

'Language Ideologies and Decoloniality in Vernac News'

A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

Master of Education

Faculty of Humanities

University of Cape Town

2018

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Acknowledgements

Okokuqala mandibulele izinyanya zakuthi ngokundigcina koluhambo; uNgcwini, Sqwephu, ooNdalane, ikati esisimanaga eyazimela emva kwendlu kwaTyukana. AmaMpondomise. Ndibulele abazali bam, ongasekho uVusumzi Mkula no Nomatamba Mkula.

To my supervisors: Dr. Carolyn and Dr. Catherine Kell, thank you so much for supporting and encouraging me throughout this journey. I really could not have made it without your immense knowledge and support.

Thank you to the members of *Vernac News* for your insightful, inspirational input and contribution to the study.

To maestro Alexander Fokkens, thank you for the incredible support you gave me since I began my academic career. Wenze njalo nakwabanye. Dr. Michael H. du Preez, thank you for always taking the time to read my work, since the very beginning.

To my wife and son, thank you for allowing to take this journey, and for supporting me throughout it all. Kwazi and Asakhe Mkula, thank you for allowing me to turn your house into my personal study on my many writing trips to Grahamstown.

Abstract

This study examines the language ideologies constructed in the publication *Vernac News* produced by students at the University of Cape Town. These language ideologies seek to challenge and subvert dominant language practices within the university community. These dominant language ideologies are challenged through various ways, such as the specific use of indigenous African languages, and the use of urban vernaculars in formal contexts, English platforms such as the student newspaper. The study also looks at the ways in which media are used as tools for social activism as seen in the *Vernac News* publication. The study treats language as a social tool, integral in constructing identities, meaning-making, and accounting for the lived experience of its users. The study used twelve articles from six issues of *Vernac News* and interviews as the source of data.

Language ideologies looks at the way in which languages and speakers are perceived and treated in society. In the period of the call to decolonise the university and the curriculum in South Africa, it was particularly important for the study to explore what this meant for language and the language practices within the university. The research explores various understandings, and discourses, of Decolonisation and Decoloniality, and other related discourses, as discussed by scholars such as Maldonado-Torres, Mignolo, Santos, amongst others. Additionally, the study examines the practices of 'linguaging' in several urban contexts, let these be spoken or written accounts.

The study is largely qualitative and makes use of linguistic ethnography to generate data from the various available sources. The linguistic ethnography approach here is coupled with Critical Discourse Analysis as tools for data analysis. The data analysis process foregrounds and highlights situated language uses in seven selected texts from the publication as well as interviews with members involved in the early development of the publication. The analysis looks at the various ways in which practices such as Translanguaging are essential language practices in the creation of identity, history and resistance and challenging of the hegemony of English in the university community.

The study found that the language practices of students involved in the publication were capable of challenging and subverting dominant language practices in formal context such as the university space, thus, it enabled the development of a truly integrated language ideology. The study also confirmed that language is social, and can reflect the social condition within which it operates, through the development of Discourses on social issues such Decolonisation and Decoloniality.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Historically, some of the most important socio-political triumphs in South Africa came because of youth coming together to achieve social justice. This became the case during the 2015 academic year, when a series of student protests broke out in several universities around South Africa. Briefly, the student protests emerged because of previously disadvantaged students' dissatisfaction with their perpetual marginalisation within the university environment.

Language ideologies have been instrumental in the marginalisation of speakers within a given society. Following the notion of habitus as discussed by Bourdieu (1977), these language ideologies become embodied and thus determine how, where, and who has access to certain dominant languages; i.e. English and Afrikaans in South Africa. Understanding the role and how language is positioned in social issues such as the decolonisation movement becomes important.

Often language has been used as a potent social tool (Janks, 2009), and this continues to be the case in several contexts globally. This has been documented in social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter.

The role of social media in progressing social struggles has been documented in several global movements for decolonisation, the hashtag being probably the most iconic tool in this new age of social media. For example, #BlackLivesMatter, #AllLivesMatter, #RMF¹, #FMF², amongst others. This use of social media is evidenced by the proliferation of student activist Facebook and Twitter pages, to communicate with audiences, and to create a 'collective identity' (Carroll and Hackett, 2006). Additionally, essential global movements on decolonisation are led by the youth (Maldonado-Torres, 2016).

Rationale

In my view the practice of student marginalisation is kept intact through several institutional practices, and gatekeeping mechanisms, such as high tuition fees, language policy, and physical structural designs, as highlighted in the Shackville period at the University of Cape Town; i.e. statues, names of buildings, amongst others. These factors led to students led movements such as; #RMF, #FMF, and #EndOutsourcing. As a student involved in these protests, it always struck me how language in political gatherings affected those involved.

Language ideologies are conceived and maintained through several institutional practices, including language policy. Although the language policy at UCT may be considered

¹ #RMF: Rhodes Must Fall

² #FMF: Fess Must Fall

progressive in that it acknowledges the multilingualism of many of its students, it remains Anglonormative. Good intentions as provided by transformation policy documents and committees are no good without effective plans of implementation in practice.

An important linguistic space during times of student protest was the plenary meeting. My initial expectation of the plenary meeting, based on the students involved, was that it would constitute a linguistic space that is multilingual, and I expected that in the plenary meetings, the notion of English monolingualism would be regressive and counter to the objectives of those that make up the members of the group. However, I observed that when the speaker would communicate with the crowd in English, this seemed to be welcomed, and very seldom were there issues with this practise. In contrast, the moment the speaker spoke in an indigenous African language like isiXhosa, there often seemed to be a sense of tension and confusion amongst those listening. This confirmed the hegemony English enjoyed over several languages in the South African context, in student-led events.

This led me to investigate how other languages, other than English, were being further 'developed' and compiled into an intellectual corpus in formal spaces during the call to decolonise the university and the curriculum. The student newspaper *Vernac News*, produced shortly before the #RMF movement, advocated for the development of African languages and culture in formal spaces such as the university. This became the ideal platform for research.

Research Aims

The study examines what ideologies of language are constructed in *Vernac News*, a UCT student publication during the Rhodes Must Fall (#RMF) and Fees Must Fall (#FMF) protests that took place in 2015 and 2016, and examines the language practices used in the construction of language ideologies. Through individual interviews, the study takes account of the perspectives of three students involved in the development and publication of *Vernac News*.

The study looks at the various ways in which dominant language practises in the university are challenged and subverted during the call to decolonise the university that was central to these protests. It also looks at the different ways in which language informs and is treated in many of the discourses adopted by student activist movements like: #RMF; #FMF; decolonising the university; Intersectionality; #EndOutsourcing, amongst others. I was particularly interested in looking at how diverse language resources are (or are not) utilised to represent such a decolonised university and curriculum. The development of indigenous African languages and culture is a key concern for the publication, and as such it became important in the research that was conducted. This focus on the social uses of language is a

key concern of the study and thus it is always important to consider the context and social conditions in which the various texts are produced.

In my approach to language and literacy as social practices, I used the concepts of Language Ideologies (McKinney, 2017); Decolonisation and Decoloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2016); Contact zones (Pratt, 1991), and Translanguaging (Li Wei, 2017) as a theoretical framework for the study.

Research Questions

1. What ideologies of language are constructed in *Vernac News*, a UCT student publication during the Rhodes Must Fall (#RMF) and Fees Must Fall (#FMF) protests during 2015 and 2016.
 - a. What language practices are used in the construction of language ideologies?
 - b. What ideologies of language inform students' discourses and how does language-use give rise to different ideologies of language?

