high paying jobs like engineering. The different types of jobs will be outlined in detail later in this section.

Q5 Ethnicity of Respondents?

This question was asked to reveal the different ethnicities within the Zanzibari community and to confirm the statement made earlier that while all Makhuwas (through birth) were regarded as Zanzibari, not all the members of the Zanzibari community were Makhuwa. The ethnicity of respondents was divided into five main groups that live within the community and these were, Makhuwa, Yao, Zulu, Coloured and Indian.

Number of different Ethnicities that responded to the questionaire:

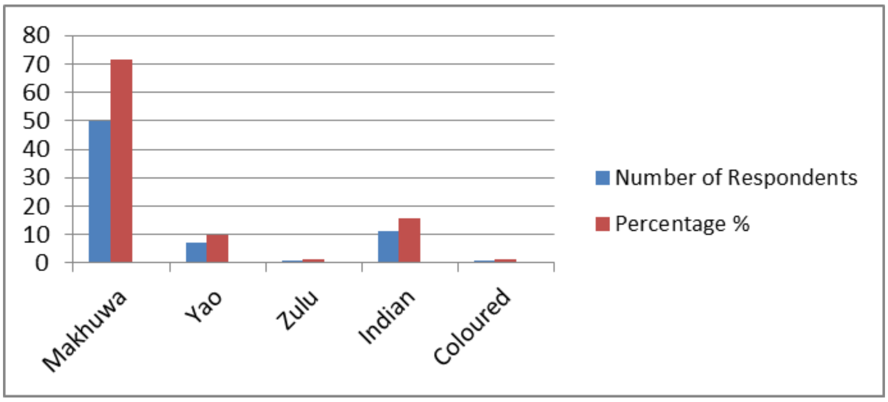
TABLE 5.6: ETHNICITY OF RESPONDENTS

ETHNICITY	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE (%)
Makhuwa	50	71
Yao	7	10
Zulu	1	1
Indian	11	16
Coloured	1	1
TOTAL	**70**	**99**

The majority (71%) of the people that responded to the questionnaire were Makhuwa. This group was followed by the Indian respondents who amounted to 16%, with 10% Yao, 1% Zulu and 1% Coloured. These ethnicities moved into the community and were integrated into it. The Yao and some of the Indian respondents mentioned that their families lived together with the Makhuwas in Kings Rest and moved together with the community during the Group Areas Act. The other Indian families were already in Chatsworth when the community were re-located. The Zulu and Coloured respondents mentioned that they came into the community through marriage.

It should be noted that while the household survey revealed only 1% of Zulu people, there was a larger group living in the informal settlements of Kokoba and Manyaleni. Many of the Zulu people who lived in the informal settlements arrived in the late 1980s and early 1990s, having escaped from the political violence in the different areas of KZN. They did not integrate into the community and lived separately in the safe space provided for them. Their presence did influence the repertoire of the community because they did not speak Emakhuwa.

GRAPH 5.5: ETHNICITY OF RESPONDENTS.



Q6 Religion?

All the respondents reported that they are Muslims and follow the religion of Islam. It must be noted that while the majority of the people in the community are Muslims there are 2 families where the husband or wife was Christian, which led to the whole family converting to Christianity.

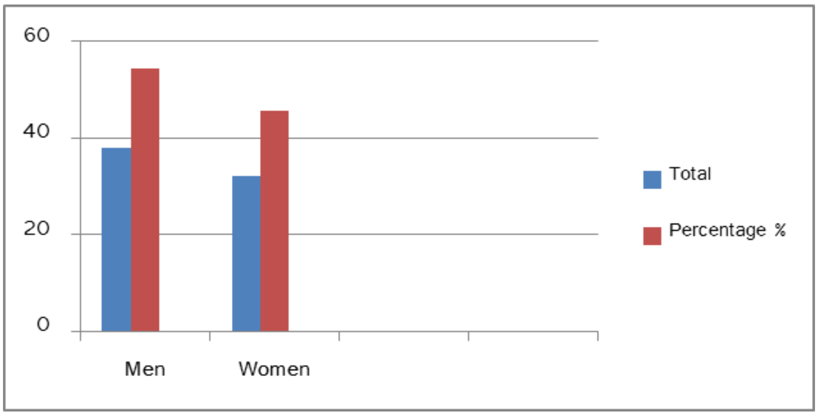
Q7 Sex of Head of the Household?

38 of the respondents reported that their home had a male head and 32 respondents reported that their home had a female at the head of the household. This makes the percentage in the male headed household to be 54% and in the female headed household at 46%.

TABLE 5.7: SEX OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

SOHH	Total	Percentage (%)
Men	38	54
Women	32	46

GRAPH 5.6: SEX OF HOUSEHOLD



During the fieldwork the definition of Head of Household came into question. So for the sake of this research, Head of Household was defined as a person who was in charge, and responsible for the household expenses. This was considered to be a western and patriarchal definition, which assumed that young able men were the “breadwinners” in the family. The research definition conflicted with most of the respondents’ definitions, who regarded the Head of Household to be the oldest member of the family, wise, more experienced and knowledgeable about the community history, culture and language. Many of the respondents regarded the mother or grandmother as the Head of Household, rather than the son or the son-in-law who were in charge of the household expenses. This association was drawn from the cultural belief of the Makhuwa mentioned in chapter two, where the women, especially the elderly women played a central role in the family and household.

Q8 Place of birth of the respondents?

This question was asked to elicit the place where respondents were born and to have a sense where people came from.

TABLE 5.8: PLACE OF BIRTH OF RESPONDENTS

PLACE OF BIRTH	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE (%)
Chatsworth	38	54
Kings Rest	21	30
Mayville	3	4
Clairwood	2	3
Verulam	1	1
Syndenham	1	1
Johannesburg	1	1
Dundee	1	1
Marrianridge	1	1
Umtata	1	1
TOTAL	**70**	**97**

A majority (54%) of the respondents were born in Chatsworth a few years after the community was relocated from Kings Rest. The second highest number (30%) of respondents were born in Kings Rest. 4% of the respondents were born in Mayville, 3% were born in Clairwood. The remainder of the respondents came from other parts of the greater Durban area and one came from outside Durban. One respondent came from the Eastern Cape and another from Gauteng province.

Qs 9, 10 and 11 cover questions about the number of occupants in the household, in particular the number of adults and children. It must be noted that most of the households housed extended families, comprising of more than five occupants, including one or both grandparents.

TABLE 5.9: MEMBERS OF RESPONDENT'S HOUSEHOLD

MEMBERS OF RESPONDENTS HOUSEHOLD	NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS	PERCENTAGE (%)
Spouse and Children	14	20
Spouse only	3	4
Spouse, Children and Family members	18	26
Children and Family members	25	36
Children only	1	1
Family members only	9	13
TOTAL	**70**	**100**

Two out of the three respondents that lived only with their spouses were older residents whose children had grown up and moved out. Some of their children lived with their families in the community while others had moved away. The 3rd respondent that lived only with his spouse, had the children living with the grandmother in the area. There were 14 (20%) respondents who lived in nuclear families. However, most had the extended family living close by or as neighbours. The extended family or as documented above family members comprised of their parent/s, sibling/s, sibling's spouse, nephew and/or niece, children/grandchild and even a family friend in one household. 18 (26%) of the respondents lived with their spouses and extended family. 25 (36%) respondents reported that they lived with their children and other family members. Some of these respondents were divorced, widows or widowers, spouses worked elsewhere (e.g. in Johannesburg) and most were single. Only one respondent reported to live only with the children. Nine (13%) reported living with family members and here were a few cases of divorced parents where the spouse had custody of the children.

Q12 and 13 dealt with whether respondents had tenants and whether these tenants were family members or not. For Q12 the definition of tenant was discussed as some of the respondents did not consider family members living in a separate building in the backyard as tenants, but rather as members of the household as these 'tenants' were either siblings or their parents. So the number of respondents reported to have tenants amounted to 39 (56%) and those without are 31 (44%).

Q13 Are they relatives?

When asked this question, 16 respondents (23%) replied ‘yes’, 21 respondents (30%) replied ‘no’ and 2 respondents (3%) reported that they had both relatives and non-relatives living on the property. For the purposes of the research, the following questions were asked: (a) where were the tenants from? (b) what language/s did the respondents use to communicate with these tenants? The respondents reported that the tenants were from Malawi, Tanzania, Mozambique and other parts of South Africa.

Q14 What language/s do you speak (presently)?

This question was asked to elicit linguistic competence of respondents and give a basic idea of the repertoire that would be prevalent in the household. This question revealed that only one respondent was monolingual and spoke only English to family members and tenants, about 10 respondents were bilingual and the rest were multilingual. While some respondents claimed that they were fluent in several different languages (Tswana, Xhosa, chiYao, Urdu, Portuguese, Shangaan and Ronga), this was difficult to verify as I had no knowledge of these languages. However, I used my network to help verify these claims.

It was easier with English, Emakhuwa and isiZulu. Having grown up within the community, with background knowledge of most of the respondents and their families also helped to verify their language proficiency. Since Emakhuwa is an oral language, when assessing proficiency in this research it looked at speaking and understanding.

TABLE 5.10: SPOKEN PROFICIENCY CLAIMED IN DIFFERENT LANGUAGES

LANGUAGE/S	NUMBER OF PROFICIENT SPEAKERS	%	SPEAKERS WITH BASIC KNOWLEDGE	PARTICIPANTS WHO UNDERSTAND THE LANGUAGE	THOSE UNABLE TO SPEAK
Emakhuwa	54	77	9	1	6
English	70	100	-	-	-
isiZulu	48	69	5	-	17
chiYao	6	9	2	-	-
Afrikaans	5	7	5	-	-
Xhosa	4	6	-	-	-
Other					
Tswana	-	6	4	-	-
Arabic	1	1	1	-	-
Swahili	1	1	1	-	-
Urdu	6	9	2	-	-
Portuguese	3	4	-	-	-
Shangaan	2	3	-	-	-
Ronga	1	1	-	-	-
Sotho	3	4	-	-	-

All participants reported that they spoke English, while 54 respondents (77%) mentioned that they were proficient in Emakhuwa, 9 respondents (13%) had a basic knowledge of speaking and understanding Emakhuwa, 1 respondent (1%) was a passive bilingual and 6 respondents (9%) had no knowledge of the language. A large number of the participants (7%) reported that they were fluent in isiZulu, while five (7%) had a basic understanding of the language and 17 respondents (24%) had no knowledge of the language, that is, were unable to speak or understand it. Swahili was once a prominent language in the community, with many elders speaking it fluently. However, only one respondent spoke the language. He mentioned that his father and grandparents came from Tanzania. This respondent added that he was able to converse and practice the language with the recent immigrants from east Africa who live in the community.

Q15, 16, 17 All these questions complemented the previous question. These questions were asked to elicit the repertoire of the household, community and at work. Language/s used by respondents in the different domains, with parents, in the home, at work and with neighbours.

Q15 Which language/s do you use to communicate with your parents?
This question was asked to elicit whether language was passed down from generation to generation.

TABLE 5.11: LANGUAGE RESPONDENTS USED WITH THEIR PARENTS.

LANGUAGE/S	USED TO SPEAK TO PARENTS	PERCENTAGE (%)
Emakhuwa	35	50
English	9	13
Emakhuwa and English	6	9
chiYao and English	1	1
chiYao and Emakhuwa	1	1
chiYao and isiZulu	1	1
isiZulu	2	3
isiZulu and English	2	3
isiZulu and Emakhuwa	1	1
Emakhuwa/English/isiZulu	2	3
Urdu	2	3
Urdu and English	5	7
Swahili and Emakhuwa	1	1
Swahili/Emakhuwa/English	1	1
Afrikaans	1	1
Total	70	98

While 54 (77%) of the respondents reported speaking Emakhuwa, only 35 of the participants (50%) reported speaking only Emakhuwa with their parents. Some of these respondents were those over sixty, who had their parents living with them or close by. 9% used a combination of English and Emakhuwa. 13% of the respondents reported that they spoke only English to their parents. 8% spoke a combination of English and Urdu to their parents, while 3% spoke only Urdu to their parents. Whilst many of the participants reported that they spoke a balance of the different languages, others mentioned that Emakhuwa dominated their communication with their parent/s.

Q16 Which language/s do you use to communicate at home?
This question was asked to give a basic idea of the linguistic repertoire of the household.

TABLE 5.12: LANGUAGE REPERTOIRE OF RESPONDENT'S HOMES.

LANGUAGE/S	SPEAK AT HOME	PERCENTAGE (%)
Emakhuwa	3	4
English	19	27
Emakhuwa and English	30	43
isiZulu and English	3	4
isiZulu and Emakhuwa	1	1
English, Emakhuwa and isiZulu	7	10
Urdu and English	3	4
Emakhuwa, English and Portuguese	1	1
Emakhuwa, English and Afrikaans	1	1
English and Afrikaans	1	1
English and isiXhosa	1	1
TOTAL	**70**	**97**

While 50% of the respondents reported speaking Emakhuwa to their parents, only 4% reported to use only Emakhuwa in the home domain. A majority (43%) reported the use of a combination of Emakhuwa and English in this domain. 27% reported that they used only English in the home domain. 10% used a combination of Emakhuwa, English and isiZulu, and 4% used a combination of English and Urdu at home. 4% used a combination of Zulu and English at home, 1% used isiZulu and Emakhuwa, 1% used a combination of Emakhuwa, English and Portuguese, 1% used a combination of English, Emakhuwa and Afrikaans, 1% used English and Afrikaans. Afrikaans is rare in Durban, and even more so in Chatsworth. The one respondent who spoke a combination of three languages, Afrikaans included, was born and raised in the community. He then left the community to live in Johannesburg where he met his wife, who is Coloured. He speaks Afrikaans to her and his in-laws. Another respondent was Coloured, whose family came from the Eastern Cape. She grew up in Mariannridge. She used Afrikaans to communicate with her family and children. She used English to communicate with her spouse and in-laws. The last 1% used English and isiXhosa. Once again, it was difficult to verify if there was a balance in the combination of languages used in the home. This did not necessarily mean that the respondent was using both or three languages to all interlocutors. While some of the Indian Muslim respondents spoke Emakhuwa, the language was used out of the home. English dominated in the home domain.

Q17.1 Which language/s do you speak at work?

TABLE 5.13: LANGUAGE RESPONDENTS USED AT WORK.

LANGUAGE/S	SPOKEN AT WORK	PERCENTAGE (%)
English	27	39
isiZulu and English	16	23
English, Afrikaans and isiZulu	1	1
English and Afrikaans	1	1
TOTAL	**45**	**64**

As mentioned above, 25 (36%) of the respondents reported that they were unemployed, and this information relates to those that are in employment. 39% reported to using only English in the workplace, 23% used a combination of English and isiZulu, and 1% used English, isiZulu and Afrikaans and another 1% reported using English and Afrikaans in the work place. Notably absent is the use of Emakhuwa at work. However, this was not always the case according to one of our respondents. Mrs M mentioned that in the 70s and 80s, a number of men and women from the community worked in the clothing industry of Mobeni and Jacobs, *Wrangler*, *Man-about-Town*, *Prestige*[23] clothing factory. She added that they spoke English to their Indian colleagues and Emakhuwa amongst each other. The shift to predominantly English and the combination of English and isiZulu in the work place can be attributed to the following reasons. First reason would be that the clothing factories have closed down, rendering many unemployed. Another reason could be attributed to the post-1994 climate where English was a requirement for employment, and in some cases isiZulu.

[23] While both *Wrangler* and *Man-about-Town* closed down and many lost their jobs, *Prestige* is still in existence. A few women from the community are still employed in this factory.

Q17.2 Which language/s do you use to communicate with your neighbours?

TABLE 5.14: LANGUAGE/S USED BY RESPONDENTS WITH THE NEIGHBOURS.