Chapter Outline

I have chosen to divide the research study into six main chapters.

1. **Chapter one:** Introduction
2. **Chapter two:** Literature Review and Theoretical framework

I provide a discussion of the literature reviewed and theoretical approaches used in the study.

3. **Chapter three:** Research Methodology

This chapter outlines the various research methodologies used, as well as data sources and interview practices and transcription method.

4. **Chapter four:** Overview of *Vernac News*

This chapter provides an overview of the *Vernac News* publication, including a discussion of the make-up of the editorial teams within the publication, and highlighting of the core values and beliefs held by the publication. An overview of articles produced in crucial periods of student protests is given.

5. **Chapter five:** Data analysis

I present a detailed discourse analysis of seven texts chosen from the *Vernac News* publication.

6. **Chapter six:** Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of the study, and then continues to discuss the implications and significance of the study. Finally, a set of recommendations are set out based on the findings of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical framework

The position of English is highly debated in many spheres of the Anglophone African experience; let this be in the educational or the socio-cultural spheres. Consider the role of French and Portuguese in certain parts of the African linguistic landscape. Using Bourdieu's notion 'linguistic market' (1977), helps us understand the power of a named language like English in a society. I would argue that English enjoys a sense of monopoly in the African linguistic landscape. A major point to be explored is whether English can be used to truly represent African experiences.

I begin with reviewing the debate on the role of English in Africa; and I then review the implications of this for language development and education. This is done to ascertain the different ways in which English can or cannot be used to tell the African experience, and how the use of African languages could form a more nuanced narrative of the experience. The study looks at how various texts that make use of African languages provided a more nuanced narrative of African experiences.

Finally, I will look at the call to decolonise the university. I will trace the debates around the issue of African languages and the role of English, its usage(s) in education, government policy, collective memory (Wa Thiong'o, 2003) and its contribution to realisation of intellectual corpus (Alexander, 2004) whilst exploring the lived struggles of writers with the English language. I trace this debate back to the work of Chinua Achebe in Nigeria and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o in Kenya. Based on their discussions, it becomes clear that the issue of English on the African continent is highly contested, and it remains so in the contemporary period (2015- onwards).

On the one hand, Chinua Achebe believes that English is an important part of African history and literature, and that it ought to be treated as an African language. He posits that one can appropriate and use English to gain progress in the African struggle (Achebe, 1965). In this view, English is not treated as a tool of colonisation. Instead it is treated as a tool to combat colonialism. This is a similar stance adopted by a more contemporary Nigerian author, Chimamanda Ngozi-Adichie, who also views English as providing the possibility for an expression and representation of African aesthetics and sentiments.

Achebe argues that English is a 'world language' (Achebe, 1965; 29). This stance thus maintains English's hegemonic position in African society. I agree with these sentiments because a language is not powerful by itself, and it needs investment from several stakeholders for it to assume any real power. It is quite possible for an African writer to utilise the English language to achieve social justice, as well as if they had used an African

language. At the height of the Apartheid period, African scholars in various English medium schools used English as a tool to achieve a sense of social justice.

For Ngozi-Adichie, English does not exist as an external force. For her, like Achebe, English is an important tool with which to tell her African experience (Achebe, 1965). Ngozi-Adichie is an Igbo of Nigerian origin, however, she argues that the hypervisibility of her Igbo self may restrict multiple sides of her identity (Azodo, 2008). The hypervisibility of one aspect of a person's identity may result in what she terms as the "danger of a single story", whereby only one aspect is used to construct the entirety of one's identity. This leads to misrepresentation.

I have extended this notion to language; one can represent oneself in several ways and in several languages to represent different aspects/stories of one's lived experience. The treatment of English exclusively as a colonial language is a misleading one, and blinds us to the other stories of English. Achebe(1965) quotes the author James Baldwin, who captures the struggles experienced by many in relation to writing in English. The quote also foregrounds the struggle many feel with living in a decolonial space.

My quarrel with the English language has been that the language reflected none of my experience. But now I began to see the matter in quite another way... perhaps the language was not my own because I had never attempt to learn, had only learnt to imitate it. If this were so, then it might be made to bear the burden of my experience if I could find the stamina to challenge it, and me, to such a test. (Achebe, 1965)

Writers such as Wa Thiong'o argue contrary to Achebe. Wa Thiong'o does not recognise English as an African language (Wa Thiong'o, 2013). This is even though he uses English in many spaces. Wa Thiong'o, is not against the use of English, however, he feels that African writers should utilise African languages a lot more in intellectual spaces such as universities, books, story-telling, and many others. For him, this not only contributes to the building of an African canon and intellectual corpus, but the use of African languages in these spaces offers multiple ways of thinking and producing knowledge (Wa Thiong'o, 1993), as opposed to understanding and producing knowledge only in the western epistemological tradition.

For example, the writing of the history of Africa in African languages foregrounds different aspects and offers new ways of thinking about the world. In his address at the Steve Biko memorial lecture in 2003, Wa Thiong'o discussed the importance of memory and how the language in which a people's memory is recorded and told determines what and how that memory is told (Wa Thiong'o, 2003). This further complicates the positioning of English in the collective memory of the South African context. According to a discussion by Ramose (1999:19) Africa has been confined to a state of 'congenital incapacity' by the history

conceived by the Western philosophy. This state is not restricted to history but can be extended to other disciplines like language. This idea of a multiplicity of perspectives is neatly captured in the following quote.

it was the way our teacher taught the South African story, from the perspective of the Black experience, that brought it home to us and the names of Shaka, Moshoeshe, Cetshwayo became part of our collective memory. When the Mau Mau war for Kenya's independence started in 1952, the colonial administration reacted by closing down these schools or taking them over, and this time the story of South Africa became that of Vasco da Gama, Kruger, the Great Trek, and of course, General Smuts. (Wa Thiong'o, 2003)

Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the position of English in Anglophone Africa remains a contested matter. This is because knowledge is generated using western ways of knowing, and as such English is the main vehicle for representing this knowledge in a linguistic format. Language is not a mere form of communication, nor is it mere word forms. It is intertwined with and inextricably linked to culture, identity, and ideology. Take for instance the cultural category of oral/written cultures and the subsequent social practices and ideologies that arose because of such categorisations. Oral cultures became perceived as less intelligible and primitive, whilst writing was the true marker of intelligence for its ability to record and represent knowledge. These in turn influence the treatment of a language based on its ability to record and present knowledge within a social context.

The implications of these debates for language development and education are great. Practices such as language standardisation are problematised in this context in several important ways. Take for instance the question, which variety of a language can be deemed as being the standard when the very concept of a language is so complex? The process of language standardisation may have an adverse effect on its users. Following the argument put forward by Makoni (1999) named standard African languages as we know them today are colonial constructs, meaning that they were created to fulfil colonial objectives and not to develop or empower their speakers. Given the history, it becomes difficult to imagine an approach to language decolonisation in educational spaces, when the very point of departure, within African language departments, continues colonial structures we want to challenge.

The history of South African indigenous languages, in their written form, is a site of contestation as these languages themselves were not recorded by their speakers, but instead by European missionaries circa 1820 (Makelela, 2015). This then complicates the objective of decolonising written African languages, as it could be argued that they are not necessarily African languages but are colonial inventions. Makoni and Pennycook (2005)

explore the notion of invention and dis-invention of African languages. These languages were invented by missionaries to compile a corpus of written evidence of these languages for their own objectives; religion, schooling, and governance.

This notion of linguistic inventions is connected to the invention of language as an autonomous construct, which is a language ideology (Makoni and Pennycook, 2005). Language ideologies in turn determine or at least influence how different named languages are to be treated in society, education and in governance. If African languages are accepted as they are, colonial inventions, then their ability to be decolonised is difficult to achieve. Therefore, the process of dis-invention needs to occur (ibid.).

For purposes of this study, I have decided to explore the notion of 'Media as social activism' to highlight and explore the relationship between social activism and media production and usage. This media is not limited or confined to internet based social platforms, instead it includes all forms of media; i.e. print and social media pages. I take a close look at student generated print media for my data. Media is an important resource for accessing news, engaging in debates, calling for mass action, amongst other uses. It is in these spaces that conversations begin and then cause a sense of change amongst those involved. In the context of UCT, I will be looking at how production of *Vernac News* is a form of social activism.

Carroll and Hackett (2006) outline the different roles media plays in the proliferation of social movements' messages to wide audiences using social media pages and groups. This media usage in turn influences the ways in which people use language on these sites to avoid law infringements.

One of the most foregrounded examples of media as social activism comes in the form of #hashtags. #Hashtags have played a major part in the mobilisation of student-led activist movements, particularly in times of intense student protests in the university space. Examples of hashtags used in the mobilisation of students over 2015-2016 include; #FMF; #RMF; #EndOutsourcing; and #Intersectionality. These hashtags caused enabled conversations around issues of economic access to education; calls to decolonise the university, an end to economic exploitation, and the realisation of an inclusive activism, to take place. Through these hashtags naturalised social power relations were questioned and contested.

I now move on to discuss the theoretical and conceptual framework for the study.

Theoretical and Conceptual framework

Introduction

The notion of language ideologies (Blommaert, 2006; Makoe and McKinney, 2014; McKinney, 2017) is the main theoretical concept of the research project. I examined student produced media to analyse the language ideologies developed, subverted or challenged by the language use and language practises in the various texts that make up the data corpus. I used the notion of language ideologies and discourse together with critical discourse analysis to better contextualise the link between language practises and social power relations in student produced media.

This discussion is coupled with conversations on decolonisation of the university space. I have chosen to utilise the concepts of Decolonisation and Decoloniality as anchors for the discussion. I draw mainly from the work of two Latin American scholars; Mignolo and Maldonado-Torres. To contextualise encounters of differently valued approaches and cultures within the decoloniality discourses, I included the notion of 'contact zones' as proposed and discussed by Pratt (1991). Contact zones can be described as social spaces or contexts where cultures and languages encounter one another, especially in situation of unevenrelations power (Pratt, 1991:34). These discussions also helped to focus the notion of determining the purpose of the university during the call to decolonise.

The work of Blommaert (2006); Bourdieu (1977); Makoe and McKinney (2014); McKinney (2010 and 2017) was used to contextualise the concepts of Language Ideology and Hegemony used in the study. Language ideologies help us to understand how dominant languages came to be in that position. For purposes of the study, I also looked at the use of multiple languages and how they construct an individual's lived experience (Busch, 2015), by looking at concepts such as translanguaging and urban vernaculars (Li Wei, 2017; Paxton & Tyam, 2010). Because I am interested in the relationship between texts and their socio-historical contexts, I employed the Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992) analytical framework as one means of analysing, and interpreting my data.

Language Ideologies

Language ideologies in the most part reflects the values espoused in the broader society, with respect to various languages and language groups, and towards speakers of specific languages (Makoe and McKinney, 2014).

Makoe and McKinney (2014) define language ideologies as the beliefs and values given to a language, or to particular uses of language as well as to its speakers or users. Such beliefs

and values circulate within society. These beliefs are instrumental in maintaining the power and the hegemony of specific languages. These language ideologies are often the key determinants in the construction of language policy, within given social contexts. In this study, I aim to illustrate how ideologies of language have effectively marginalised, and even bastardised, African languages in the university environment, and in the broader social context.

McKinney (2017) introduces the concept of 'Anglonormativity'; "... to describe the dominant language ideology that makes proficiency in forms of 'standard' English compulsory, and to analyse the ways in which this is racialized and classed" (McKinney, 2017:12). This relates back to the issue of English in Anglophone Africa, understanding why and how English can be used to tell the African experiences, whilst at the same time being responsible for the marginalisation of many African languages. I explored how the practises for producing the texts in *Vernac News* attempts to counter the dominant Anglonormative ideology by positioning African languages as legitimate sources of knowledge, and find out whether the texts themselves construct an active counter-discourse to this notion of Anglonormativity within the university context.

The concept of language ideologies is also discussed by Blommaert (2006:512) who argues: "The existence of a language is the direct result of ideological construction and therefore involves power, authority and control". In this case, ideology and hegemony are both treated as being conceptions of a sort of false consciousness. "Ideology is false consciousness" (Blommaert, 2006:510). By this I mean, language ideologies only succeed in colonising groups in society through processes of naturalisation like language standardisation and inclusion in state policies. Thus, opposition to these processes is crucial for decolonising. An exploration and understanding of colonisation and decolonisation as key concepts is important here.

Colonialism and Decolonisation

Santos (2014:68) defines colonialism as "...a system of naturalisation of differences in such a way that the hierarchies that justify domination, oppression, and so on are a product of the inferiority of certain people and not the cause of their inferiority". This, and other, conceptions of colonialism are important here for understanding the call for "decolonisation" in the student movement, and the emergence of decolonisation discourses. Through the process of decolonisation, the marginalised groups can manifest an epistemological resistance to colonial forms of knowledge construction (Maldonado-Torres, 2007) and

existence. In the context of this study, I seek to explore the possibility of the creation of a decolonial ideology of language that seeks to maintain resistance to the colonial languages.

Coloniality describes the inability of postcolonial socio-political regimes to move away from colonial socio-political systems, and the continuation of structural inequalities that survive the colonial project (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Take for instance, a government system that fails to reintegrate a particular group of people into the mainstream. Or the production of a history that is not reflective of the true experience of oppressed groups within society, thus putting forward colonialism as a positive social phenomenon.

The notion of “African languages as separate entities had its genesis in colonial thinking” Makoni (1999:244), it problematizes the notion of African languages as existing in silos, as opposed to existing in a linguistic continuum. The process of standardisation of African languages gave birth to the named African languages that exist today. These invented languages were a representation of what the missionaries used in their communication with Africans, and not necessarily what the Africans used amongst themselves. The very inventions, therefore, that do not constitute the multilingual fabric of South Africa’s society. Makoni points out that this is akin to the notion of the “Rainbow nation” (1999:242). Such an assertion is a point of contestation within the decolonisation of African language as we know them today. Therefore, the question arises, how do we proceed to decolonise African languages as we know them today? Makoni suggests that these languages need to be reinvented (1999:244) for them to be free of the colonialist constructs and ways of knowing. I believe that *Vernac News* illustrates some instances of how language use can transcend the constructed boundaries between named languages.

Makoni and Pennycook (2005) argue for the dis-invention of African languages. This does not mean the destruction of languages developed during colonial periods, instead it is the pursuit of understanding these languages in the contemporary period (Makoni and Pennycook, 2005:135). I aim to show that the notion of dis-invention aligns with the objectives of decolonising African language in the university.