Language/s	Spoken with neighbours	Percentage (%)
Emakhuwa	24	34
English	27	39
English and Emakhuwa	11	16
English and isiZulu	3	4
Emakhuwa, English and isiZulu	4	6
English and Urdu	1	1
TOTAL	**70**	

This question was asked to elicit the language used to communicate with the neighbours. 39% reported communicating in English, 34% used Emakhuwa to communicate with their neighbours, 16% used a combination of Emakhuwa and English with their neighbours, 6% used a combination of Emakhuwa, English and isiZulu, while 4% used English and isiZulu. 1% used a combination of English and Urdu.

Q18 What language/s did you speak as a child?

This question was asked to elicit the respondent's language repertoire as a child and to see if this has changed in their adult life. This question covered the home, public and school domains.

TABLE 5.15: LANGUAGE USED BY RESPONDENTS TO COMMUNICATE

LANGUAGE/S	PARENT	G/PARENTS	AUNT	UNCLE	OLDER SIBLING/S	YOUNGER SIBLING/S	FRIEND/S	NEIGHBOURS	CLASSMATES
Emakhuwa	42	34	41	43	25	18	31	40	-
English	11	8	12	13	20	22	12	12	49
Eng/Emakhuwa	4	2	4	4	11	17	17	13	11
isiZulu	2	3		1	2	1	-	1	3
English/isiZulu	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	1	2
isiZulu/Emakhuwa	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	1	-
isiZulu/Eng/Emakhuwa	-	-	1	1	-	-	5	-	3
chiYao/isiZulu	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
chiYao	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
chiYao/English	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
chiYao/Emakhuwa	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-
Yao/Eng/Emakhuwa	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Yao/Zulu/Afrik	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Afrikaans	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Afrik/Eng	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1
Urdu	1	4	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
Urdu/Eng	6	2	4	4	-	-	-	-	-
Swahili/Emakhuwa	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Swahili/Eng	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sotho	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sotho/isiZulu	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Emakhuwa/Xhosa	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
chiYao/Fanakalo	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No Response	-	13	2	-	6	8	-	-	-

13 respondents reported that they did not communicate with their grandparents. Two reasons provided were that their grandparents passed away either before they were born or that respondents were then too little to remember. The second reason provided was that as parents came from different areas in SA or countries. There was no contact made with the family back home. The same reason can be provided for the lack of contact with uncles and aunts. In relation to communication with older siblings, respondents who were the eldest could not

respond to this question. The same holds for the question pertaining to communication with younger siblings, respondents who were the youngest in the family did not respond to this question.

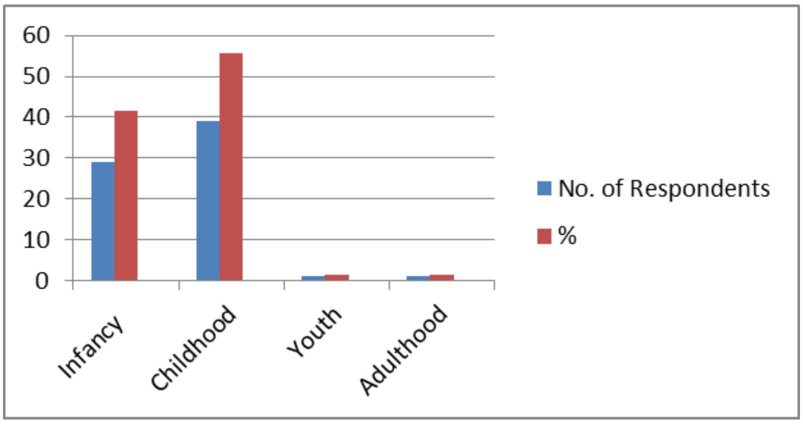
Q19 At what age did you learn English and where?

All the respondents reported an ability to speak English. So this question was asked to elicit at what age the respondents learnt the language. The age groups were divided into four different categories, infancy (ages 1 to 4 years), childhood (ages 5 to 11 years), youth (ages 12 to 18 years) and adult (19 upwards).

TABLE 5.16: AGE AT WHICH RESPONDENTS LEARNT ENGLISH.

AGES	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE (%)
Infancy (1 – 4)	29	41
Childhood (6 – 11)	39	56
Youth (12 – 18)	1	1
Adulthood (19 +)	1	1
TOTAL	**70**	**99**

GRAPH 5.7: AGE AT WHICH RESPONDENTS LEARNT ENGLISH.



The majority (56%) of the respondents reported to have learnt English in their childhood, while 41% reported to have learnt the language as an infant. 1% learnt English in their youth and 1% stated that they learnt English in their adult years. The reason why many learnt English at an early age can be attributed to the education. English was an entry requirement to what parents considered to be good schools. The good schools were the Indian schools. When the community lived in Kings Rest, Tagor High (currently called Clairwood High) and when the community was relocated to Chatsworth this was an ideal opportunity for the children to attain a good education.

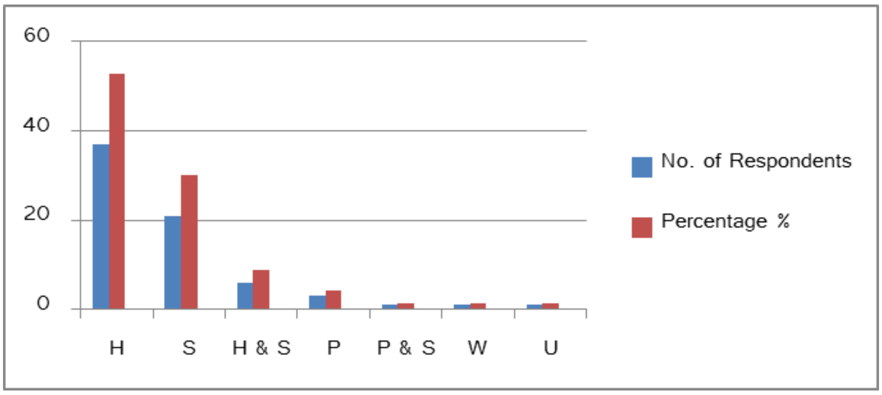
In response to where they had learnt the language, the respondents reported that they learnt English at home, in school, both at home and school, on the playground, both on the playground and at school and at work.

TABLE 5.17: PLACE WHERE RESPONDENTS LEARNT ENGLISH.

WHERE	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE (%)
Home	37	53
School	21	30
Home and School	6	9
Playground	3	4
Playground and School	1	1
Work	1	1
Unable to recall	1	1
TOTAL	**70**	**99**

One respondent commented that when they lived in Kings Rest, they learnt English at school, but when they came home, "they had to leave English behind" and speak only Emakhuwa. She also recalled that they boys were able to speak Emakhuwa even when they played football with white and coloured children. However, this changed when they moved to Chatsworth, because parents started encouraging their children to learn and speak English. "The ability to communicate in English would earn you a place in the local Indian schools. If you could not speak English, then you would attend a Zulu school".

GRAPH 5.8: PLACE WHERE RESPONDENTS LEARNT ENGLISH.



Key:

H - Home

S - School

H&S – Home and School

P – Playground

P&S – Playground and School

W – Work

U – Unable to recall

Q20 Have you learnt any other language(s)? If yes, what language(s)?

This question was asked to confirm the linguistic repertoire of respondents. 69 out of 70 respondents reported that they had learnt another language apart from English

The respondents reported the following languages, as languages they had learnt:

1. Emakhuwa
2. isiZulu
3. chiYao
4. Afrikaans
5. Swahili
6. Portuguese
7. Urdu
8. isiXhosa
9. Arabic
10. Fanakalo
11. Sotho

Q21 At what age did you learn this language/s? And where?

TABLE 5.18: AGE AT WHICH RESPONDENTS HAD LEARNT ANOTHER LANGUAGE.

LANGUAGE/S	NO.	%	RESPONDENTS' AGE GROUPS			
			Infancy	Childhood	Youth	Adulthood
isiZulu	54	77	5	19	19	13
isiXhosa	3	4	1	-	2	-
Sotho	3	4	-	-	2	1
chiYao	6	9		2	3	1
Arabic[24]	2	3	1			1
Portuguese	3	4	-	1	1	1
Afrikaans	7	10	-	1	2	4
Setswana	2	3	-	-	1	1
Shangaan	2	3	-	-	2	-
Emakhuwa	11	16	5	2	4	-
Swahili	2	3	-	2	-	-
Urdu	9	13	3	4	2	-
Ronga	1	1	-	-	-	1

The places that respondents identified to be the spaces where they learnt this language/s:

[24] The respondents who mentioned that they spoke Arabic, had received scholarships to study in the Middle East. So they used both colloquial and classical Arabic.

TABLE 5.19: PLACES WHERE RESPONDENTS LEARNT THIS LANGUAGE.

LANGUAGES	WORK	HOME	SCHOOL	HOME & SCHOOL	MADRASSAH OR ISLAMIC	PLAYGROUND/ FRIENDS	VISITING RELATIVES	TRAVELLING	MOZAMBIQUE	MALAWI
isiZulu	12	11	12	-	-	15	4	-	-	-
Xhosa	1	1		-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Sotho	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
chiYao	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Arabic	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Portuguese	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Afrikaans	4	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Setswana	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Shangaan	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Emakhuwa	-	4	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-
Swahili	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Urdu	-	7	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Ronga	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
TOTAL	**22**	**31**	**15**		**3**	**15**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**3**

12 respondents reported to have learnt the language in the work place, while another 12 had learnt isiZulu in school. Some of the respondents mentioned going to the Roman Catholic school in Kings Rest where they learnt to speak isiZulu. 15 of the respondents mentioned learning isiZulu from friends. Some of the respondents mentioned that when they got older they started having friends outside the community, which resulted in learning other languages. Others mentioned that the influx of isiZulu learners into Chatsworth schools after 1994 and created an opportunity to learn the language from their new classmates. The findings revealed that the different languages were learnt in different domains, including travelling as far as Mozambique and Malawi. Here the respondents mentioned that they were sent by their parents to learn the language and in some cases undergo initiation. This was the case predominantly for the chiYao respondents who do not have any initiation or cultural schools in South Africa.

Q22 Which language did you find easy to learn?

Q23 Why?

While most respondents identified one language that they found easy to learn, approximately 4 respondents identified more than one language and gave reasons. The table below will be used to capture the information respondents provided for questions number 22 and 23.

Table 5.20: LANGUAGES RESPONDENTS FOUND EASY TO LEARN WITH REASONS.

LANGUAGE/S	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	REASONS WHY IT WAS EASY TO LEARN
Emakhuwa	30	1. It was their mother tongue and was spoken all the time 2. It was spoken in the home (from birth till now) 3. The mothers encouraged the language on their children 4. It was spoken on the playground.
English	29	1. It was taught at school 2. It was spoken at home 3. It was spoken all the time 4. The English language is written and has a vocabulary, books, and so on 5. Friends spoke the language.
Eng/Emakhuwa	2	1. They were used in the home and in the community.
isiZulu	4	1. It was spoken at home 2. It was spoken at work 3. One respondent reported that his dad was Zulu and that he lived with his paternal family for a short while.
Urdu	1	1. It was spoken at home.
Eng/Swahili	1	1. Both were spoken at home from childhood.
isiXhosa	1	1. One respondent reported that she lived in a Xhosa speaking area while growing up. Before she met her husband and moved to Chatsworth.
Shangaan	1	1. The respondent had lived in Mozambique for a while. Her father sent her to Mozambique in order to get to know her paternal family.
Emakhuwa/Eng/So	1	1. The respondent reported that this combination of languages was easy to learn as these were spoken in the household by family members.

Many of the Indian Muslim respondents found it easy to learn Emakhuwa because their parents spoke the language with their neighbours, on the street and the Elders in the community. They felt it was important to learn Emakhuwa and have the language as part of their linguistic repertoire, to feel integrated in the community, which they observed from their parents.

Q24 Which language/s did you find difficult to learn?

Q25 Why?

Here too, a table will provide the given responses to questions 24 and 25.

Table 5.21: LANGUAGE/S RESPONDENTS FOUND DIFFICULT TO LEARN AND REASONS.

LANGUAGE/S	NO. OF RESPONDENTS	REASONS
English	6	1. It was only spoken in school 2. It was not used in the home 3. Respondents started to learn the language late in life 4. A respondent did not like the language 5. It was not used in everyday experiences.
isiZulu	31	1. It was not spoken in the immediate environment, like the home and community, and there was limited exposure to the language 2. It was not their mother tongue 3. It was only spoken in school (missionary schools), when the community lived in K.R. 4. A respondent started to learn the language late, at work 5. It is difficult to understand 6. It was used very rarely, like when visiting friends or relatives who speak the language; even then it was mixed with English.
chiYao	5	1. It's the father's language, so Emakhuwa is spoken at home instead of chiYao 2. It is not spoken at home or in the community.
Emakhuwa	8	1. It's a difficult language to learn and I am still battling

		with it 2. It is not spoken in the home 3. It is not used everyday 4. It is not a written language and has a limited vocabulary, most words are unknown 5. It is spoken mainly by the elderly 6. A respondent started learning the language late, when moved in with the in-laws 7. A respondent started to learn the language when the family returned to the community.
Afrikaans	4	1. A respondent stated that she didn't like the language, even though it was spoken by her mother 2. It was different and difficult to learn 3. It was not spoken by friends or family.
seTswana	1	1. One respondent commented that it was difficult to learn as it was not spoken in the community and she did not speak it often. It was the language of her in-laws, whom she had little contact with.
Urdu	5	1. It was difficult to learn because there were different dialects 2. It was not spoken all the time 3. It was taught orally.
Portuguese	1	1. This respondent commented that it was difficult to learn because it was not a Bantu language and that it had a different pronunciation.

The next three questions will be answered together using one table.

Q26 What is your language of African Heritage?

Q27 Does your husband/wife/partner have the same language? If no, what is his/her language of African heritage?

Q28 How many of you speak the language in your home?

These questions were asked to elicit the different ethnicities in each household, the number of intermarriages and verify the number of languages spoken in each household. It must be noted that not all the respondents had a language of African heritage as will be shown below.

Table 5.22: RESPONDENTS' LANGUAGE OF AFRICAN HERITAGE, SPOUSES' OR PARTNERS' LANGUAGE OF AFRICAN HERITAGE AND THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE THAT SPEAK THIS LANGUAGE IN THE HOUSEHOLD.

LANGUAGE OF AFRICAN HERITAGE	NOS.	SPOUSE/PARTNERS LANGUAGE OF AFRICAN HERITAGE	COMMENT
Emakhuwa	50	Swati - 1	Family spoke Emakhuwa and English
		Zulu – 12	A combination of Em and isiZulu was spoken. Eng dominated at home.
		chiYao – 3	Eng, Em and chiYao were spoken at home
		Afrikaans – 4	English was spoken at home
		Emakhuwa - 30	Emakhuwa and English were used.
chiYao	6	chiYao – 1	chiYao and English were used
		Zulu – 1	isiZulu and English were used
		Emakhuwa - 3	A combination of Eng, Em and chiYao were used
isiZulu	2	Emakhuwa – 1	English and isiZulu were spoken
		Zulu - 1	IsiZulu and English are used in the home
Afrikaans	1	Urdu	The family speaks English
Other Languages spoken by Respondents: not of African heritage			
Urdu	11	Urdu – 10	English is the dominant language used with Urdu spoken among the older generation
		Other - 1[25]	English was spoken

[25] Other = respondent was married to a Makhuwa woman, who is deceased. The children are exposed to Emakhuwa through her family who also live in the community.

The other 10 were married people who had the same language background. Urdu was used in 3 households by members of the family. In the other 8 households English was used as a language of communication

Q29 Where were the parent's of the respondents born?

This question was asked to elicit the origins of the family members in the community.

Table 5.23: PLACE OF BIRTH OF RESPONDENTS' PARENTS.