Decolonisation and Decoloniality

For purposes of this research, there is a need to distinguish between Decolonisation and Decoloniality. The former I was introduced to through the work of the Latin-American scholar Maldonado-Torres, who traces its early development to a fellow Latin-American scholar; Walter D. Mignolo (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). The term refers to the examination, and

subsequent interrogation of the lived experiences of previously marginalised groups in a post-colonial space.

The expression of the lived experience in this space is the state of decoloniality. This lived experience includes the ways in which gender, education, and knowledge are constructed. I would argue that the concept proposed by Maldonado-Torres (2007); Trans-ontological is what we, South Africans, refer to as Ubuntu, the supremacy of realising human-beings as givers as opposed to being owners and takers. Maldonado-Torres warns against the prospect of decolonial movements becoming oppressive bodies (ibid.).

Additionally, I treat Decolonisation as the broader analytical concept that marks the collapse/collapsing of direct colonial systems (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013) as opposed to an active resistance to symbolic power relations. I imagine it to be the state of understanding the position of the formerly oppressed groups in the period after colonialism. For example, the recognition or identification of an unjust and colonial power system/matrix is a part of examination based on gender and race (Maldonado-Torres, 2016). Even within decolonisation movements some bodies may find themselves to be in a position of oppression and victimhood, especial along gender lines (Maldonado-Torres 2016:2).

It has been my experience in discussions on decolonisation that many times participants, particularly male, call for the separation of gender and sexuality struggles from race struggles, which negates the multiplicity of lived experiences, perspectives and approaches envisaged in Decolonial projects (Maldonado-Torres, 2016.). In the #FMF and #RMF movements, this resulted in a breakdown of cooperation between those involved. It is important to note that decolonisation is not meant to be imposed but rather treated as a dialogue with the Other (Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

Decoloniality, as a representation of a lived oppressive experience introduced an alternative discourse. This discourse aimed to challenge the continuing forms of oppression despite the end of political colonisation. This is evident in the introduction of Feminist, Queer and Intersectional discourses as “counter” discourses. What these discourses achieved was the making visible of the invisible groups within the broad decolonisation project. The counter-discourses provided are products of the oppressed groups lived experiences, and as such, cannot be treated as secondary to another. This bottom up approach is, in my analysis, most evidenced through the recognition of Intersectionality, whereby the experiences of different bodies are not silenced in favour of more ‘worthy’ experiences.

Contact Zones

Pratt's (1991) concept of the contact zone is important for the examining and understanding of how various cultures and languages interact with each other when they come into contact. This is what the author, Mary Pratt said about the contact zones;

...to refer to social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermath as they are lived out in many parts of the world today. (Pratt, 1991:34).

The UCT campus is one contact zone, as it is a diverse space consisting of a number of different cultures coming into contact in spaces such as lecture rooms. According to this concept, we encounter each other's cultures and languages in these contact zones, in cultural institutions such as schools and lecture rooms. At times, these encounters may be violent, as was the case during the period of colonial domination. Such encounters result in social positioning that is classed and racialized, and such social and cultural incidents are what subsequently inform the hegemony of the coloniser's language over the colonised. At other times, these encounters become spaces for conversations on how different lived experiences can be brought together to achieve a truly integrated space (Biko, 2004).

Contact zones can lead to the formation and development of competing language ideologies. The publication *Vernac News* will be treated as a cultural contact zone, a space where different cultures and languages are represented in ways that challenge and subvert traditional dominant language ideologies.

I now move on to discuss the research design of the study, whereby *Vernac News* is treated as the case study for the research.

Conclusion

All of the theories and approaches discussed in this chapter have foregrounded the importance of language in the construction and maintaining of socio-political notions of language. Language(s) are not static or neutral, nor can they be removed from the social power dynamics of any social system. The cultural and political positions within society are highly informed by the social positions of language speakers. With the wide adoption of the Decolonisation discourse, these 'naturalised' notions on the role of language in society and how it affects the lived experience are now being reimagined, questioned and subverted.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

The research focuses on analysing the discourses on language, language ideologies, as well as the language practices constructed in selected issues and articles of *Vernac News* from March 2015 until April 2016. In addition to this, I interview three individuals involved in the writing and editing of *Vernac News*. In this chapter I outline the research methodology used in the study.

Research Design

The study is qualitative in design, to accommodate a detailed understanding of the social condition relating to the production of the texts that make up the case study. I used a combination of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992) and Linguistic Ethnography (Creese, 2015) to analyse the data for the study. Linguistic Ethnography as an approach ensured that the analysis of the interviews and writing up of the data was reflective of both my (researcher) and the interviewees' perspectives on several aspects of the study. This made the writing up of the data of the study a collaborative project, rather than me imposing my views on the chosen area of study. This also allowed for the understanding of the context within which the texts were produced and received, and this understanding is informed by the interview process.

Data Collection

To compile the corpus of data, I had to read several articles in the *Vernac News* issues from March 2015 until April 2006. These articles were easy to access as they are in the public domain, they are also available at various libraries on the UCT campus. I chose an overall twelve articles that best illustrated the social phenomena of language ideologies (McKinney, 2017), decolonisation (Maldonado-Torres, 2007; 2016), and translanguaging (Li Wei, 2017), and that also gave an overview of articles in the *Vernac News* publication. I then chose seven for detailed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). These comprised of articles published at significant periods during the student activist movement. After compiling the articles and completing initial analyses of the issues, I contacted three members of the editorial team. I knew one of the editors on a personal basis, whilst I had not previously met the other two members. I used email, Facebook, and WhatsApp to communicate with them to set up interviews.

I used formal interviews during the study. This was mainly because I was not able to conduct field observations, and informal interviews during the production of the texts as the texts had already been produced. These interviews also allowed me to plan my time accordingly. The interviews were semi-structured, in that I often did not ask the questions as they appeared

on the list of questions I had compiled prior to the scheduled interviews. At times, there were instances whereby I asked questions that opened-up for discussion rather than the traditional question-answer structure. This allowed for the co-construction of knowledge that I mention above, as both the interview and myself were involved in the process of reflection and becoming conscious of our statements and thoughts. These instances later formed an important part in the writing up of the actual study, as reflected in the overview chapter, where interview data was critical for the development of the overview of *Vernac News*.

I used mainly open-ended questions during the interviews to ensure that I avoid pre-empting any of the interviewees' answers. There were instances when baiting questions (Creese, 2015) were used to illicit a more elaborated response from some interviewees. Such questions will encourage a discussion rather than a typical question-answer discourse scheme.

I held three interviews with two editors/writers, and one member of the design team and contributing writer. Two of these interviews were face to face and one was via Skype online. The two face-to-face interviews were largely multilingual, because the interviewees had the choice to reply in both isiXhosa and English. For the isiXhosa writers, there was an additional set of questions designed to look at how their experiences and views on writing in an indigenous African language in an Anglonormative site like the university.

The interviews that were held with the various members of the publication formed an important part of understanding the social context, as well as the process of production or the discursive process. These interviews did not only allow for an opportunity for the researcher and various members of the production team but more importantly offered an opportunity for the co-construction of knowledge through the social event of the interview and subsequent analysis (Creese, 2015).

Participants Interviews

From the onset of the interviews it was clear that the various people had similar ideas as to what the publication set out to achieve. This common goal as shown through the interview data was the development of African languages and culture through language. However, there were also some marked differences between the very same members.