PLACE OF BIRTH		MOTHERS	FATHERS
(a) Kings Rest (Durban)		42	38
(b) Other places in Durban	Chatsworth	1	-
	Durban	1	2
	Mayville	1	1
	Umlazi	1	-
	Lamontville	2	-
	Cato Manor	1	-
	Clairwood	2	1
	Malvern	1	-
	Overport	1	-
	Kwa-Mashu	-	1
(c) Other places in KZN Province	Shongweni	1	-
	Pietermaritzburg	1	1
	Ladysmith	1	1
	Bergville	1	-
	Newcastle	1	-
	Umzinto	-	1
	Ngonyameni	1	-
(d) Rest of South Africa	Eastern Cape	4	3
	Cape Town	2	-
	Basutoland[26]	-	1
(e) Rest of Africa	Mozambique	1	4
	Malawi	-	10
	Swaziland	-	1
	East Africa	-	3
(f) Unknown		4	2

[26] Basutoland was a British colony and regarded as part of SA, until 1966.

Most of the parents were born in Kings Rest. The 3 respondents that reported that their fathers came from East Africa, knew that their fathers were born in that region but were unsure whether it was Kenya or Tanzania. They remembered that their fathers spoke fluent Swahili. This provides a basic understanding of the different groups that were integrated into the community.

Q30 Were they both employed? If yes, where?

This question was asked to give an idea of the gender division of labour in the community. Also, to illicit whether the parents were concentrated in a particular work environment that would facilitate language choice.

Table 5.24: EMPLOYMENT HISTORY OF RESPONDENTS' MOTHERS.

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY	MOTHERS	PERCENTAGE %
Housewives	32	46
Domestic workers	11	16
Cleaners	2	3
Machinist (clothing factory)	5	7
Hairdresser	1	1
Factory labourer (clothing)	7	10
Teacher and *Mualima*	2	3
Contract worker	1	1
Nurse	2	3
Factory labourer (food)	2	3
Self employed	1	1
Employed, but job unknown	3	4
History of employment unknown	1	1
Total	70	99

A majority (46%) of the women were housewives and their responsibility was to take care of the home and the children. Taking care of the children included the general responsibilities, ensuring that children attend *Madrasah*, initiation school, and encouraged the use of the community language. 16% of the women were domestic workers and worked mainly in the Bluff area. However; according to respondents, some of the women went to do washing and ironing in the local Bluff area and were back home to fulfil their motherly responsibilities. 12 were employed in the clothing factories.

Table 5.25: EMPLOYMENT HISTORY OF RESPONDENTS' FATHERS.

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY	FATHERS	PERCENTAGE %
Unemployed	3	4
*Imam (*Priest)	2	3
Ship Repairer	1	1
Self employed	6	9
Mualim (Teacher)	2	3
Sales (store)	2	3
Labourer	27	39
Carpenter	1	1
Security Guard	1	1
Driver	1	1
Police Officer	1	1
Mechanic	3	4
Messenger	1	1
Fisherman	2	3
Engineer	1	1
Blanket designer	1	1
Printer (printing company and newspaper	3	4
Sailor	1	1
Electrician	1	1
Boiler maker	1	1
Handy man	3	4
Employed but job unknown	4	6
History of employment Unknown	3	4

A large number of the fathers were employed, mainly as labourers in the different industries. Those who reported that their fathers were self-employed, commented that they were either gardeners who sold their produce locally or the market in town on a Friday. The other fathers who were self-employed were herbalists. This was and to a minor extent is currently considered to be important work in the community, since it affords help to people.

Q31 Where were your grandparents born?

The respondents would makes reference to the grandparents they grew up with, who helped raised them or in some instances were familiar with.

Table 5.26: PLACE OF BIRTH OF RESPONDENTS' GRANDPARENTS.

PLACE OF BIRTH		GRANDMOTHER	GRANDFATHER
(a) Kings Rest		34	27
(b) Other places in Durban	**Wentworth**	1	-
	Cavendish	1	-
(c) Other places in KZN province	**Pinetown**	1	-
	Shongweni	1	1
	Port Shepstone	1	-
	Bergville	1	-
(d) Rest of South Africa	**Eastern Cape**	1	1
(e) Rest of Africa	**Mozambique**	8	14
	Malawi	1	6
	Zanzibar	1	-
	Mauritius	1	2
(f) Outside Africa	**India**	2	3
	Afghanistan	1	-
(g) Unknown		15	16

A large number were born in Kings Rest and were descendents of the original freed slaves. Several respondents reported that they did not know their grandparents. Some attributed this to their fathers' (mostly Yao men) lack of initiative to maintain contact with their families in the country of origin. Yao men who married Zulu or Makhuwa women, were integrated into the community and established their network within the community. This feedback about the Yao confirms the discussion earlier concerning the limited use of chiYao in the households in the community. However, recent immigration has led to an influx of both Makhuwa and Yao into the community. While chiYao is heard on the street, it had little impact on the repertoire of the language in the households interviewed. The reason was the older generation that spoke the language had passed away and their children and grandchildren did not think it was important to learn the language.

This leads to the next reason, which is when ‘outsiders’ married into the Zanzibari community, they were generally adopted by a family within the community and had little contact with their own families, by choice. This question also revealed that some of the grandparents came from other countries to South Africa, following family, as labourers, and merchants.

Q32 Were both your grandparents employed? If yes, where?

In asking this question, the study wanted to establish the gender roles within the community which include, taking care of the household, the education and socialisation of the children. Using the information gathered, it also wanted to establish whether and how much contact existed between the generations.

Table 5.27: EMPLOYMENT HISTORY OF RESPONDENTS’ GRANDMOTHERS.

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY	GRANDMOTHERS	PERCENTAGE (%)
Housewives	35	50
Self employed	1	1
Midwife	1	1
Domestic worker/ Cleaner	8	11
Employment history unknown	25	36
TOTAL	**70**	**99**

The majority (50%) of the grandmothers were housewives, whose responsibility was to take care of the children and grandchildren at home and play a role in organising the social events in the community. Many of the grandmothers played an active role in the socialisation of the culture and language of the community.

There were a few in employment, which meant that they would leave the community and return hours later. The self-employed and midwife worked within the community. Many (36%) had no idea of their grandmother's employment history, especially if the grandmother had not migrated to S.A. Other reasons were related to contact with grandmothers being too distant in time to recollect accurately.

Table 5.28: EMPLOYMENT HISTORY OF RESPONDENTS' GRANDFATHERS.

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY	GRANDFATHERS	PERCENTAGE (%)
Unemployed	2	3
Self employed	11	16
Sailors	4	6
Court messenger	1	1
Gardener	3	4
Tailor	1	1
Sugarmill labourer	1	1
Labourer	5	7
Mechanic	1	1
Community Leader	1	1
Mualim/Sheikh	2	3
Fisherman	1	1
Storeman	1	1
Employed, but job unknown	2	3
Employment history unknown	34	49
TOTAL	**70**	**98**

Once again, most of the respondents that reported that their grandfathers were self-employed, mentioned that they were herbalists. Others were gardeners and a fisherman that sold their produce to the local community and at the Durban market on a Friday. There were sailors (6%), and labourers working in different industries. A respondent commented that some of the parents and grandparents came with skills that were sought after, which the local population did not have like boat making or rope making. A large number of respondents were unable to respond to this question and the reason is the same as the one provided in the previous question.

Q33 As an adult which language/s do you use to communicate with:

This question was asked to elicit whether there was a shift or change in the language pattern of the respondents from their childhood to the present day.

Table 5.29: LANGUAGE REPERTOIRE OF THE RESPONDENTS IN RELATION TO OTHER INTERLOCUTORS.

LANGUAGE/S	GRANDPARENTS	AUNTS	OLDER SIBLINGS	YOUNGER SIBLINGS	FRIENDS	RELIGIOUS LEADER	COMMUNITY ELDERS	SPOUSE/PARTNER	IN-LAWS	SHOPKEEPER
No Comment	23		5	12				20	20	2
Emakhuwa	24	36	25	17	14	12	47	8	8	5
English	6	16	20	19	17	52	14	20	12	46
Emakhuwa/English	4	5	13	17	28	3	6	5	4	10
isiZulu	3	1	1	1	-	-	-	6	9	2
isiZulu/English	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	4	5	3
isiZulu/Emakhuwa	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
isiZulu/Sesotho	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
isiZulu/Eng/Emakhuwa	-	2	2	2	10	-	-	1	-	-
chiYao	1	2	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	-
chiYao/English	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
chiYao/Emakhuwa	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Swahili/English	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Arabic/English	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Arabic/Emakhuwa	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
English/Afrikaans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Afrikaans/Emakhuwa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Eng/isiZulu/Afrikaans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Eng/Emakhuwa/isiXhosa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Afrikaans	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Urdu	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	1		
Urdu/English	1	4	-	-	-	-	1	1	4	-
English/Urdu/Afrikaans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-

The findings revealed that the use of Emkahuwa between respondents and their grandparents has changed and, while 33 respondents reported speaking Emakhuwa to their grandparents as children, 24 respondents spoke the language to their grandparents as adults. This can be attributed to the death of the grandparents. So this is change by a kind of natural attrition, rather than a change in language choice. Also evident is a change in the use of Emakhuwa with friends. The respondents reported that this was as a result of growing up, and meeting other people, making new friends with people outside the community. There is also a slight difference in use of Emakhuwa with respondents' aunts but not the uncle's from childhood to adulthood.

Q34 In what language/s would your grandparent(s) speak to:

a) The grandchildren?
b) Your parent(s)?
c) Aunt(s)?
d) Their peers (the older generation)?
e) The neighbours?
f) A visitor who is a isiZulu speaker?
g) A visitor who is an English speaker?

Of interest here was the repertoire of the grandparents in the community. The study tried to elicit whether the grandparents' language pattern was influenced by the younger generation, who had more contact with people outside the community.

Table 5.30: LANGUAGE REPERTOIRE OF RESPONDENTS' GRANDPARENTS.

LANGUAGES	GRANDCHILDREN	RESPONDENTS' PARENTS	RESPONDENTS' AUNTS	PEERS	NEIGHBOURS	ZULU SPEAKER	ENGLISH SPEAKER
Emakhuwa	38	41	42	42	40	-	-
English	1	-	-	-	-	-	18
Eng/Emakhuwa	-	1	-	-	2-	-	
isiZulu	1	-	-	-	-	15	-
isiZulu/English	-	-	1	1	1	-	-
isiZulu/Emakhuwa	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Broken English	-	-	-	-	1	-	24
Fanakalo	-	-	-	-	-	29	2
chiYao	1	1	1	1	-	-	-
chiYao/Emakhuwa	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
chiYao/English	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Urdu	9	9	10	8	7	-	-
Urdu/Emakhuwa	-	-	-	2	2	-	-
Urdu/English	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Broken isiZulu	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
No comment	16	14	14	14	15	20	22

A majority of the respondents' grandparents used Emakhuwa at home, and in the community with family, their peers and neighbours. Even the Urdu-speaking grandparents used Urdu both in the home and public domain. A large number still used Fanakalo (F in table 5.30) to communicate with an isiZulu speaker. Three mentioned that their grandparents spoke broken isiZulu, because it was not Fanakalo but a combination of isiZulu words, Emakhuwa and English. According to respondents it did not make sense. A good few spoke what was called broken English, which was basic English code-switched with Emakhuwa. However, there were grandparents that were fluent in English and isiZulu. Many of the respondents could not answer this question, as their grandparents were unknown or deceased.

Q35 *How do you feel about Emakhuwa*?

Respondents were asked about their attitude towards Emakhuwa. Here is a summary of the responses provided by the respondents:

1. Emakhuwa is our mother tongue and we are proud of the language.
2. It is a unique language and I love it.
3. It's a beautiful language that has helped to maintain culture in the community.
4. I like it and it's important to know, as its part of and a symbol of our culture, identity, and heritage.
5. I love the language and it excites people when we speak it. They want to know more about our language and background.
6. I commend the community for not losing their language.
7. It's a fascinating language and we would love to learn it.
8. It's a nice language to be able to communicate with, especially when gossiping or when we have to escape a potentially dangerous situation.
9. I like the language, the people, the culture, especially the way people dressed, the food, respect for the elderly and burial.
10. Other words used to describe respondents feelings about Emakhuwa were, *positive, interesting, wonderful language,* and *concerned*.

While respondents expressed their love for the language, they also shared concerns, like the following:

1. That the language was slowly dying with the older generation. This means that with the death of an elder, the language also suffers because the number of speakers diminished.
2. The younger generations are not interested to learn the language, making it difficult to converse with them. The children are now speaking English.
3. The older generation didn't play an important role to preserve the language, because it's fading away.
4. The status of the language has changed. Previously Emakhuwa had a high status and people who came into contact with the community and the language wanted to learn the language. Now they are running away from it and placing more emphasis on English.

5. We are losing the vocabulary, because there is a lot of mixing with other languages.
6. We need to learn how to read and write Emakhuwa to preserve it, and we need a dictionary.
7. We need a museum to capture the history of the community and house books both in English and Emakhuwa. This is something we can be proud of, and to help create an awareness about the community.

Q36 *Where were the children born*?

Table 5.31: PLACES OF BIRTH OF RESPONDENTS' CHILDREN.

PLACE OF BIRTH	NUMBERS	PERCENTAGE %
Chatsworth	64	91
Johannesburg	4	6
Wenworth	1	1
Overport/Syndenhnam	1	1
TOTAL	**70**	**99**

Q37 What language/s did you speak to the children at birth?

This question was aimed to establish whether the language/s were being transferred from the parents to their children.

Table 5.32: LANGUAGE/S USED BY RESPONDENTS TO THEIR CHILDREN AT BIRTH.

LANGUAGE/S	NUMBERS	PERCENTAGE %
Emakhuwa	3	4
English	48	69
Em/Eng	10	14
Zulu	1	1
Zulu/Eng	1	1
Z/Eng/Em	3	4
Afrikaans/Eng	1	1
Afrik/Eng/Em	1	1
Urdu/Eng	2	3
TOTAL	**70**	**98**

A majority of the respondents (69%) reported that they only spoke English to their children, 14% spoke a combination of English and Emakhuwa, and 4% used a combination of English, Emakhuwa and isiZulu. 3% used Urdu and English to their infants, 1% used only isiZulu, 1% used isiZulu and English, 1% used Afrikaans and English and 1% used a combination of English, Afrikaans and Emakhuwa to their children at birth. While 71% of the respondents reported themselves as ethnic Makhuwas, and 77% to be able to speak Emakhuwa, only 4% used Emakhuwa with their children from birth onwards. This question revealed that Emakhuwa was not being transferred to the younger generation. A reason that was provided was that English was an important language that the children learn in school, it’s on TV, the country’s leadership uses the language and celebrities speak English. It’s everywhere, so easy to use.

Q38 What language/s do you speak to the children now?

This question complemented the previous one to elicit whether the family language was being transferred to the next generation.

Table 5.33: LANGUAGE USED BY RESPONDENTS TO COMMUNICATE WITH THEIR CHILDREN IN THE PRESENT.

LANGUAGE/S	NUMBERS	PERCENTAGE %
Emakhuwa	3	4
English	38	54
Eng/Em	12	17
Zulu/Eng	5	7
Z/Eng/Em	3	4
Afrik/Eng	2	3
Afrik/Em	1	1
Afrik/Eng/Em	1	1
Afrik/Eng/Z	1	1
Afrik/Z/Eng/Em	1	1
Em/Eng/Xhosa	1	1
Eng/Arabic/Urdu	1	1
Eng/Z/Portuguese	1	1
TOTAL	**70**	**96**

As the children grow, so have the combinations of languages used to communicate with them. The number of respondents that only spoke Emakhuwa, a combination of Emakhuwa, English and isiZulu, and Afrikaans, English and Emakhuwa remained the same, as in the previous table. This meant that the respondents continued to speak these languages to their children from birth. There is a decrease (14%) in the number of respondents that used only English to communicate with their children at birth (69%) to the present day, which stands at 54%. There is a slight increase (3%) in the respondents that used a combination of Emakhuwa and English to communicate with their children. While none of the respondents reported using only isiZulu to communicate with their children, there is an increase of 6% of respondents that use the combination of English and isiZulu to their children. Respondents that used a combination of English and Afrikaans increased by 1% and there are more language combinations with Afrikaans. 1% reported the use a combination of English and Emakhuwa with their children, another 1% used Afrikaans, English and isiZulu, and the last combination with Afrikaans included English, Emakhuwa and isiZulu used by 1%. Other new combinations used with children were Emakhuwa, English and isiXhosa (1%), Arabic, English and Urdu (1%) and the last combination was English, isiZulu and Portuguese (1%). The existence of Afrikaans in the community is marginal and limited to a few families through marriage.