All three of the interviewees were involved in the early development of the paper, and were active members in the various student activist movements associated with #RMF, #FMF, and #EndOutsourcing. T, was one of the founding members of the publication and was an editor of the paper, spoke and wrote in English, Afrikaans, Kaaps and isiXhosa. O, was also

the Nguni and Education editor, spoke and wrote in isiXhosa and English. S who was involved in the publication's management and was an Nguni writer for the publication, spoke and wrote in isiXhosa and English.

Critical Discourse Analysis as an analytical framework

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach from sociolinguistics that seeks to achieve social justice through the study of language as being invested with ideology. It is concerned with the unearthing of social inequalities exposed through an examination of language and ideology (Pennycook, 1996). If language is a social practice, as argued by CDA (Fairclough, 1992), it then becomes impossible to isolate it from ideological forms. As Pennycook points out, "...language use is always a social act in itself" (Pennycook, 1996). CDA seeks to make visible the taken for granted assumptions of language as a social phenomenon that is responsible for the "... production, maintenance, and constant change of social relationships of power..." (Pennycook, 1996:121).

Language has historically been, and is currently, used as a powerful tool for the domination of colonised people (De Klerk, 2002; Mignolo 1992; Wa Thiong'o, 2003). This sort of domination is highly dangerous as it does not physically dominate but succeeds in mental domination, resulting in the naturalisation of inferiority (Blommaert, 2006). In *Decolonising the Mind*, Wa Thiong'o writes:

The biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism against that collective defiance is the cultural bomb. The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves.

It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves; for instance, with other people's languages rather than their own. (Ngũgĩ wa Thiongo, 1986: 3)

The analytical framework (CDA) makes it possible to examine how this naturalisation of inferiority is achieved through the ideology of language as a system.

Here, discourse refers to spoken and written forms of language use, as opposed to more abstract conceptions of language as system (Fairclough, 1992). For purposes of this study, I would like to adopt Fairclough's model for doing CDA. The analysis of language as social practice proceeds at three, interrelated levels. Firstly, the textual level, is the description and engagement with the features of the text. Secondly, the discursive level, this is the analysis of the modes of production as it relates to the ideal audience and the channels of

distribution. Thirdly, the social level, relates the text to the larger social (institutional) practice, thus uncovering the ideological and socio-political influences.

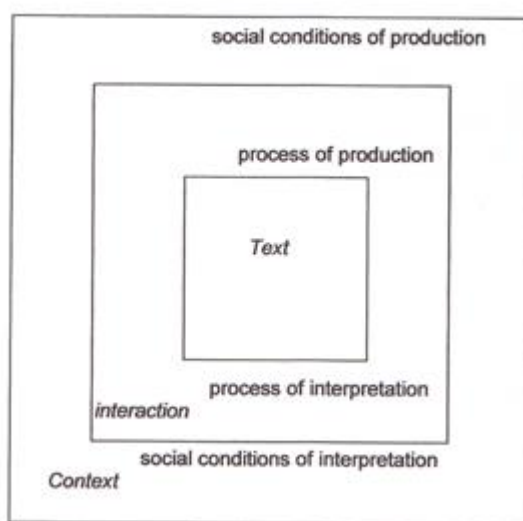


Fig. 1.

In the study, this model has been coupled with linguistic ethnography to better contextualise the analysis of the articles in *Vernac News* publication. At the outer-most level of the model; social conditions of interpretation, the various discourses from/by student activist movements are essential for understanding the context. These are; #RMF, #FMF, #EndOutsourcing, and the various discourses on Intersectionality. These discourses created the context in which *Vernac News* was being produced, and these may not always be addressed within the publication's pages, however, they played an important role in the publication's general discourse.

My analysis of the selected texts was complemented by the interviews to bring in the various author's perspectives on the research/analyses, and to give a sense of the practices. In this way, the researcher analysis was not a one-sided endeavour. At this level, a lot of focus was placed on the situated language use of the various authors. Additionally, the interaction with the interviewees provided insight into the various individual's language ideologies and attitudes, and as such the process of analysing texts was informed by these interactions as they provided the necessary 'other' perspective.

CDA has been contested and I would like to briefly discuss some criticisms of CDA, to understand its affordances and constraints in the analytic and interpretative process. I will mainly focus on Billig (2008); Luke (2002); and Widdowson (1998). These are just a few selected critiques.

Billig (2008) argues that CDA as an approach is at a constant risk of falling prey to its own process of inquiry. For example, a CDA account could be discussing the dangers of the process of nominalisation. "Nominalisation is the linguistic process of turning a verb into a nominal (a noun) ... an action is changed into a thing or a state." (Janks, 2009:39). This often occurs when one is involved in the process of literary critique. This process succeeds in deleting agency (ibid.). However, it is impossible to avoid this very important process in the analysis, as it is a linguistic constraint. This is then one of the constraints of conducting such an analysis. What this then means is that analysts need to be aware of their own language practices when they are involved in the analysis process. Ultimately, Billig (2008) is concerned that CDA analysts use the very language practices they warn against in their own language use.

CDA is highly interpretative work, and therefore affords itself as a tool to the researcher. Word forms do not hold any power or significant value in themselves. Individuals as social actors invest ideology into these words (Bourdieu, 1977). Bearing this in mind, Luke's (2002) assertion that CDA work is too 'subjective' is a weak one. Social language use is inextricable from the social context that it exists within. Thus, 'Discourse' will not stop at examining the cognitive relationship of form and function, but will include social usage (Gee, 2004). I do not think it is possible to read ideology off a text, an interpretative approach is necessary for such a task. This is where the model proposed by Fairclough (1992) is an important theoretical basis, or foundation. The issues of 'subjectivity' and 'reflexivity' are central to the process of inquiry.

In the study, I made use of several linguistic terms to explain the speech of people that make use of more than one named language in speech or text. However, during the research I felt that the term 'Translanguaging' as discussed by Li Wei (2017) captured the objectives of the research. As opposed to other terms such as multilingualism, where the existence of more than one named language in an interaction, speech or text; code-switching, where the beginning and ending of a named language is clearly marked in an interaction, speech or text; and hybrid language use, where several languages are used simultaneously in an interaction, speech or text. All these terms enjoy a sense of relevance as they all try to explain the language practices of multilingual speakers. However, the term translanguaging does not presuppose the existence of different formal and structured (named) languages.

Translanguaging examines the creative everyday use of language that goes beyond named and bounded languages. Here language is not just limited to named languages; instead the notion of 'languaging' (Li Wei, 2017:8) is adopted. Thus, the language use of multilingual

speakers is not limited to the form as determined in a named language. This notion of translanguaging is in direct opposition to the colonial conception of language where a language is made up of discrete forms and should not be interpolated with others.

Transcriptions

I audio-recorded the interviews using my smartphone, and then I transcribed them using the following conventions:

R	Researcher
S & O	Interviewees
...	Physical gestures
'...'	Pause
/R	Interjection
[...]	English translation
{...}	Post interview edit
.,?	General punctuation marks to improve readability

Although the interviews were conducted mainly in English, the interviewees could respond in isiXhosa. This, I would argue, allowed for the speakers to present their thoughts and opinion in a language of their choice.

The transcripts of the interviews can be found under appendices 3-9.

Selection of *Vernac News* texts

For purposes of this study I looked at a total of 12 published articles of *Vernac News* to formulate an overview of the publication, and how it works as a 'contact zone' (Pratt, 1991). These various texts appeared in five issues. I then conducted a detailed analysis of seven issues of *Vernac News* that I feel were published at crucial points during the period of the student activist movement. The first period coincided with the publication of the March 2015 issue, which was published at about the same time as the emergence of the Rhodes Must Fall student movement. The second period coincided with publication of the September until October 2015 issues, at about the same time as the Fees Must Fall protests at the UCT. This issue is also significant as it pays tribute to the memory and legacy of Bantu Biko. The third, and final period coincided with the publication of the March until April 2016 issues. This issue was published at about the same time as the Shackville TRC protests at UCT.

Major period of student activist movements:

- March 2015; Rhodes Must Fall movement emerges (#RMF), followed by protests demanding the removal of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes from upper campus at UCT
- September 2015; Fees Must Fall protests start at several universities around the country (#FMF), and the end outsourcing protests begin (#EndOutsourcing)
- March-April 2016: Shackville group emerges (#Shackville) at UCT. This is followed by protests about the lack of accommodation for poor Black students at the university. This led to the arrest of several student leaders, resulting in the Shackville TRC group's emergence (#ShackvilleTRC)

Using Fairclough's model for conducting CDA (1992), I used this general criterion for choosing the specific texts to analyse:

- a) The texts represented the social conditions during the time of publication i.e. Rhodes Must Fall, Fees Must Fall, Intersectionality and Shackville (Social and Discursive layers).
- b) The chosen texts illustrated the ways in which Anglonormative language usage is subverted and interrupted through counter-linguistic means (Textual and Discursive layers).
- c) And lastly, the texts need to illustrate an ideology of language that dispossesses English of its power over indigenous languages. This is achieved through language practices of translanguaging and urban vernaculars. (Textual layer).

Ethical Considerations

This study involved human subjects, and as such I obtained permission from the ethics committee from UCT's School of Education for conducting the research. I obtained consent from the three interviewees.

The interviewee's names are not used in the study, unless I quoted a text by that individual from publication in the write up.

I discussed my research project with the individuals via personal communication and through the information letter I sent to them. After I transcribed the two audio recorded interviews, I shared the transcription with the interviewees to ensure that they agreed that this was an accurate record of our conversation. The interviewees' names are not used in the study, unless I quoted a text by that individual from the publication in the write up.

Conclusion

In this chapter I explained how my research study is designed and conducted. I have pointed out that the study is qualitative and draws from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Linguistic Ethnography as approaches. I illustrated the ways in which these approaches ensured that the study achieved its objectives. As stated earlier, I have combined the two approaches to generate the data.

In the next section I introduce the Vernac News publication, and then discuss the major themes I have highlighted over several issues from March 2015 until April 2016.

Chapter 4: Overview of the publication *Vernac News*

Introduction

This chapter focuses on how *Vernac News* as a student produced publication emerged, and it also looks at the core influences on the publication's production. I drew my data from three interviews with members that were involved in the early stages of the publication's production. This chapter looked at conditions of production and reception (Fairclough, 1992). This was an examination of the social conditions on the university campus at the time of publication, and how these conditions influenced what *Vernac News*, especially at time of intense student protests (#RMF, #FMF, #ShackvilleTRC, and #EndOutsourcing).

Interviews with three members and former members of the *Vernac News* team offered insight into the general workings and beliefs of the paper as a student intellectual platform, as well as the beliefs, language ideologies and general perspectives of the various members of the publication.

Vernac News was originally founded by Taariq Amod, in the year 2014. Taariq explained that the paper was to be a space or a platform for the affirmation and development of African languages and culture (T Interview transcript, 2017). In addition to this, S further emphasised that the paper was created to be an intellectual platform for Black students at the UCT (S Interview transcript, 2017). The main aim of the paper was the promotion of African languages (T and O Interview transcripts). The publication was inspired by local newspaper publication 'Isolezwe', which is a newspaper distributed mainly in the KwaZulu-Natal province, Durban, written mainly in isiZulu. The publication *Vernac News* was initially written in an African language, isiXhosa (O Interview transcript).

I argued that the publication's main target was initially the broader UCT student community, and particularly marginalised students; Black students. This later changed as there was a need to include non-African language speakers to engage with the paper. Both T and O explained that several non-African language speakers were interested in learning and reading in these African languages. This led to the development of the educational section, or language teaching section, of the paper (T and O Interview transcripts).

The paper is multilingual in its composition. The writers and independent contributors are encouraged to write in whichever African language they choose (S and O Interview transcripts). One article may be in one language, and the other in another language. At the beginning of the publication's production, there were no language labels attached to articles; i.e. articles were not accompanied by the tag 'English', 'isiXhosa', 'isiZulu'. This became a

practice within the paper when there was a need for readers to be able to ascertain and distinguish the languages of the different texts. To quote S: “I mean like you get languages like isiXhosa and Zulu, and then they’re quite similar, right?” (S Interview transcript). To quote O:

It was a strategy. I think it was, Uhm, a market, a marketing thing, into yokubana xa ufuna, mhla’mbi [you find that, maybe,] you don’t know isiSuthu [Sesotho], but would love to read isiSuthu³ [Sesotho]. I would leave isiXhosa because ndiyasazi [I know] isiXhosa, ndiya kule article lena yesiSuthu. So, instead of ukubana ndipag(e) throughout. Ibisi-strategy [it was a strategy] i-design team [the design team], and nee-editors [and editors]. (O Interview transcript, 2017)

It is important to note that the paper was founded and had been produced prior to the overt adoption of the call from students to Decolonize the university. At the university, Decolonisation call was publicly adopted by student activist movements during the #RMF protests, in 2015. Thus, the paper was not created as a reaction to the call to Decolonize, but it became one vehicle towards achieving the state of Decoloniality. This is evidenced by topics addressed in several texts that appear on the publication’s pages and the views held by the various members, or former members of the editorial team. These members were active members of the #RMF movements at the beginning of 2015.

At the UCT, there is a student produced publication called ‘Varsity’ paper. This is a publication that, at the time *Vernac News* was started, was monolingual in English. This is not surprising given the Anglonormative nature of the UCT context. The publication’s design closely resembles that of many national newspapers like; *The Cape Times*, *Cape Argus*, *Mail & Guardian*, amongst others. All these listed publications are monolingual. Publications such as *Isolezwe*, *The Voice* and *The Sun* are the few that have gone against the monolingual grain.

Vernac News is set apart from the existing student publication Varsity in several key ways: 1) the paper is multilingual, 2) the publication’s design and content is African themed, 3) it is not funded by the university 4) the publication has a clear political stance. In addition, the publication was, and is, in a way responsible for representing the social climates at significant points in the period from 2015 until recently. The publication’s content during these periods reflected what was occurring in the university community. In addition to this, the publication was not limited to distribution at UCT alone; it was handed out in various other spaces, like, kwaLanga and Khayelitsha townships, University of the Western Cape, and Stellenbosch (O Interview Transcript, 2017).

³ IsiSuthu- in the isiXhosa language the relationship between word forms and pronunciation correlate. So- would be pronounced as ‘soh’ and not ‘Suh’.

As stated earlier, the publication was initially started as a space for the promotion of African languages within the university space. The production/editing team was extremely diverse, as it was made to accommodate a wide range of language writers who do not fall under the dominant English category. O mentioned how the composition of the group grew from mainly isiXhosa speakers to a more diverse group of individuals:

... those were the ideas from abantu [people] into yo'bana abantu [see people] came from different places, what was amazing in the Vernac team was that; you, when you sit down kwi-meeting [in meetings] discussing iphepha eliyana [the paper] there are gonna be more things, new things ezizayo [coming]. (O Interview Transcript, 2017).