Q39 How many language/s do the children speak?

This question was aimed at establishing the linguistic repertoire of the children.

Table 5.34: LANGUAGE REPERTOIRE OF RESPONDENTS' CHILDREN.

LANGUAGE/S	NUMBERS	PERCENTAGE (%)
English	42	60
Eng/Zulu	6	9
Eng/Emakhuwa	9	13
Eng/Afrik	3	4
Em/Afrik	1	1
Em/Eng/Zulu	4	6
Em/Eng/Xhosa	1	1
Eng/Afrik/Zulu	1	1
Em/Z/Portuguese	1	1
Eng/Afrik/Urdu	1	1
Em/Eng/Afrik/Zulu	1	1
TOTAL	**70**	**98**

60% of the respondents reported that their children speak only one language, English. 19 respondents (27%) reported that their children spoke 2 languages. In this bilingual group 6 reported that their children speak a combination of English and isiZulu, 9 reported that their children speak a combination of English and Emakhuwa, 3 respondents reported that their children speak a combination of English and Afrikaans and one reported a combination of Emakhuwa and Afrikaans. The remaining 9 respondents reported that their children had multilingual repertoire. In this multilingual group 4 of the respondents reported that their children used a combination of Emakhuwa, English and isiZulu. One uses a combination of Emakhuwa, English and isiXhosa. Another speaks a combination of English, Afrikaans and isiZulu. A third speaks Emakhuwa, IsiZulu and Portuguese, and the fourth speaks a combination of English, Afrikaans and Urdu. The last respondent mentioned that their children speak a combination of Emakhuwa, English, Afrikaans and isiZulu.

While parents reported that their children spoke these different combinations, observation revealed that many children had a basic knowledge of another language. Some were passive bilinguals, who understood Emakhuwa and responded in English.

Q40 What language/s do the children speak to others?

This question complimented the previous one in that it aimed at establishing the language use of the children with different family members, friends and teachers in the different domains.

Table 5.35: LANGUAGE REPERTOIRE OF THE RESPONDENTS' CHILDREN IN THE HOME AND SCHOOL DOMAIN.

LANGUAGE/S	GRANDPARENTS	RESPONDENTS' SPOUSE'S PARENTS	AUNTS & UNCLES	SIBLINGS	FRIENDS	CLASS-MATES	NEIGHBOURS	MADRASSAH TEACHER
Emakhuwa	7	2	7	2	2	-	1	-
English	47	38	52	54	59	62	61	66
Eng/Em	7	3	8	6	4	2	6	2
Zulu	2	3	1	1	-	-	1	-
English/Zulu	1	4	-	-	2	1	-	-
Zulu/Em	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Zulu/Eng/Em	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Eng/Urdu	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Afrikaans	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Afrik/Eng	-	2	1	-	-	-	1	-
Portuguese	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
English/slang	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
No response	4	15	-	7	-	4	-	2

A majority of the children used only English to communicate to the different people in their lives. Emakhuwa was used in 10% of the households, and so was the combination of English and Emakhuwa. Respondents reported that while the adults would speak to the children using Emakhuwa, the children responded in English. The same occurred when isiZulu speaking parents used isiZulu with their children.

Q41 How many ethnic groups live in your household?

44 of the respondents (63%) reported that they lived in a household with a single ethnic group. 26 respondents (37%) reported living in a home with two different ethnic groups, either through marriage or immigration into the community.
Q42 How many are of Makhuwa descent?

The findings revealed that of the above mentioned 44 households, only 31 households had Makhuwa descendents. Out of the remaining 26 households, 21 of these households were predominantly Makhuwa with one or two members belonging to another ethnic group, namely; Yao 2 (2.86%), Zulu 11 (15.71%), Coloured 6 (8.57%), Swati 1 (1.43%) and Xhosa 1 (1.43%).

Q43 If the people in your household are not of Makhuwa descent, what is their ethnic background?

The 13 respondents (18.6%) that reported that they lived in households with a single ethnic background, which was not Makhuwa, can be divided into two groups Yao 3 (4.3% overall) and Indian 10 (14.3% overall). The remaining 5 households (7%) with two different ethnic groups and in which another ethnic group dominated were the following:

1. In the one household dominated by an Indian Muslim family, one person (daughter-in-law) was Coloured, by the ethnic labels used in the community.

2. All the other households were predominantly Yao household with one or two members being of a different ethnic background, Makhuwa 2 (overall 3%), Zulu 1 (overall 1.4%), Xhosa 1 (overall 1.4%).

Q44 How long have you lived in the community?

42 (60%) of the respondents replied that they had lived in Chatsworth for 46 years. 23 (33%) of the respondents reported that they have lived in the community for 20 years or more. There was one respondent who was a recent member of the community, having moved to the community 13 years ago. 4 of the respondents (5.7%) were unsure as to how long they had lived in the community.

Q45 Which culture and traditions do your household follow?

Table 5.36: CULTURE AND TRADITIONS OF HOUSEHOLD.

CULTURE AND TRADITIONS OF HOUSEHOLD	NUMBERS	PERCENTAGE %
Makhuwa	51	73
Yao	5	7
Islam	6	9
Bit of everything	1	1
No response	7	10

A majority of the respondents (51 or 73%) reported that their household followed the Makhuwa culture and traditions. 5 respondents (7%) reported that they followed Yao culture and traditions. 7 respondents (10%) belonging to the Indian ethnic group did not respond to this questions.

1 respondent (1%) reported that he follows "bits of everything", because even though he is Indian, his late wife was Makhuwa and so the children learnt Makhuwa culture from their maternal aunts, uncles and grandparents. 4 respondents (6%) belonging to the same Indian ethnic group reported that they followed the Islamic way of life. 2 respondents (3%) belonging to Makhuwa households also reported that they followed the Islamic way of life. The Islamic way of life refers to a stricter adherence to the teachings of the *Qur'aan*, with no accommodation for other cultural practices.

Q46 What language(s) do you use for cultural events?

This question was asked to elicit the language use of the respondents at different cultural events in the home and the community. As mentioned in chapter two and three the community has initiation ceremonies and these are organised annually. The young women's initiation ceremonies are arranged more frequently in comparison to the boys' initiation.

Table 5.37: LANGUAGE USED DURING CULTURAL EVENTS IN THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC DOMAINS.

LANGUAGE/S	INITIATION CEREMONIES	HEALING CEREMONIES	COMMUNICATING WITH ANCESTORS
Emakhuwa	43	37	45
English	1	-	-
Em/Eng	7	-	-
Swahili	-	2	-
Em/Swahili	-	6	-
Em/Arabic	-	-	1
Arabic	-	1	-
Arabic/English	-	-	-
Arabic/chiYao	-	-	1
chiYao	2	1	-
Do not have these practices	16	19	20
Unsure	1	4	2
Not done by family	-	-	1

While the majority of respondents reported participating in cultural events or practices like the initiation ceremonies, healing ceremonies and communicating with the ancestors, there is still a large number that do not have these practices. These practices are part of the Makhuwa culture, which were discussed in chapter two. The languages used here are different from the everyday style of language. These languages can be regarded as more formal, with a larger vocabulary.

Q47 What is the religion of your household? Islam/Christianity/Other. If other, Please indicate:

All the respondents answered Islam to this question. However, while majority of the members of this community are Muslim, there are a few people who have converted to Christianity, and have moved away to live with their spouses. In some of cases the couple converted to Islam later on. Only one person who converted to Christianity remains in the community. The conversion is generally by choice, however there is subtle pressure from the community to keep the faith.

Q48 What language/s do you use for religious events/interaction:

a) When reciting your prayer?
b) When you speak to the Imam?
c) When you speak to each other in the Mosque?
d) To the Mualimah at the Madrasah?
e) During Zikr?
f) During Moulood un Nabi (SAW)?

This question like the previous tried to establish the language/s used during religious events in the private and public domains.

Table 5.38: LANGUAGE USED DURING RELIGIOUS EVENTS/ INTERACTIONS.

LANGUAGE/S	RECITING PRAYER	SPEAK TO IMAM	SPEAK TO EACH OTHER	MUALIMAH	ZIKR	MOULOOD
Arabic	55	1			19	16
Arabic/Em	8				15	12
Arabic/Eng	1	1	2		4	10
Ar/Em/Eng	1				2	6
Emakhuwa	1	3	20	8	16	5
English	3	56	27	45	2	3
Em/Eng		3	19	16	5	5
Eng/Swa		1				
chiYao		3				
Ar/Eng/Em/Yao						1
Ar/chiYao					2	3
Ar/Eng/Z/Yao						1
Urdu						
Ar/Urdu					2	3
Ar/Urdu/Eng					1	
Fanakalo		1				
Eng/Em/Afr			1			
No response	1	1	1	1	2	4

5.4 Summary of Household Survey

The household survey confirmed that the Zanzibari community is made up of different ethnic groups, of which the Makhuwas are the dominant group. However, being a dominant group did not translate to language maintenance, or to Emakhuwa being the dominant language in the community. Emakhuwa while still prevalant in the community, has experienced a gradual shift. This was a concern that was expressed by all the respondents in this survey. Many highlighted that Emakhuwa was a dominant language, used in different domains and had enjoyed a particular status over chiYao, isiZulu, and Urdu, but its use has diminished. A confirmation of the status Emakhuwa had in the community was revealed in the survey when non-Makhuwa respondents stated that they spoke Emakhuwa. This means that members of the different ethnic groups in this small area spoke Emakhuwa. These respondents added that they spoke the language, their parents did and that the ability to speak the language was attached to a sense of belonging to the community. The non-Makhuwa respondents also commented on the diminished use of Emakhuwa and the increased use of English in the community. Emakhuwa was used in the household domain, and even then, in certain households it co-existed with English and to a lesser extent isiZulu.

Studies in minority language maintenances confirmed that sustainability of minority languages depends on the ability of the family to pass down the language to the younger generation of speakers (Fishamn 1991). The survey revealed a lack of intergenerational transmission, in so far as the parent generation/s did not pass down the heritage language to the next generation. The respondents who were the parent generation used English to communicate with their children from a young age. Even though this parent generation was divided into different age categories, the survey revealed the shift to English especially in the groups below 45 years. Most respondents stated that they failed in their responsibility to pass down the language to their children.

Parents play a pivotal role in shaping the attitudes of their children towards their culture, identity, language, perceptions, and personality. The respondents in this survey were very aware of their responsibilities as parents, care-givers, and primary socialisers in the family and home domain. Some highlighted that the socialisation of their children was a challenge, because they worked and spent limited time with their children to influence their language choices. They also cited that their grandparents were deceased and unable to help with the socialisation of children and in the transmission of the language. However, the survey also revealed that a large number of respondents, especially women were unemployed. So what was their reason for not passing down the language? Respondents provided a few reasons for the lack of intergenerational transmission. One reason was that the children did not live with them but with their former partners. The former partners lived outside the community. Another reason provided was that they had a limited knowledge of Emakhuwa and since it was an oral language, they found it difficult to teach their children. The absence of the grandparents or parents was another reason provided by these respondents for their inability to pass down the language. However, at the core of the reasons provided by participants was that they encouraged their children to learn and speak English well. They deemed English as an important language for education and that would provide their children with the many opportunities and a good, stable job. So when the home domain does not provide the opportunity, and space for the heritage language to thrive, then language shift takes place.

This survey also revealed that gender did not play a major role in language maintenance. Both men and women commented that they encouraged their children to speak English because the language was everywhere. English was used in schools, at the workplace, by politicians, celebrities and in the media. All the respondents had a positive attitude towards their heritage language. They stated that were very proud of their heritage language and that was a part of their identity. One respondent stated that while she was proud of Emakhuwa, of her heritage, “it did not put bread on the table”.

Exogamy, marriage outside the Makhuwa ethnic group was also sited as a reason for the shift to English and the new language repertoire in their household. Some mentioned that they had to make a compromise and used English as a common language in their household, especially with the children. So for example, a Makhuwa man who married a Zulu woman, would speak Emakhuwa with his mother, English to his children and English and isiZulu to his wife. Another respondent added that this was the scenario in the present day amongst the younger generations. She added that in the past, the wife would have learnt Emakhuwa in order to learn about the culture and life in the community from her mother-in-law. So Emakhuwa was spoken by all in that household.

The survey identified the absence of their grandparents in their lives of the respondents as a factor which contributed to the limited knowledge of their heritage language. All the Yao respondents, and some of the Indian respondents attested to this point. They stated that their grandparents were in a different region of South Africa or in an entirely different country, so they had never met them. Before 1994 the political situation made travel difficult and after 1994, the financial challenges made it difficult to travel and visit family. So there was little or no contact with one or both sides of the family.

The respondents in this survey confirmed that from the establishment of the community in the Bluff to re-settlement in Chatsworth, culture, language and religion played a role in maintaining its distinct identity. The survey revealed that religion was very important to the respondents and some mentioned that “Islam was their culture and way of life”. The survey revealed that the languages used in the religious domain were Arabic, Emakhuwa and English. Respondents reported that there was an increased use of English and this could be attributed to the Imams coming from a different background or country, mainly Malawi. English was the language he had in common with his congregation. The Imam communicated in chiYao with the older Yao generation, but in English with the younger Yao members in the community. They also reported that *Mualimahs* (teachers at the *Madrassahs*) were from different backgrounds (Makhuwa, Indian and Zulu) and the language they had in common was English. Lessons were taught in English with recitations in Arabic. Respondents commented that there were several reasons for the shift to predominantly English in the *Madrassahs.* The different ethnic background of the teachers was mentioned. The second reason given was that before the mid 80s the education curriculum was localised, created and administered by the Juma Musjid Trust. However, thereafter IEOSA (Islamic Education Organisation of South Africa) took over, implemented the new curriculum that is taught in the country. Another reason was that the previous curriculum was taught by members of the community and therefore Emakhuwa was also used in this domain.

The survey revealed that language shift was taking place in household, but respondents believed that this did not affect their culture and identity. Cultural activities were still strong in the community, especially amongst the Makhuwa group. Emakhuwa was used in all ceremonies, but English has also entered this domain.

5.5 Summary of Interviews

The interviews were used mainly to capture data on the history of the community and to assess the vitality of Emakhuwa. Questions were also asked to elicit the linguistic repertoire of the community in Kings Rest and in Chatsworth, the role of gender and the elderly in the community, and the linguistic implications of intermarriage and new immigrants in the community. Some questions will be discussed here to compare the different positions between generations and the immigrant perspective. The interview questions will be found in the appendix.

5.5.1 Interviews with the Elders and young Makhuwa

The interview questions used for the interviews with both the Elders and the young Makhuwas were similar. The Elders comprised of the oldest group of people in the community, ages from 75 to 89 years. The group of young Makhuwas were young people between the ages of 20 and 35 years, who were born in Chatsworth. These were some of the questions asked to gather the necessary information and these were grouped into the different themes the interviews focussed on. These are the following themes and relevant questions:

a) Linguistic repertoire
   Q4 What was the linguistic situation in Kings Rest?
   Q8. What were the linguistic implications of moving to Chatsworth?
   Q13. What are the languages spoken in the community today?

b) Role of the Elders
   Q17. What role do the Elders play in the Zanzibari community?
   Q18. Do you think that the role of the Elders has changed over the years? If yes, how?

c) Exogamy
   Q 11 -12 Covered the issue of intermarriages and whether it affected the lifestyle of the Zanzibari community (culture, language and religion).

d) Role of women
   Q20. Describe the role of women in the Zanzibari community?
   Q4. What language/s did your mother use to communicate with you?

e) Immigrants
   Q19. The community has witnessed an increase in recent immigrants from Mozambique, DRC and Malawi. What are the implications for Emakhuwa?

f) Culture
   Q16. Did you complete initiation?