The interviews revealed that the various members conceived the role of the paper as a platform for advancing the struggle against the marginalisation of African languages in the campus space (Amod, 2015) (Please see appendix 13). The continued marginalisation of these languages resulted in the formation of the paper, whose main purpose is to promote and affirm African languages and culture. This was to be achieved through writing in and talking about these languages and their cultures in the pages of the publication. The publication was a 'free/open' space for students to write in ways that they felt were important to and for them. For example, writers could write using non-standard languages/dialects like Kaaps Afrikaans and Tsotsi taal, linguistic forms that are not commonly found in formal contexts such as the university (Interview transcripts, 2017).

This idea of an open/free space is evidenced in the sort of texts that often appear in the various published issues. The texts make use of several linguistic resources like; standardised languages such as English, Afrikaans, isiZulu, isiXhosa, amongst others. The texts also draw from non-standardised linguistic resources, what Makoni (1999) has termed Urban Vernaculars such as; Tsotsi-taal and Kaaps. Some articles make use of several languages or variations of these languages within the same text.

As explained in the interviews, and from my reading and analysis of the corpus, the texts are not limited to editorials and opinions pieces but extend to other genres such as poetry, recipes, fashion commentary, memes and educational pieces. These other types of texts also continue to express and represent the multilingual and multicultural makeup of the UCT student community. An example of this is the Meme. This is a superimposition/combination of linguistic forms and an image, thus making it a multimodal text (Archer, 2010). These kinds of multimodal artefacts appear in several languages, and memes are often examples of cultural mashing in creative and unique ways. I have inserted an example of a meme below.



Figure 1: Meme

The above meme depicts a popular animated character; SpongeBob SquarePants. The meme works on three, interrelated levels. 1. The gesture depicted by SpongeBob; 2. The message or words that appear on the image “Nikeza i-DP nje” [Just give the DP i.e. Dully Performed]; 3. The sociocultural connection that is made with the image of a popular character.

Apart from the linguistic aspect, the publication also serves as a vehicle for the development of debates and discussions on major issues occurring in the university space, especially at times of intense protests, most notably the discourses on Decolonisation. The publication utilised media as a tool for social change as evidenced by the texts produced by Priyanka Naidoo titled “Intersectionality” in the April 2016 issue; “Amandla” by Taariq Amod in the March 2015 issue; “The role of student newspapers in causing debate by Robin Henney in the October 2015 issue, to name just a few.

The interviews also revealed that one’s language practises and beliefs may be a very powerful resource. However, what one believes is linguistically ideal is not always represented or evidenced in one’s language use in both written and spoken contexts. The case of O illustrates this well. Although O spoke in both isiXhosa and English during the interview, his written work is monolingual, isiXhosa. He explained that written isiXhosa should not be mixed with another language; however, this need not be the case for spoken language; “It should not happen. Mele’kuba ayenzeki [it should not happen]. Ewe ke xa

uthetha [Yes if you are speaking] because it is quite hard ukuthetha [to talk] isiXhosa ncakasane [exclusively] but xa ubhalayo [but when you write] you cannot mix isiXhosa ne-English [and English]" (O Interview transcript, 2017). Indeed, his written form of isiXhosa is extremely 'deep', sitsolile. Here, deep means a highly advanced style of isiXhosa. In the text "Thank you, Super-care workers" (2015) it is clear to see that isiXhosa and English are treated separately even though they appear in the same text.

In another situation, views on language may be diverse. S claimed to believe that isiXhosa should not be standardised and that no pure version of isiXhosa exists. However, S explained that based on sociocultural factors one could choose to discard certain words. This writer recognises the continuum in which the isiXhosa language exists in. Here is a quote from him "... ukugibisela. ukugqhaya I have never heard of that in isiXhosa... So, so, there are certain words you would discard based on your own, uhm, sort of cultural upbringing" (Interview transcript, 2017). The word ukugqhaya and ukugibisela are both isiXhosa words but they are not from the same geographical context. And as such, the quote captures this geographical difference and assertion that isiXhosa is a complex language.

On the one hand O suggests that isiXhosa should be not mixed with other language and seems to believe in a pure form of isiXhosa. On the other hand, S believes that there exist various forms of isiXhosa exist, and that one could possibly choose whichever isiXhosa they choose. These differences in language ideologies illustrates the multiplicity of perspectives on language usage in society. Such difference also provides a space for the possible development of alternatives to unilateral treatments and usages of language. There is no one way of conceptualising language use, rather, there exists a multitude of possibilities. These notions brought forward by the second isiXhosa writer resist and challenge the treatment of languages as stable and isolated entities (McKinney, 2017). Whilst the beliefs and verbal language use by the first isiXhosa writer illustrate how one can utilise language in very distinct, and varying ways.

However, there are examples of written language where one language begins and where another one ends: such language use can be described as translanguaging (Li Wei, 2017). Written language is more measured and planned, whereas the oral interaction is improvised, and has a sense of spontaneity, and is also, in a sense, a performance. Thus, one is not able to stop and erase as the oral process unfolds. You cannot unsay a word but you can erase a word from a page. This is not to say that heteroglossic (McKinney, 2017) written texts do not exist.

The writers writing in urban vernaculars such as Kaaps and Tsotsi taal shed light on the social relevance of the publication. This is done in a similar way as in the first interviewee's statements; "a newspaper that could be a platform for the intellectual contributions of black students at UCT in their own languages came about" (S Interview Transcript, 2017), whereby the publication is positioned as an intellectual platform of free expression. The urban vernaculars are representation of the multiculturalism of the university space. Urban vernaculars are the amalgamation of several languages, spoken by urban dwellers, into one 'dialect' used in everyday interactions.

The interviewees shared views on promoting African identity, African languages and the explicit affiliation with Pan-Africanism, and other related philosophies. By taking up this political stance, the publication sets up language as a site of struggle and the treatment of language as a powerful social tool capable of uniting or dividing a society. As interviewee T explained:

Language is a powerful tool in society... it also has the power to unify people and bring them together (such as the role of Swahili in the East African countries like Kenya and Tanzania for example) or has the power to divide and conquer (Afrikaans as an example). (Interview transcript, 2017).

The publication uses language as a social tool to unite the student community through several ways.

For example, the publication makes use of English translations and the educational section to educate non-speakers of African languages how to communicate in these languages, as explained by T. This notion of including non-African language speakers as part of the readership was part of the ways in which the publication sought to accommodate the whole UCT community. Although the interviewees are united in several aspects, they do not cease to debate and subvert dominant language ideologies. To quote one of the informants; "... you know, that standardisation no longer has any impact on how you speak and how you write the language" (Interview transcript, 2017).

Exploring the general Discourse(s) in *Vernac News*

In this section, I examined the *Vernac News* publication to explore the general discourses of the paper. In-depth analysis of articles published within the paper follows in the next chapter. I identified twelve articles over the period from March 2015 until April 2016 that were aligned with my research interests. Here I provided an overview of the dominant elements as evidenced in the twelve articles. Of the twelve articles, I went on to analyse seven of these in detail.

Based on my reading of the corpus of data, I identified three major elements. These dominant elements are categorised as follows; Decolonisation; Media as Social Activism; and Language Ideologies. I discussed the various language practises across the three major elements. The final section contextualises the points raised throughout the discussion, and brings it back to the distinction between Decolonisation and Decoloniality.