Q18. Have you participated in the different cultural events/ceremonies like Erewa, Eshano, Ephepha?

5.5.1.1 Linguistic repertoire (past and present)

The Elders responded that they grew up in a multilingual community. They mentioned that Emakhuwa dominated in the different domains in the community (the home, madrassah, on the playground and during cultural and religious events). They added that several other languages were used in the community like Swahili, chiYao, isiZulu, and Fanakalo. Arabic was used in the Madrasah and during certain religious events. Mr Y. mentioned that when they lived in Kings Rest he and a few others learnt isiZulu at St. Francis Xavier mission school, where some of the children were sent. They were told by their parents that isiZulu was to remain outside the community and that once they entered the community they should switch to Emakhuwa. Mr O confirmed that and added that he learnt English on the playground and together with friends practiced the language when playing soccer with the white, coloured and Indian boys. They added that English was used to communicate with the larger Indian community. It was also encouraged by parents because it was a requirement for entry into the Indian schools. Being educated and getting a good job were signs of progress.
Fanakalo was used to communicate with some of the Christian Makhuwas, whites, Indians from outside the immediate community, Zulus and the Yao people who could not speak Emakhuwa. Mr Y. mentioned that some of the Christian Makhuwas came from Madagascar, but many of the Elders interviewed had little to no knowledge of this group. Fuller (n.d) does discuss the existence of this group and his meeting with Chief Mole. A few members of the Makhuwa group understood Urdu and spoke the language when they communicated with some Indian Muslims.

The Elders interviewed all agreed that the languages spoken in the community presently were the same, except that English has become the dominant language. It is used on the streets, in the madrassah, at home and even during cultural ceremonies. They expressed their frustration at having to use English during the cultural ceremony. They added that the younger generations tend to laugh at them, when they try to explain the songs and messages in English or at the lack of proficiency among the Elders. Also, that much of the message gets lost and makes little sense in English. I had the opportunity to witness and confirm this frustration when I attended a *nimwari* ceremony. For example, I was tasked to translate a song and short lecture to the young women being initiated. It was a challenge because the young women did not understand the story or could not relate to it, and thought it was silly.

The younger interviewees mentioned that they had a diverse repertoire and highlighted that they were articulate in isiZulu in comparison to the older generations. However, this is not a reflection of the majority of the young Makhuwas in this age group. One of the interviewees was raised by his grandmother who was Zulu. Another respondent mentioned that her mother was Zulu and had married into the community many decades ago. The rest mentioned having Zulu friends and colleagues. The interviewees mentioned that it was important to know the language, especially post 1994 and one mentioned that it “looked good on their CV”.

When asked about the language/s used to communicate with their children. The Elders reported using mostly Emakhuwa with their children while the younger interviewees reported a combination of English and Emakhuwa. One of the young interviewees reported that she only spoke English to her children. Another mentioned that the children understood Emakhuwa, but responded in English.

5.5.1.2 Role of the Elders

The questions were asked to verify whether the Elders were the custodians of culture, language and region in the community. Respondents confirmed that the Elders were responsible for all the cultural and religious activities in the community, like the cultural education through initiation schools, conversions and burials. The Elders were the ‘cement’ that grounded the community: advisors; guides; teachers and the medium with the spiritual world. Both the Elders and the young interviewees confirmed that the Elders were the guardians of the culture, language and religion of the community, however the role and status has changed over the years. This holds true in relation to culture and language.

The Elder interviewees mentioned that most of the older teachers have died. They also commented that the community has changed, people have new priorities and therefore the elderly are not appreciated. They added that they are consulted less on matters of the community. Their religious roles are given more to young Imams, who do not understand how religion and culture have co-existed and complemented each other to help maintain the Makhuwa identity. Young Imams schooled by Islamic institutions imposed Arab culture, like the way women should dress, and what is read in the *Musjid*. They have also criticised cultural initiation of girls, calling it *haraam*[27].

The responses of the younger interviewees did not differ much from their Elders. They also confirmed the role the Elders as being the guardians to their grandchildren, of the culture and language in the community. Please note that some of the participants were raised by their grandparents (mainly grandmother). One participant shared the same sentiment as many others that the Elders were like 'cement' that held the community together, however; with the death of the Elderly members, the community is not as united as it was before. In contrast to this sentiment, a few respondents commented that the Elders in the community were an obstacle to change. Meaning that, the Elders were old and did not want to transfer leadership to the younger generation. So their complaints were considered unfair and unjustified.

5.5.1.3 Exogamy

The questions were asked to capture whether exogamy influences language choice and shift. Here participants responded that in the past, there were intermarriages in the community, but this did not affect the lifestyle of the community. The reason was that the new comers were assimilated into the community through adoption, conversion into Islam, and a long socialization process (which included learning Emakhuwa). Mrs M. revealed that she married into the community, and had to learn Emakhuwa. It was a challenge which took a while, though she could not recall the exact time frame. They reported this has gradually changed over the years. They commented that this was owing to the lack of commitment by the younger generations to uphold traditions. They added that young people are impatient, rushing into marriage and therefore, their spouses find it difficult to fully integrate into the community. But the younger interviewees said that it was unfair. They commented that they respect their culture, religion and traditions but it's challenging to push their partners to embrace their religion, culture and language. They added that the community has changed and the Elders who enforced the rules earlier had passed away. One interviewee stated that

[27] Haraam is an Arabic word meaning forbidden.

"it's about who you are, which family you belong to. The Elders in the old days did not discriminate. They helped everyone".

5.5.1.4 Role of women

This section tried to elicit whether the community prescribed to women the responsibility of cultural and language educators. The Elders saw the role of the women as mothers, care-givers, as disciplinarians, teachers of the language and culture. They added that even if women did not have children of their own, they helped with the children in the extended family. This was normal in the community, because according to tradition they were also her children. The Elders described the role of women as "key to the survival of the family and community". They were responsible for the different types of education, the western, Islamic and cultural education of the children. The women were responsible for organizing community events, which ensured the practice and maintenance of culture and language. They added that the women were also breadwinners in many households.

These sentiments were confirmed by the younger group who also saw women as mothers and grandmothers, and were allotted the role of primary socialisers. This group believed that their mothers, grandmothers and aunts were responsible for their education, language acquisition and the development of the community.

5.5.1.5 Immigration

The question was asked to determine whether Emakhuwa was challenged with the influx of other groups into the community.

The majority of the interviewees felt that Emakhuwa was compromised and resulted in the increase of English spoken in the community. Both the Elders and the young interviewees reflected on the past. They commented that before the Zanzibari community enjoyed a particular status, so the people that came into the community, assimilated. Most learnt the language and culture which were the markers of Makhuwa identity. They added that in the new rainbow nation we are all equal and the community is another minority community. So when people move into the community, there is no external pressure (racial classification) to learn the culture and language of the community.

Both groups stated that religion attracted the new immigrants to the community. They mentioned that the situation is somewhat different with the Makhuwa who come from Mozambique. Mr Y stated, “We speak Emakhuwa with some of them and English with the others, because some of the young Makhuwas, especially from Maputo, cannot speak Emakhuwa. They speak Portuguese. With the ones who spoke Emakhuwa, they ended up using some English or isiZulu. This happened because the Makhuwas from Mozambique used a lot of Portuguese words which members in the community did not understand”. Both groups confirmed that the new immigrants have added to the repertoire of the community.

5.5.1.6 Culture

This question was asked to elicit if the participants had completed this stage of their cultural education.

All had reported attending initiation school and all agreed that both the boys initiation and girls initiation were strict when they did attended. The Elders mentioned that when they did their initiation English was not allowed, everything was done in Emakhuwa. One participant commented that the younger generation had it easy, they did not have to learn some of the lessons ‘by heart’, summarise and then present to the committee of Elders. Another mentioned that now both English and Emakhuwa are used as medium of instruction.

The Elders all added that with the introduction of English, lessons were simplified or not done ‘the proper way’. So the younger generation is missing out on a lot of valuable information. The younger group were satisfied with their initiation. A few of the younger interviewees commented that while they did not understand everything when they were initiated, however, attending initiation ceremonies thereafter provided a better understanding and appreciation for the initiation process and Makhuwa culture.

The interviewees reported confirmed that women and the Elderly, played a significant part in the family and community when they discussed other cultural events. The Elders reported that the cultural events like *Erewa, Eshano, Ephepha* (discussed in chapter two) were more frequent in the old days. Four of the young interviewees reported that they were present when these ceremonies were held. One added that her grandmother was called upon to "throw *ephepha*", since the grandmother was the eldest of her siblings. It was the oldest woman in the family that could throw *Ephepha* because as mentioned earlier. The reasons provided were that, they were closer to the ancestors, knew the culture and were proficient in the language.

Another young interviewee mentioned that she attended *Erewa* ceremony and to her surprise, she fell into a trance and spoke Emakhuwa with borrowed words from Kiswahili. She was shocked because she did not have the same level of proficiency in her everyday vocabulary. She borrowed words from Kiswahili because that was one of the languages that existed in the community before, spoken by the Elders.

5.5.2 Interviews with recent immigrants

The interviews with the recent immigrants to the community tried to elicit what language they spoke and how this contributed to the repertoire of the community. The interviews revealed that the new immigrants did not add to the existing linguistic repertoire of the community, because the languages they spoke already existed in the community. This finding was contrary to the position held by the Elders and the young Mahkuwas, who felt that the recent immigrants came with new languages and influenced the language repertoire of the community. What they did contribute to was the frequency of the language use and increase in speakers of the different languages like chiYao, Chichewa, Portuguese, Kiswahili, isiZulu, isiXhosa, English and Arabic. All the male participants mentioned that they spoke English and some stated that they used a combination of English and Emakhuwa. The woman mentioned using a combination of English and isiZulu. She added that Emakhuwa was very difficult to learn. Some of the men mentioned that they spoke isiZulu, they learnt it quickly as a strategy to avoid deportation during police raids. Unfortunately, no Chichewa person was interviewed. A Yao participant, Mr E. mentioned that Chichewa is used within the community. It is spoken by a few recent Christian immigrants from Malawi. He added that it is difficult to identify because the group speaks mainly isiZulu or English with members of the community.

When asked, why did they come to Chatsworth? The respondents gave varied responses. One woman interviewed in this group arrived as a result of exogamy. She mentioned that she followed her partner, now husband and wanted to learn more about his culture and way of life. The other participants interviewed were mostly men. They all responded that it was the religion, Islam and sense of *Jamat* (Muslim community) that brought them to the area. Another responded that it is close to Mozambique in comparison to the Muslim community in Cape Town, making travel to visit family affordable. He added that he could speak his home language, Emakhuwa freely in the community. Another interviewee mentioned the diversity, “other Africans living peacefully in one area”. One mentioned that as a motor mechanic, the employment opportunities were a big attraction in Chatsworth.

When the recent immigrants were asked about their reception by members of the community, all the interviewees mentioned that they were welcomed and felt a sense of community. This sub-group is well integrated into the community. The presence of the Makhuwa immigrants from Mozambique has brought a new energy into the community, creating opportunities for young people from the community to practice the language. However, the migrants comprise a small number of young men and whether this could lead to a revival of Emakhuwa in the community is yet to be seen. The challenge here, as mentioned earlier in chapters four and five, are the fear of deportation and the xenophobic attacks around the country. New immigrants feel the pressure to learn English and isiZulu and assimilate into the general population.

5.6 Participant Observation

According to Fishman (1991) “the concept of domain of language use covers a number of interactions between participants in the everyday settings. Some examples of domains are the family, friendship, religion, and school”. He holds that participants, settings and the language used are some typical elements that usually occur in each domain (Fishman 1991).

Based on Fishman’s (1991) example of language domain, table 5.39 covers domains of language use in the Zanzibari community of Chatsworth. The family domain is very significant to this research because it is the microcosm of the community and many of the families in Zanzibari community of Chatsworth comprise three to four different generations (grandparent, parent, children and in some cases grandchildren). This is the promised "close-up" observation to see how actual usage stacks up against claimed usage in the household questionnaires.

TABLE 5.39: DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE.

Domain	Addressee	Setting	Topic	Variety/Code
Family	Parent	Home	Household chores	Emakhuwa
Friendship	Friend	Street	Going to the cinema	Emakhuwa and English
Religion	Imam	Musjid	Topic for the talk given at the Friday prayer	Emakhuwa and English
Education	Teacher	School	History lesson	English
Education	Mualimah	Madrasah	Lessons	Arabic and English
Employment	Colleagues	Workplace	Meeting	English and isiZulu

This table shows the language use in the different domains as per the survey. This section will look at two families in particular, families A and B with this table in mind[28].

Family A

It must be noted that at the time of this research Family A comprised of four generations of family members in one household: the grandmother was (age 82), her daughter (age 62) and family. The latter was made up of the daughter's husband (age 64), the daughter's children (ages 30, 38 and 42) and one grandchild (age 18). Living in the outbuilding was the grandmother's other daughter (age 45 and her daughter (age 20). The grandmother passed away recently.

[28] Initially these families were visited three times a week over the period of four months. It must also be noted that these families were known, which made it easy to access and converse with them.

Like in the above table, the parents communicated with each other predominantly in Emakhuwa, with some borrowing from English. They used Emakhuwa to communicate with the grandmother. In this family both Emakhuwa and English were used to communicate with the children, speakers of Emakhuwa borrow from the English language. English was used to communicate with the great grandchild; however, Emakhuwa was used when scolding this youngest member of the family. While the youngest member (a passive bilingual) of the family understood Emakhuwa to some degree, she responded in English when spoken to, even with the great grandmother.

The grandmother had some part time employment and was active in the community programmes. She had contact with people outside the community, and therefore had a good grasp of the English language in comparison to other people of her age group in the community. The grandmother in this also family had a basic knowledge of isiZulu.

The parents in the family were fluent in Emakhuwa. They were also fluent in English and this was attributed to their parents' and community's insistence on their children learning English, especially after their move to Chatsworth from Kings Rest. As mentioned earlier, English was always seen as an imperative to move up the socio-economic ladder. It helped in seeking employment outside the community. At work the languages used to communicate with their colleagues were English and isiZulu for the father and mainly English and a bit of Emakhuwa for the mother. The mother was also fluent in isiZulu. isiZulu was used mainly to communicate with work contacts and outside the community

The children had a good grasp of Emakhuwa and were fluent in English, having attended Indian Schools in the neighbourhood in which this was the main language by far. Like their parents, they had some knowledge of isiZulu, as a means of communication with some of their work colleagues and friends that were not from the community.

The grandchild was fluent only in English, but understood Emakhuwa. She had very little knowledge of isiZulu, which she studied as a language in school. She spoke English to her friends. She attended Madrassah, and could read Arabic, like all the members of the family. She reported that at the Madrassah lessons were conducted in English, but all reading was done in Arabic. The grandchild responded only in English when addressed by the different generations in the family. While responding in English was considered disrespectful in some of the households in the pre-1990s period, in the post 1994 era it was not an issue in some homes. In fact it was encouraged.

Below is a short excerpt of an observed conversation, to show the intergenerational dialogue between three generations in the household. It highlighted the fact that all three generations (especially the granddaughter) were articulate in Emakhuwa. Also, while they all spoke the language well, they borrowed words from different languages.

Conversation: Family A

Granddaughter (38 yrs): Salaamu Bibi, Salaamu Mum. Morupha therethu?
[Greetings granny. Greetings mum/mummy. Have you (pl) slept well?]

G/mother (82 yrs): Wa Alaikum Salaam. Shukur. Koh rupha therethu, pahi wirya ahavo yawira msindo oshaaka. No wimwa?
[And on u be peace. Thank you, I slept well, only thing is that there were people making noise (in isiZulu) early in the morning. Did you (pl) hear?]

Mother (62 yrs): Koh wa wimwa ki venyalaka oswali. Ya kuma mdansoni.
[I heard, when I woke up to pray. They were coming from a dance/club.]

Granddaughter: Hatha, Akiwimwale hathetu. Kanu wocheya.
[Nothing, I did not hear anything. I was so tired.]

Grandmother: Ya khumaka mdansoni, enyivenyihe hi naruphaka? Kanfikirisi. Mayeh, makhuva ana ki wereyah.
[So when they are coming from the Club, they have to wake us from our sleep. They don’t think. Ouch, my bones are hurting.]

Granddaughter: Esheni?
[What is it?]

Grandmother: Nna wooluvala

[We are getting old]

Grandchild:	Kuwireleni eshah? [Should I make you (pl) tea]
Grandmother:	Yes Please
Mother:	Shukran [Thank you]

This conversation between three generations was about how they slept the previous night. This conversation confirmed contact and reveal the results of contact (both physical and through religious texts) on the language. The greeting *salaamu* and its response, together with *shukur/shukran* are words borrowed from the Arabic language. The word *msindo* (noise) is a direct loanword borrowed from isiZulu. Also borrowed from isiZulu is the word *mdansoni,* which comes from the word *umdanso* (dance). The words *mum*, *yes,* and *please* were loanwords from English. The word *eshah* (tea) was borrowed from the word *chai*. It is the result of contact with Hindi and Urdu speakers from the Indian community, although the word is also known in Kiswahili. So the influence is more likely from KiSwahili, given the language shift in Durban's Indian communities.

Family B

The second family also comprised of four different generations: the oldest member of the family the grandmother (84 years), her son (44 years), grandchildren (36, 32, 18 years) whom she raised from small and their children (14, 8, 4 years). These were the old woman's great grandchildren. The grandmother was the head of the household, and the family depended on her pension and rent money from her tenants. She had worked as a nanny in different homes in the Bluff, Durban. So she had a basic knowledge of English and Fanakalo – the latter was used as a form of communication with her employers, an Afrikaner family in the Bluff.

The grandmother (fluent old Emakhuwa speaker and an Elder in the community and initiation school for the girls/women) spoke to her son in Emakhuwa, and to her grandchildren in Emakhuwa with some English borrowings (example -homework, nonsense, aeroplane, to mention a few). The grandchildren responded predominantly in English with borrowing from Emakhuwa. The grandmother addressed her great grandchildren in English and quite often code-switched to Emakhuwa, and they responded in English.

The grandmother's son spoke Emakhuwa, English and isiZulu. Emakhuwa was acquired at home and spoken in the community. English was learnt at school and isiZulu was learnt on the streets and at work through contact with isiZulu speakers. He also had a reading knowledge of Arabic.

The grandchildren were fluent in English, conversant in isiZulu and had a passive (receptive) competence in Emakhuwa. The grandchildren and their children, like their uncle, had a reading knowledge of Arabic. The great grandchildren spoke English. Here was a conversation in this family when a visitor came to visit the grandmother.

Conversation: Family B

Granny (84 yrs):	Salaamu Mzulwaka.
	[Greetings my grandchild]
Visitor (38 yrs):	Salaamu Bibi.
	[Greetings Granny]

Granny:	Wonaphela esha? [Would you like some tea?] To the Granddaughter: Hela e-kettelo voh, make tea. [Put the kettle on and make us some tea.]
G/Daughter (36 yrs):	Whenever I am busy, you like to worry me?
Granny:	Ni wimweke voh. Azulu, kanzuwela o hishimu. [You must listen. Grandchildren don’t have respect.]
Grandchild:	Now why do you have to go there. You like talking that language of yours like we don’t understand.
Granny (to visitor):	Wo na wimwa, that language of yours? Ana liyala wirya Emakhuwa enlimi naya. [Did you hear, that language of yours? They forget that Emakhuwa is their language.]
To Granddaughter:	It’s your language. Wonaa hima womMakhuwa wihi lavulaka enlimi no wani, Emakhuwa? [It’s your language. Can you say you are Makhuwa when you don’t speak the home language, Emakhuwa?]
Grandchild:	Bibi, why are you talking like that? I didn’t say that I won’t make the tea, it’s just that I’m busy.
Granny:	Busy. (Smacks her teeth). Wa wiraka sheni? [Doing what?]
Visitor:	You don’t have to make tea for me, water will be fine.
Granny:	Water wa sheni? O no wiirah. She’ll make. Pothi alavule vinchene, masi o no wiirah esha. [What water? She will make it. She can talk a lot (complain), but she will make tea.] [Great grandchild enters]

G G/child (14 yrs): Assalamu Alaikum
[Greeting in Arabic, Peace be upon you]

All : Wa Alaykum Salaam
[And on you be peace]

Visitor: How are you?

G G/child: I'm fine.

Visitor: How is school?

G G/child: Fine

Granny: Fine, Fine, Fine. That's the only word you know. Me I didn't go to school like you but I can speak better. Not fine, fine

This conversation revealed the predominance of English among the younger members of the household. English was used both by the granddaughter and the grandmother to express annoyance. As in the previous conversation, the preferred choice of greeting was religious and in the Arabic language. The English contribution to the conversation, with one loanword, *e-kettelo* (kettle).

Summary

Participant observation in the households revealed and confirmed that English is present in the home domain. This was more apparent in the second household. While certain families still use Emakhuwa to communicate with each other, this is restricted to the adults within the family and at times the older children. The younger generations were able to understand the language, but lacked the ability to speak. They are what Dorian (1981) refers to as passive bilinguals, or in more recent terminology, "receptive bilinguals".

5.7 Discussion

This section will discuss the research findings from the household survey, interviews and participant observation. This section should also provide further interpretation.

5.7.1 Language repertoire of the Zanzibari community

The Zanzibari community of Chatsworth confirmed Ferguson's (1973) dated statement that, just as every individual has a repertoire of language varieties, so does every each member of the the community. Each community has a repertoire shared by its language members, although individuals or subgroups differ in the extent to which they control and make use of the entire repertoire (Ferguson 1973). This is evident in the Zanzibari community, which has a repertoire of language varieties like Emakhuwa, English, chiYao, and isiZulu.

This study cited Mesthrie (2006), the only previous (and short) sociolinguistic study of the Zanzibari community in order to compare and evaluate changes in repertoire captured by the research conducted in the community. Mesthrie (2006:9) documented, the use of three African languages – (e)Makhuwa, Yao and Swahili (spoken by the different members) and after 135 years is the most significant feature of the Zanzibari community of Chatsworth. My field work, 20 years later, revealed that the three African languages used in the community were Emakhuwa, chiYao and isiZulu. Kiswahili and Chichewa are spoken by very few people.

Mesthrie (2006) added that some speakers of Yao and Swahili (possibly more recent immigrants) did not speak (e)Makhuwa, necessitating English as one of the lingua francas, even amongst older members. While English continued to be the lingua francas and making conversation easier, isiZulu has also established itself as a lingua franca. The reasons mentioned earlier, namely xenophobic attacks.

It must also be noted that both Emakhuwa and English were used to communicate with Indian Muslim neighbours both in Kings Rest and when the community was re-located to Chatsworth. Speaking Emakhuwa solidified the Muslim brotherhood that already existed, a bond that was passed down the different generations.

The research suggests that Emakhuwa spoken in Chatsworth was close to the variety spoken in the Nampula region. This was corroborated by Skype chats with van de Wal who worked in the region (van de Wal 2009), the work of Kroger (2006) and the discussions with Dr Katupha and Prof. Mucamisa from the University of Eduardo Mondlane. Further confirmation came from interviews with recent immigrants to the community from the Nampula region of Mozambique. These interviewees highlighted that they were able to communicate with the older people in Chatsworth in Emakhuwa. They did add that it was a challenge to talk to the younger speakers of Emakhuwa, because “they used a lot of English words”. On the other hand the younger speakers of Emakhuwa mentioned that they were unable to speak with Makhuwas who had recently arrived because they used a lot of Portuguese in their conversations.

The research findings confirmed Mesthrie’s (2006) work on the use of the three African languages in the community. While Emakhuwa, chiYao and KiSwahili still existed in the community, their use was restricted to certain domains. ChiYao and KiSwahili were used mainly in the private domain, at home. ChiYao is spoken on the streets by recent immigrants, a small group of people. Emakhuwa competed with English in most domains, except for school and the workplace, where English is used. Emakhuwa also competes with isiZulu in a several households where one parent was Zulu. English is the language of power and prestige spoken by most members of the community and encouraged by parents.

Mesthrie (2006:10) noted that the undeniable success story of the Zanzibari maintenance has to be tempered somewhat, since there are children who understand the ancestral language, but do not seem to speak it; replying in English to Emakhuwa of the fluent, older speakers. There are a few factors that distinguish households where the children speak only English to the households where children used both English and Emakhuwa. The first was again the access to grandparents. Those that had grandparents were exposed to the language. Children whose parents were proficient in language had more interest in the language. There are renewed efforts by the ZDT, and collaboration between the Trust and Prof. Kaarsholm to make family connections between the community in Chatsworth and Makhuwa communities in Mozambique. So those families involved are encouraging the re-learning of Emakhuwa.

The existence of isiZulu in the community can be ascribed to three different factors, namely intermarriage, the political migration of isiZulu speakers who sought refuge from the political violence of the 1980s and 1990s in the community and thirdly to the increased contact of members of the community with outsiders. Research revealed that there was an increase in the use of isiZulu in the community, and in the household. Before Emakhuwa enjoyed high status and people wanted to learn the language, however post 1994 isiZulu use grew in the community as a result of increased contact with Zulu people. Children were learning isiZulu in the classroom and not just casually picking up words from friends on the playground. Previously, members of the community who learnt isiZulu, were not allowed to use the language in the community. Today it has entered the different domains within the community.

Mesthrie (2006) also documented that "some members of the community, young and old speak Portuguese". This research established that a few people speak Portuguese in the community but these were mainly the recent immigrants from Mozambique. The majority of the older generation that spoke Portuguese have now passed away and the language was not passed down to the younger generations.

In line with Mesthrie's (2006:10) findings, there is one more code that holds the highest status in the community – Qur'aanic Arabic. The reason given by some of the participants was the increase in *Madrassahs*, a prescribed curriculum funded from the Middle East. There were a few young people who were fluent in Arabic, as they have studied in Jordan. The younger trained *Imams*, were products of this new curriculum, used mainly Arabic and English in the Musjid, as opposed to the older generation which used both Emakhuwa and Arabic.

The Chatsworth variety of Emakhuwa uses loanwords from isiZulu, English and Urdu. Some of these borrowed words may not exist in Emakhuwa, like 'computers', 'homework', or the original Emakhuwa word is unknown like those for 'fruit', 'apple', 'orange', and 'banana'. The loanwords are either used in a sentence in unadapted form or adapted to Emakhuwa phonology and morphology. This I referred to as Makhuwarisation. Makhuwarisation is a joking term used to refer to the act of making loans and switches sound Makhuwa. Words are made to sound like it's a word from Emakhuwa by placing a vowel as a prefix, the English or isiZulu word and adding a tone pattern consistant with Emakhuwa.

Examples of Loanwords

Here are some words borrowed from English or isiZulu in Chatsworth. I now present a selection of borrowed words common in Chatsworth Emakhuwa, which are likely to set it apart from its parent Mozambican variety.

TABLE 5.40: EXAMPLES OF ENGLISH WORDS CHANGED TO MAKHUWARISED WORDS.

ENGLISH	CHATSWORTH EMAKHUWA BORROWED FORM	MOZAMBIQUE MAKHUWA
computer	Ecomputa	Unable to find a word for computer
kettle	Ekettelo	Khandirinya (unknown to many)
kitchen	Mkhishini	ekhuzinya
lamp	Elampu	ekhanttiyero
machine	Emashini	Unable to find a word for machine
orange	eOrinchi	nraranja

TABLE 5.41: EXAMPLE OF ZULU BORROWINGS IN CHATSWORTH EMAKHUWA.

ISIZULU	CHATSWORTH EMAKHUWA BORROWED FORM	ENGLISH	MOZAMBIQUE EMAKHUWA
a-ma-zambane	ma-zambana	potatoes	patata
in-simbi	en-simbi	iron	yumma
i-hashi	e-hashi/ekhavalo (older generation)	horse	ekhavalo
in-komo	en-komo/enyombe (older generation)	cow	enyompe
Im-bungulu	em-bungulu	bedbug	oyaata

Emakhuwa in Durban is also influenced by the contact the community has with the Indian community, especially the Muslim sub-group from Kings Rest and Chatsworth. This is particularly evident in relation to food.

TABLE 5.42: WORDS BORROWD FROM THE INDIAN LANGUAGES

WORDS USED IN BOTH THE INDIAN AND MAKHUWA COMMUNITY	DESCRIPTION
beriyani	spicy rice dish served with meat/chicken/fish/vegetables
dhania	coriander
phudinah	mint
roti	south Asian flat bread made of flour
soji	sweet dish, made from semolina
eshah (chai)[29]	tea

The level of borrowing differs from generation to generation and is evident in the communication between the people in the different domains within the community. These borrowings were also evidence of the contact that took place within the community between the Makhuwa and the Indian groups, but also with the Indian community and other groups around the country.

The research also found that the status of Urdu had decreased over the years, as majority of its speakers (older generation) had passed on. Some of the Makhuwas who could speak Urdu now barely used it, as some of their older Urdu speaking neighbours have passed away. It is, however, still used by some of the older generation Indian Muslim population and in certain households.

It also confirmed that slang had increased over the years, especially amongst the youth in the community. The slang spoken in the community was a mixture of different urban varieties. Some of the participants attributed that this was a result of contact with the Indian community and to a lesser extent Zulu youth in school, on the playgrounds and streets. The variety of Slang spoken in the community borrowed words from Afrikaans, isiZulu, Emakhuwa, chiYao and Arabic.

[29] This seems to be an earlier east African borrowing, judging from the form. However, it’s a borrowing from Hindu/Urdu into Swahili.

Slang was used by both the girls and boys, and participants reported that this was a new phenomenon. They mentioned that in the past (they were unable to provide a specific time frame), Slang was used amongst the boys, who mainly hung around on the street corners, game shops or playing soccer on the soccer ground. The latter gave them the opportunity to move around and meet, make contact with boys/young men from other communities. So girls/young women using Slang in certain domains was fairly new. This is a phenomenon that needs further research.

This research also found that there were several other lesser-used languages that existed in the community, like seSotho, Afrikaans and isiXhosa. These were introduced into the community through marriage.

5.7.2 Language and attitudes

The research revealed that the concerns of the older generation in the community were well-founded. As mentioned above, English had entered all the domains in the community (especially the home and cultural schools), and is encouraged by parents. Emakhuwa is no longer the dominant language in the community and the Elders were concerned that this was a result of negative attitude towards the language. The research revealed that some of the young people did not want to speak Emakhuwa because it was considered ‘cool’ to speak English instead. A few reasons could be attributed to explain this situation. One reason could be that a few parents (who could afford to) sent their children to Model C schools to acquire a better education. These were situated outside Chatsworth in Umbilo, Montclair areas and had a significant number of white, English-speaking learners. So these children introduced this accent into the community, making English more attractive. Also members of the community have family and friends in Wentworth and Mariannridge, which are Coloured communities and this contact situation influences the accent in the community.

The popularity of English could be attributed to the following. The first reason was that Emakhuwa was becoming unfamiliar, because parents did not speak the language to their children. Some parents lacked the proficiency to speak Emakhuwa and therefore could not to pass it down. Another reason was the negative attitude towards Emakuwa. Some young people did not want to learn the language because “it was old-fashioned, and associated with discipline. Apparently, some parents used Emakhuwas when trying to discipline their children. English was a popular language internationally, in the country, the media, amongst politicians and celebrities. Many parents also encourage the use of the language, even though some of the participants denied using English with their children.

Some older participants highlighted that they did not fulfil their role and did not teach their children Emakhuwa. They mentioned the rainbow nation and how it was difficult in the new South Africa to inculcate traditional values and transmit a language that is not recognised. While participants identified the post-1994 period as a challenge to language transmission, language and cultural maintenance, it must be noted that the shift began before this mentioned period. The post-1994 period offered the opportunity for increased contact between the different groups in the country and the rest of the continent. Also the post-1994 period ushered in a mindset shift about children’s rights and the role of children in the family. So the idea that “children should be seen and not heard” was challenged. Children are more articulate and influence decisions made in the family domain, including the language choice in the household.

As mentioned earlier, Emakhuwa survived 135 years without being an official language. The survival of Emakhuwa can be attributed to the community having seen Emakhuwa and the maintenance of Emakhuwa as what Smolicz (1984) calls a ‘core value’. Therefore people that moved into the community before 1994 saw it as important to learn the language and be accepted as members of the community. In the post-1994 period brought with it a challenge, confusion, but also the opportunity to redefine themselves once again.

Emakhuwa does not have the status it once enjoyed. In support of the participants’ reasoning, the research draws on Wicker's (1969) more general conclusion that attitudes are generally not related to behaviour, and that the expression of positive attitudes or "language loyalty" towards a language like Emakhuwa does not usually correspond to language behaviours reflecting that loyalty. Participants in both the household surveys and interviews reported that they were proud of their language, because it carried with it the culture, and history of their people. This, however, was not always followed by a conscious maintenance of culture and language in the community.

The ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al. 1977) within the community was low, which confirmed the reasoning of participants that there were no institutional support for the development and teaching of the language. They added that media plays a major role in the education of young people, shifting their priorities and values, and influencing their lifestyles. This was carried out in the dominant language used in the media, which is English. Language attitudes reflect the notion that a language is more than just a means of communication, but a symbol of society or group. However, the challenge arose when boundaries shifted, the community opened up to more contact situations, values changed and socio-economic growth became a priority, as evident in the Zanzibari community.

Participants recalled that it was easier in the past when there was a close-knit social network brought together by core values like culture, religion, respect for women and language. Their distinctiveness and living a separate life from the rest of Chatsworth helped the community maintain their culture, religion and also their language. There were strong leaders who held the network together, forming a unified group that was able to withstand political, social and linguistic pressures from the outside. This community had a strong social network, that, even as a minority group was able to attract other groups towards it. This has changed, but the change was gradual.

So while shift was taking place there were efforts by some within the community to revive the language. There have been trips organised to Mozambique to connect with the Makhuwa community there. Some of these trips were organised by the Zanzibari Development Trust’s cultural office. Other trips were made by individuals with private finances to travel. The ongoing research by Kaarsholm on Makhuwa history and identity had also encouraged these efforts. A few young people have set up a Facebook group called *Amakhuwa Pahee* (Makhuwas only) to engage other young people and develop a more positive attitude towards Emakhuwa, to share general information, and to learn or practice Emakhuwa language and culture.

The young parents in the community find themselves at a crossroads, to work hard to maintain Emakhuwa, which they regards as a symbol of their identity or encourage their children to learn and speak English which is a key to upward mobility. However, this dilemma is not unique to the Zanzibari community, but many communities in South Africa. According to Rudwick (2005) “this prevailing paradox, which stresses the importance of indigenous language on one hand, and yields to English hegemony on the other, poses one of the greatest challenges for the Black society in post apartheid South Africa".

5.7.3 Language and Ethnicity

The issue of identity has been at the centre of the history of the community from the slaves dhows to the Bluff and now in Chatsworth. As discussed earlier, the Zanzibar community is not a single ethnic group. The research confirms that the community is made up of different ethnic groups, of which the Makhuwa ethnicity dominated for generations. The research revealed that the Makhuwa group were bigger in numbers, shared a common ancestry, history, culture, an association with a particular territory and sense of solidarity which helped to ground them. They were able to attract members of other groups and assimilate them into their own. Emakhuwa was used as a gateway in this process.

The study also suggested that a Yao ethnic group exists in the community, but their language chiYao and culture was overshadowed by the Makhuwas. The reasons were: (a) intermarriage, between Yao and Makhuwas, (b) Emakhuwa had a high status before, and some members of the Yao ethnic group learnt and communicated in Emakhuwa and (c) chiYao was limited to the household unlike Emakhuwa. Even at home chiYao was mainly spoken by the older members of the family, because the younger generations spoke mainly English and some Emakhuwa, depending on the interlocutors. However, in recent years with the new immigrants from Malawi, this group experienced a revival, with the language being spoken openly in the community and at work places like petrol stations, parking lots, and shops. This is in contrast to the Makhuwas, who mentioned that they spoke different languages depending on the interlocutor, but that English was dominant.

5.7.4 Language and Gender

"The responsibility of cultural and language transmission is often assumed to be the role of women by mixed ideologies of femininity and motherhood" (Piller and Pavlenko 2014). And it is with these mixed ideologies that the participants responded when asked the question of the role of women in the community. The participants of the interviews revealed that women played an important role in the social activities of the community, most of which were held in

Emakhuwa. They added that the mothers and grandmothers were responsible for the child's education (Islamic, western and cultural) while the men were at work. The women who worked also reported that it was important to follow-up closely, on the childrens education as they were away from home during the weekdays. As mentioned in Chapter four, the Makhuwa are a matrilineal community in matters of identity, inheritance and social order, so the maternal grandmother and aunts play an important role in the children's development. However, in my observation this practice has changed in some homes, especially when women from other ethnic groups marry into the community. Then it is the paternal Makhuwa grandmother that takes on this responsibility. It must also be noted that in some homes the grandmother has been the guardian to her grandchildren, feeding them, clothing them and taking care of their education.

Discussions on language and culture can lead to heated disagreements, as observed while conducting the household surveys. There were disagreements between men and women in certain families as to who is responsible for the process of language shift that is taking place in the community. Each side blamed the other for bringing outsiders into the community (through intermarriage) and therefore compromising the language and culture of the community. According to Piller and Pavlenko (2004:495), "minority groups that do not sanction exogamy, but are characterized by high levels of exogamy (because of their close proximity to another group), often express concern that exogamy will lead to language shift and language loss". When people of both sexes were asked what the role of women was in the community, they responded (without hesitation), that women were not just mothers, but primary socialisers and teachers who passed down the culture, history and language to their children. From a general gender perspective this seems a huge burden and responsibility on the women. Mukherjee (2003) writes that "women are expected to be the language bearers and transmitters in the community, even if not all of them play this role". Women in this community too, are given the responsibility for maintaining the culture and language of the community and transmission to the younger generation. So a shift would be seen as a failure by the women in fulfilling their responsibilities, and face negative perceptions regarding their exogamous relationships. According to Piller and Pavlenko (2004), "women are more likely to choose their partner's language in cross-language relationships"; however the research revealed that in most cases when men and women married into the community, they learnt the language of the community, especially in former times. It must be noted that because of the limited research on the community, it was difficult to capture how many people married into the community. Also, as mentioned in chapter four, that in the past before a man or woman married into the community, they were first adopted by a family that would teach them about the culture, language and religion of the community. This made it difficult, to know that a certain person was not of Makhuwa descent.

My findings suggest that there were more active old women in the community than men, which was reflected in the maintenance of cultural activities like the initiation for girls. While this cultural institution is carried out annually, there have not been any activities surrounding the initiation for boys in the past three years. This initiation requires the headship of older men. There is among the women a strong emotional attachment to the cultural practices and to some extent the language, evident during the *Nimwari* ceremonies.

The research also revealed that while the respondents were, in principle, very keen to teach their mother tongue to their children, most of them ended up speaking English to the child in the household. This meant that while the men and women blame each other for compromising the language, in most households, it was the children that decided what language would be used in the home domain.

5.7.5 Language and Religion

Religion in the Zanzibari community is a core value, with the Imam playing a key role in helping to ‘glue’ the community together. Religion has played a key role in the maintenance of the community through what Kloss (1966) calls “religio-societal insulation”, and Kings Rest offered the ideal space. This insulation encouraged and perpetuated the strong density and multiplexity discussed by Milroy (1987), and Emakhuwa and Arabic were the ‘vehicle that fuelled’ this social network. This network was also strengthened by external forces, like the harassment by tax payers (mentioned in chapter three), the apartheid system, the stigma of the label ‘Lost tribes’ and other forms of discrimination drove this small group tighter together. They openly practised their culture and religion, spoke the language with pride and teaching these to newcomers.

As mentioned earlier the core values of religion and culture existed parallel to each other with specific complimentary languages (Emakhuwa, Arabic and to a lesser extent English) used to fulfil the different purposes in these domains. This distinctiveness was supported by the Juma Musjid Trust. However the research revealed that this support was received with mixed feelings.

The mixed feeling regarding the financial support has been explained earlier. Initially the support was given without ‘prescriptions’, the community was left to decide the curriculum for the Madrassah. They included Emakhuwa in this domain together with Arabic and English. However this changed when the *Madrassah* was registered under a national organisation and support changed. The organisation determined the education of teachers (Mualims and Mualimas), and a new curriculum for the *Madrassahs* came with new materials. The curriculum is taught in English, with Arabic used for recitation.

More recently support has come in the form of scholarships for young people to be educated (in S.A. and abroad) ‘to deepen their understanding of Islam’ (Kaag 2007).

While the community has celebrated the increase in the number of young men being educated in Islamic institutions and becoming Imams or Hafiz, some participants have raised concerns that these young men have become more fundamentalist in their approach. For example, they reported that these young men regard the initiation schools to be Haraam (against Islamic teachings); they have changed the way prayers were being conducted, including the Friday prayers and *Taraweeh* (evening prayers held during the month of Ramadaan). Participants added that English and Arabic have become the languages used in this domain, with Emakhuwa relegated to the corridors or outside the *musjid*. Different religious practices within Islam have led to further marginalisation of culture and Emakhuwa in the community.

This research found that these young men do not just challenge religious practices in the community but the relationship between religion and Makhuwa culture, which have co-existed for over a century in the community in Durban. They challenge the matrilineal system of the community and try to entrench patriarchal values and segregation of genders. This shift has to be understood in a broader context of the expansion of Islamists, *Wahhabism.* According to Brenner (cf. Bonate 2006), the doctrinal ideology of Islamism is marked by puritanical scripturalism and tendencies to rationalise religious practices. Bonate (2006:148) adds that “Islamists demand a literal interpretation of Islamic sources (the *Qur’aan* and the

Hadith) and *Sharia* (Islamic legal principles), which try to undermine the matrilineal ideology".

It must be noted that the clash between patriarchal Islam and Makhuwa culture existed since the early contact between the Arab traders and Makhuwas, however; the Makhuwa managed to maintain a balance between Islamic religion and Makhuwa culture. This balance and maintenance of culture and religion were important for the community's identity and maintenance as a unique group. The recent expansion of Islamists poses a threat to this unique identity.

According to participants, while these young men were able to influence the way the *Musjid* was run, the prayers, they were met with resistance when it came to some of the cultural practices. They were not able to influence the women in the community to stop the initiation schools.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed and discussed the research findings from the household survey, interviews and participant observation. It highlighted the role of identity, culture, gender and religion on the cultural and language situation of the community.

The next chapter will provide the concluding remarks and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Concluding Remarks

The methodology used to capture the data for this research was useful to determining the cultural maintenance and language shift in the community. This research has explored the history of the Zanzibari speech community, a minority group in the multilingual and multicultural area of Durban. It has engaged in the discussion of language contact, maintenance and shift, covering the definitions and different models of these phenomena in relation to the situation of the community.

The empirical data collected for this study suggests that the Zanzibari community is still very active in the maintenance of its culture; however, the shift from Emakhuwa to English is taking place in the community. Initially, the community experienced gradual change, which can be considered normal when communities come into contact. According to the study language shift has become more evident in recent years, and this can be attributed to the increased immigration into the community of people from different ethnic groups, dominance of English in institutions and the media, parental roles, children are more involved in making language choices, to mention a few reason. This is happening despite government's policy and rhetoric that all cultural, linguistic and religious communities should "enjoy their culture, practice their religion and use their language" (Bill of Rights 1996:10). English dominates communication patterns in the community and is used in all domains, including the family/household domain. According to Strubell (2001) the fate of a minority language depends on the choice of language in this domain.

The use of English in the household domain also revealed that intergenerational language transmission has declined within the household and the community. Fishman (1991) "attributed the decline of minority languages to the failure by communities to use their languages in informal home environment situations". He emphasised that the maintenance of a language is dependent on families and communities recognition of their important role as agents for effecting language transfer (Fishman 1991). The proverb "It takes a village to raise a child", contributed to the maintenance of culture and language in the community. This meant that the socialisation in the Makhuwa community was not just the responsibility of the parents but of grandparents, aunts, uncles, neighbours and educators. Hinton (1999) argued that the significance of the local community in the language development of the child is that it provides the child with the opportunity reinforcing the skills and knowledge that he or she acquired earlier on in the family. The community provided the spaces for the use of the language. Fishman (1991:95) contended that "as far as transmission mechanisms for language renewal are concerned, other initiatives can contribute but not substitute for what he terms "home-family-neighbourhood-community process".

In the old days the attitude of the Makhuwa people, who were strongly disposed towards maintaining their culture and language in the foreign land, contributed to cultural and language maintenance. Baker (1992:110) argued that "making minority languages as part of local institutions would influence attitudes and make them more favourable". This is what the older generations managed to do. Ensure that Emakhuwa was used at the *Musjid*, *Madrassah,* and informally in the community and household. This helped place more value on the language and complimented the positive attitudes members of the community had towards the language.

The demographics, especially the fact that the community became concentrated in mainly one area, Bayview in Chatsworth (Durban), contributed to maintenance of the community. The Makhuwa were the majority in the community and lived on Roads 240, 245, 246 and later on *Kokoba*. More recently, the number of Makhuwas living in the community has decreased. This can be attributed to death, exogamy, migration to other parts of the country. There is an increase in the diversity of the ethnic groups living in the community. This increase has contributed to increased contact with the different ethnic groups within the community and contributed in the shift in language choices, which Baker (1992:108) refered to as, "the mechanisms and motivation for attitude change". He further argued that rapid settlement of immigrants has been noted to provide serious language problems in some communities (Baker 1992:108).

The study also revealed that the shift to English was a conscious decision by community Elders when the community moved to Bayview, Chatsworth. These community leaders spoke to parents to encourage their children to learn and speak English, in order to attend the local Indian schools. The importance of English for upward social and economic mobility was identified early by the community members. But Emakhuwa remained very important to their identity. To counterbalance this conscious decision to encourage children to learn English, the Elders introduced strict rules around the use of other languages in the community, especially in the cultural school domain. A participant (early 50s) mentioned that "the younger generation are lucky because things are translated into English for them. When I became Nimwari the grannies were so strict. We were not allowed to utter a word in English and we wouldn't dare. All lessons and practices were in Emakhuwa. Even for the boys, it was the same".

The Elders in the community were the glue that held it together and contributed their efforts to cultural and language maintenance in the community. However, many of the Elders of the Chatsworth community have passed away and this has left a gap. Community organisations have different activities to try and hold on to the culture and language of the community, but "the glue" that united people in the past is missing.

While in the old days (before 1994) the role of socialisation of children was placed on women in the community. Women were responsible for balancing the the education of children in the community, cultural, formal and religious education. This was simple and straightforward because majority of the women were unemployed. They were responsible for the home, education and community activities. When the community moved from Kings Rest to Chatsworth, more women left the home to work and contribute to the economy of the family. This led to the shift in responsibilities. The responsibility for the education and socialisation of children shifted to educators. This contributed to the shift in language choices.

6.2 Recommendations for further research

Here are some recommendations for further research:

- As mentioned earlier the variety of Emakhuwa spoken with the Zanzibari community of Durban is an oral language and this research has managed to locate the origins of this dialect. What is required is an in-depth study and comparison of the language spoken in Chatsworth, with the dialects spoken in the Northern region of Mozambique.

- While the history of the community has been captured through this research, and a few other studies before it, it would be worthwhile to have a systematic documentation of the songs, and stories that can be learnt and shared to help maintain the language.
- The research has established that the youth in the community speak English as the main language used to communicate with different people and in different domains of society. Emakhuwa is used to a lesser extent, few speakers, semi-speakers and passive bilinguals. They also used a particular 'slang' when speaking to their peers, which is prevalent in Coloured and Indian townships in Durban, with borrowing from Emakhuw, chiYao and Arabic. Further research could study this variety of slang in detail and see if there are any specific influences from the "Zanzibari" community.
- The research revealed that the Zanzibari community is one group of Makhuwas, Mozambicans that arrived in South Africa. Further research can be conducted to identify the whereabouts of the other groups like the Christian Makhuwas and the history of "Mozambiekers" in Cape Town, and language situation of these minority groups.
- The research discussed the presence of religious organisations in the community. Further research is required into the radicalisation of male youth in Islamic organisations and its implications on the community culture and language policy.
- The research touched on the xenophobic attacks around the country. It also mentioned how for fear of deportation and for their lives many new immigrants from Malawi and Mozambique have prioritised learning English and isiZulu. This according to them would help them assimilate. Further research should be conducted on the implication of xenophobic attacks among new immigrants in Chatsworth and South Africa.

The language situation of this minority language community in post-apartheid South Africa may not be unique, as other minority language communities experience similar challenges both in the country and the rest of the continent. Members of the Zanzibari community are aware of the shift in culture and language and are actively working with various networks in Mozambique to address these challenges. However, the success of these efforts and many other efforts or initiatives by minority language communities in South Africa and the rest of the continent requires that the different governments support, invest and implement policies that will help these minority language communities maintain their cultures, languages and identities.

The research has managed to respond to the research questions by discussing the little historical background of the Zanzibari minority speech community, theories and debates on language maintenance and shift, and how they relate to the linguistic situation of Emakhuwa. The research has also discussed the repertoire of the community, linguistic changes induced by the contact between the Makhuwa and other groups, like the Indian, Zulu, and Chewa to mention a few. Age, gender, identity, attitude, politics and religion have been discussed as factors that play a role in the maintenance or shift of language and culture in the minority speech community of Chatsworth, the Zanzibari of Durban.

This research has contributed to the academic research on cultural and language maintenance and shift of immigrant, minority speech communities, highlighting the unique journey of the Zanzibari community, language and cultural maintenance over many generations. The Makhuwa culture and Emakhuwa were passed down orally from generation to generation for over 130 years. This study has developed the earlier research and work conducted by Mesthrie (1996, 2006), which identified culture, loyalty and religion as some of the important factors contributing to the maintenance of Emakhuwa. In addition to these factors, this research highlighted the role of gender and in particular, matrilineality in cultural and language maintenance and shift.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Sociolinguistic Household Survey of the

Zanzibari Community in Chatsworth, Durban

University of Cape Town

Respondents must Read Consent Form:

Community Code Number: …………………………….. Interview Number: ……

<table>
<tr><td>Name of Respondent:</td><td rowspan="2">Marital Status:
Single Married
Divorced Widow</td><td>Number of Occupants:</td></tr>
<tr><td>Sex:</td><td>Number of Adults:</td></tr>
<tr><td>Occupation:</td><td>Ethnicity:
Makhua Zulu
Yao Indian</td><td>Number of Children:</td></tr>
<tr><td>Sex of head of household?
Female/Male</td><td>Religion:</td><td rowspan="2">Do you have Tenants?
If yes, How many?</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Where were you born? C/KR/Other?
If other please specify:</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">What Language(s) do you speak? Em/En/Che/Z/A/ other?</td><td>Are they relatives? Y/N</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Which language(s) do use to communicate with your parents?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Which language(s) do you speak at home?
Em/En/Che/Z/A</td><td colspan="2">Which language(s) do you speak outside your home:
At work?
With neighbours?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Which language(s) did you speak as a child:
a) To your parents?
b) To your grandparents?
c) To your aunts?
d) To your uncles?</td><td colspan="2">e) To older siblings?
f) To younger siblings?
g) To friends?
h) To classmates?
i) The neighbours?</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">At what age did you learn/begin to English?
And where?</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Have you learnt any other language(s)? If yes, what language(s)?</td></tr>
<tr><td>At what age did you learn this language(s)?</td><td colspan="2">Which language(s) did you find easy to learn?</td></tr>
</table>

Where?	

What do you think made the process of learning this language easy?
Which language(s) did you find difficult to learn?
What in your opinion made this language difficult to learn?

What is your language of African heritage?	Does your husband/wife/partner have the same language? If no, what is his/her language of African heritage?

How many of you speak the language in your household?

Where were your parents born? Mother: Father:	Were they both employed? If yes, where? Mother: Father:
Where were your grandparents born? Grandmother: Grandfather:	Were both your grandparents employed? If yes, Where? Grandmother: Grandfather:
As an adult which language do you use to communicate with: a) Your grandparent(s)? b) Your aunt(s)? c) Older Sibling(s)? d) Younger sibling(s)? e) Friends?	f) Religious leader? g) Community Elders (Nehanga)? h) To your spouse? i) Your in-laws? j) Local Shopkeeper?

In what language would your grandparent(s) speak to: a) The grandchildren? b) Your parent(s)? c) Aunt(s)? d) Their peers (the older generation)? e) The neighbours? f) A visitor who is a isiZulu speaker? g) A visitor that is a English speaker?

How do you feel about Emakhua?	Where were the children born?

What language(s) did you speak to the children at birth?	What language(s) do you speak to the children now?	How many languages do the children speak?

What language do the children speak to: a) Their grandparents (your parents)? b) Their grandparents (Spouse's parents)? c) Their uncles and aunts? d) Their siblings?	e) Their friends in the playground/street? f) Their classmates g) The neighbour h) In the Madrasah to the Teacher?
How many ethnic groups live in one household?	
How many people are of Makhua descent?	
If they are not of Makhua descent, which ethnic background do they represent?	
How long have they lived in the community?	
Which culture and traditions does your household follow?	
What language(s) do you use for cultural events: a) Initiation Ceremonies (Nimwari/Mverani)? b) Healing Ceremonies (eg.eShano)? c) Communicating with Ancestors (ePepah)?	
What is the religion of your household? I/ C/ Other, if other please indicate:	
What language(s) do you use for religious events/interaction: a) When reciting your prayer? b) When the Imam Reads? c) When you speak to the Imam? d) When you speak to each other? e) To the Mualima at the Madrdasah? f) During Zikr? g) During Moulud un Nabi (SAW)?	

Symbols:				Y - Yes	N - No
Place:	C - Chatsworth	KR – Kings Rest	Other:		
Languages:	Em – Emakhua	En – English	Ch – Chewa	A - Arabic	Z - isiZulu
Religion:	I -Islam	C - Christianity	Other:		
Gender:	M - Male	F - Female			
Interviewer's Comments:					

APPENDIX 2

Sociolinguistic Interview Questions

University of Cape Town

Respondents must Read:

I ……………………………………... accept/ refuse to respond to the interview questions.

1. Where were you born, in Kings Rest, Chatsworth or other? If other, please specify.

   ____

2. Where did your family live before settling in Kings Rest?

   ____

3. Describe the family lifestyle in Kings Rest (How did you live, what jobs did you do, what did you do for entertainment).

   ____

   ____

   ____

   ____

   ____

   ____

   ____

4. What language could you speak as a child?

   ____

5. What language did your mother use to communicate with you?

   ____

6. What language did your father speak to you?

____

7. What language did you use to speak to your grandmother?

____

8. When did you learn isiZulu?

____

9. When did you learn to speak English?

____

10. Can you speak another language?

____

11. Did your family experience any hardships in Kings Rest? If yes, what were these hardships?

____

____

____

____

12. How old were you when your family left Kings Rest?

____

13. Did some of your family members remain in Kings Rest? If yes, why?

____

____

____

14. What were some of the challenges experienced by your family when they moved to Chatsworth?

____

____

____

____

15. What were the things that you like about Chatsworth?

16. Did you have any difficulties talking to people when you moved to Chatsworth?

17. Did you find that the younger children began to change in their language patterns?

18. Was the life different in Chatsworth? In what way?

19. What is your marital status?

20. If you are married/divorced or widowed, what language/s did you use to speak to your spouse?

21. Have members of your family married outside the Zanzibari community?

If yes, How many of them?

22. How many live in the community?

23. How many have moved out to other communities?

____

24. Does the family member who moved out still speak Emakhua?

____

____

25. Do the children speak Emakhua?

____

26. What other differences do you notice in their customs compared to that of the family?

____

____

____

27. What about the religion that they follow?

____

28. What are the languages spoken within the family now?

____

____

29. What religion do people in your family follow?

____

30. Which language/s do you use for daily prayer?

____

31. Which language/s do you use for Zikr or Moulood un Nabi (Ziyarah)?

____

____

32. Which language/s do you use for Initiation events (Nimwari and Mverani)?

____

____

33. Which language/s do you use for other cultural events like eShano, ePepa, Shakasha,etc?

____

____

34. What role do the Elders play in your family?

____

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35. Do you think the role of the Elders has changed over the years? If yes, how?

____

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36. The community has witnessed an increase in recent immigrants from Mozambique, DRC, and Malawi. How has this affected your family?

____

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____

37. Describe the role of the women in your family?

38. How does the role of women contribute to the maintenance of culture and language?

Interviewers Comments:

APPENDIX 3

Sociolinguistic Interview Questions
University of Cape Town

Respondents must Read:

I …………………………………….. accept/ refuse to respond to the interview questions.

Name of Interviewee:____

01. Where were you born?

____

02. What are the origins of the community?

____

____

03. Describe the life in the country of origin?

____

____

____

____

____

04. What were the challenges back home?

____

____

____

05. What languages do you speak?

06. What language could you speak as a child?

07. What language did your mother use to communicate with you?

08. What language did your father speak to you?

09. What language did you use to speak to your grandmother?

10. When did you learn isiZulu, if you did?

11. When did you learn to speak English?

12. Can you speak another language?

13. When did you come to South Africa?

14. Where did you hear about the community?

15. What brought you to Chatsworth?

16. How old were you when you came to Chatsworth?

17. Did some of your family members remain back home? If yes, why?

18. What were some of the challenges experienced by your family/you when they moved to Chatsworth?

19. What were the things that you like about Chatsworth?

20. Did you have any difficulties talking to people when you moved to Chatsworth?

21. Did you find that the younger children began to change in their language patterns?

22. Was the life different in Chatsworth? In what way?

23. What is your marital status?

24. If you are married/divorced or widowed, what language/s did you use to speak to your spouse?

25. Have members of your family married into the Zanzibari community?

If yes, How many of them?

26. How many live in the community?

27. How many have moved out to other communities?

28. Does the family member who moved out still speak the mother tongue?

29. Do the children speak your mother tongue?

30. What other differences do you notice in their customs compared to that of the family?

31. What about the religion that they follow?

32. What are the languages spoken within the family now?

33. What religion do people in your family follow?

____

34. Which language/s do you use for daily prayer?

____

35. Which language/s do you use for Zikr or Moulood un Nabi (Ziyarah)?

____

____

36. Which language/s do you use for Initiation events (Nimwari and Mverani)?

____

37. Which language/s do you use for other cultural events like eShano, ePepa, Shakasha,etc?

____

38. What role do the Elders play in your family?

____

____

____

____

____

39. Do you think the role of the Elders has changed over the years? If yes, how?

____

____

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____

40. Having come into the community recently. How were you received?

____

____

____

41. What language do you speak to your neighbours?

42. Describe the role of the women in your family?

43. How does the role of women contribute to the maintenance of culture and language?

Interviewers Comments:

APPENDIX 4

Sociolinguistic Interview Questions

University of Cape Town

Respondents must Read:

I ………………………………………….. accept/ refuse to respond to the interview questions.

01. Where were you born, in Kings Rest, Chatsworth or other? If other, please specify.

____

____

____

02. What language/s could you speak as a child?

____

03. What language did your mother use to communicate with you?

____

04. What language did your father speak to you?

____

05. What language did you use to speak to your grandmother?

____

06. When did you learn isiZulu?

____

07. When did you learn to speak English?

____

08. Can you speak another language?

____

09. What is your marital status?

____

10. If you are married, what language/s did you use to speak to your spouse?

____

____

____

11. Do you have any children?

____

12. If yes, what language do you use to speak to them?

____

13. What other differences do you notice in their customs compared to that of the family?

____

____

____

____

____

14. What are the languages spoken within the family now?

____

____

____

15. Which language/s do you use for daily prayer?

____

16. Which language/s do you use for Zikr or Moulood un Nabi (Ziyarah)?

____

____

____

17. Have you completed initiation?

____

18. Which language/s do you use for Initiation events (Nimwari and Mverani)?

____

____

____

19. Have you participated in other cultural events like eRewa, eShano, ePhepha, and eShakasha?

____

20. If, Yes. Which language/s do you use for these cultural events?

____

____

21. How often are these gatherings?

____

22. What role do the Elders play in your family?

____

____

____

____

____

23. Do you think the role of the Elders has changed over the years? If yes, how?

____

____

____

____

24. The community has witnessed an increase in recent immigrants from Mozambique, DRC, and Malawi. How has this affected your family?

____

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____

25. Describe the role of the women in your family?

____

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26. How does the role of women contribute to the maintenance of culture and language?

____

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Interviewers Comments:

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APPENDIX 5

Makhuwa Songs:

Song 1: Nimwara mina

Nimwara mina kinamu kohani (x2)

Mlopwana temula maru.

Kabila sheni?

Kabila ya namarepeh

Napikah mpo mpo mpo nashikiya

Bibiyango thithiyango (X2)

Hapari sana

Sawa sawa naliyah

Song 2: Olamu rivayi?

Olamu rivayi?

Olamu rimkuzinya omviha moro, he (drag for a few seconds, like exhaling)

Olamu rivayi?

Olamu rimkuzinya omviha moro.

Mlamu a ririyah katameh, wo kushe mkumyaka wi kunele.

Bankisumaso ya ngirih noh, wo kushe ntharakha wiire msawo.

Song 3: Salaam Alaikum

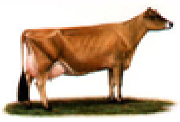
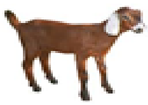
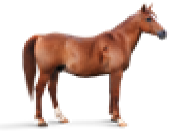
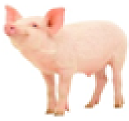
Salaam Alaikum tukulani mkorah mwakeleh masi amwenye harusi (x2)

Athah mwahimale na na suwela wiryah eharusi-nyu, na velelah (x2)

Shakashaka rumeh ki totoge msiro nirowe komani mamnaka hinawe.

Note: It must be noted that these songs were sent to Professor Carlos Manuel at the linguistics department at the University of Eduardo Mondlane. He was unable to comment on the songs and it written form of Emakhuwa, because he says it is a mixture of Makuwa, Swahili and English.

APPENDIX 6

	Nampara/Mutiti
Animal	Enama (wild), Muhuwo (Domestic)
	Kwathu
	Mwalapwa
	Enyombe
	Epwitipwiti
	Epuri
	Ekhavalo
	Elakhu
	Ekuluwe

Note: We live on a farm. This list was done for my daughters to learn the different names of farm animals.