Overview of major themes identified in Vernac News

The table on pages 35 is an overview of a selection of the articles used to inform the description of *Vernac News* as a publication. This selection is informed by my research concerned with student generated media and how this media uses language in discourses on Decolonisation within the university space. I read several issues of the publication to get a sense of what the publication offered in terms of the types of texts it published. I then selected articles that used various discourses on Media as Social activism, and Language ideologies. The table is used as a means of creating an image of the publication's overall compilation and design through highlighting vast variety of the texts. However, I have not included all the text types in my close analysis such as; the paper also has recipes, reviews, poetry, and educational categories.

This table seeks to bring together texts that appear at crucial points during the development of the student activist movements. These periods are: the adoption of the Decolonisation discourse amongst student activist movements, arguably marked by the #RhodesMustFall protests that occurred at the UCT (March-April 2015); the commencement of the #FeesMustFall protests that occurred in various university campuses countrywide (September-October 2015); the #Shackville TRC group that established at the beginning of the 2016 academic year, and the adoption of Intersectionality as a crucial discourse for Decolonisation (March-April 2016).

The various types are not limited or definitive as a few other units may be omitted in the categorisations. For example, the linguistic resources category also encompasses a large variety of genres; formal and informal. In this instance, I have chosen to treat Urban Vernaculars as a separate linguistic resource from the 'named' languages like isiXhosa, Sesotho, English, isiZulu, and others. This decision is based on, or influenced by, the work conducted by Makoni and Pennycook (2005) on the colonial 'invention' of the official languages in South Africa. Whereby African languages, as we treat them today, are no longer treated as neutral but are treated as colonial inventions and as such can be dis-invented.

As discussed above, the standardisation of African languages in South Africa was in fact a colonial practise (Makelela, 2015). Therefore, in the realisation of a decolonised language ideology, the ideology of having one standard variety of isiXhosa is highly problematic. Treating African languages as existing within a continuum (Makoni, 1999) would provide a more justified language ideology, as this perspective accepts the multiplicity of language practises, even within a single language. Such a position actively opposes the monoglot conceptions of language common within national and institutional policies.

The category labelled 'theme' is to be treated as an interpretation of how I analysed the topic of the given text. This is done by examining the dominant discourses and themes in the text. Thus, the description that is given is not necessarily provided by the author of the indicated text. Even the distinction between the theme and discourse should not be treated as stable and impermeable. In some instances, it is not possible to separate the theme from the discourse. For example, in a text on feminism, such texts carry the overall theme of feminism whilst using feminist discourses.

The major themes

Below, I briefly discuss some of the texts that clearly exhibit the major themes.

The text 'Intersectionality' by Priyanka Naidoo is quite explicit about the theme of intersection, which I have categorised here as 'Decoloniality'. In another case, the text 'Thank you, Super-care' by Olwethu Deliwe is not necessarily a text on 'Language ideologies', however, the language use in the text is indicative of a purist ideology of language, thus the decision to categorise the theme as 'Language ideology' is purely an interpretative one. Furthermore, the author confirmed his purist stance with respect to the isiXhosa language "isiXhosa akumelanga sixhangwe neezinye iilwimi" [isiXhosa should not be mixed with other languages] (Interview transcript, 2017). In the instance of the text 'Within the ivory towers: without the people' by Sharon Rankapola, the theme is suggested by the author, however, the text could be treated as having the theme 'Social media as activism' and 'Decolonisation'. Again, my analysis of the text lead me to conclude that the main theme in this case is 'Decolonisation'.

It is also important to note that the various texts can occupy more than one theme. 'Yintoni ukudibana kobuntu (Intersectionality) by Sakhi Dlala has a dual theme; 'Intersectionality and 'Language ideologies'. To elaborate, the text explicitly discusses the theme 'Intersectionality', however, the choice of language signals an important move, using an indigenous African language to discuss the issue of 'ukudibana kobuntu'. The text could

have been written in English, however, the decision to write it in isiXhosa is indicative of an ideology of language that posits that isiXhosa can engage in discourses on Decolonisation. This dualism could be said of several texts that appear in the publication.

Table 1: Overview of articles in Vernac News

Language Resources	Title	Author	Translation	Theme	Topic	Issue
IsiXhosa	<i>Thank you, Super-care workers</i>	Olwethu Deliwe	English summary	Language Ideologies	Giving thanks to the readers of the publication; the Super-care workers	March 2015
English/IsiXhosa/Sesotho	<i>Amandla</i>	Taariq Amod	None	Social Activism	The development of African culture and Languages	March 2015
Tsotsi taal	<i>Tsotsi Taal</i>	Anonymous Ruzu2!	None	Urban Vernaculars	Tracing the origins of the Urban Vernacular Tsotsi-taal	March 2015
Tsotsi Taal	<i>Tribute to Portia "Bashin" Modise and Banyana</i>	Clifford Mongwegelwa	English Summary	Urban Vernaculars	A tribute to Portia Modise and the national female soccer team (Banyana Banyana)	August 2015
Afrikaaps	<i>Origins of Kaaps</i>	Taariq Amod	English summary	Urban Vernaculars	Tracing the origins of the Urban Vernacula Kaaps	September 2015
Tsotsi Taal	<i>Ayew brother move to the EPL & a tribute to their father Abedi</i>	Clifford Mongwegelwa	English summary	Urban Vernaculars	A tribute to the Ayew soccer brothers and their	September 2015

					father	
English	<i>What is in a name?</i>	Siyabonga Mviko	None	Social Activism	Investigating the meaning of traditional clan-names and surnames of the Bantu peoples	October 2015
English	<i>The role of student newspapers in causing debate</i>	Robin Henney	None	Social Activism	Discussion on the role of student newspaper in causing debate in the university and society	October 2015
English	<i>Within the Ivory towers: without the people</i>	Sharon Rankapola	None	Decolonisation	Exploring the dangers/pitfalls of treating knowledge produced within the university without considering its implications and without regard for the wider masses	April 2016
English	<i>Intersectionality</i>	Priyanka Naidoo	None	Decoloniality	A discussion of the	April 2016

					role of Intersectionality in student activist movements	
IsiXhosa	<i>Yintoni ukudibana kobuntu (Intersectionality)</i>	Sakhikhaya Dlala	English summary	Decoloniality	A concise discussion on the meaning of Intersectionality	April 2016
IsiXhosa	<i>Ukubaluleka kweLexicography</i>	Yazini Kwaza	English summary	Language Ideologies	An in-depth analysis of the important of Lexicography for the development of indigenous African languages	April 2016

Table 1.

Key table headings:

1. Linguistic Resources: the language or languages that the author uses to compose the text
2. Title: the title appears with the article
3. Author: the author of the text
4. Translation: whether there is any translation into English
5. Theme: this is my interpretation of the text's general discourse or theme
6. Topic: a short summary of the what the text is about

7. Issue: the *Vernac News* issue in which the text first appeared

Note: bold title are articles I have analysed in detail in chapter 5.

Media as Social Activism

Media, and social media, has become an integral part of social life today. Social media has become a space for interacting with friends and family, a platform to get your daily dose of news, and a vehicle for progressing political and social agendas. Carroll and Hackett (2006) explains that one of the major uses of media as social activism is for the creation of a 'collective' identity, and this could be done in conservative and reactionary ways depending on the needs of the political or social activist group; "reinforcing patterns of hierarchy and exclusion" (2006:84). As explained by S, the *Vernac News* team realised the close connection between the students' struggles and the publication's core principles of Pan-Africanism, this is wonderfully captured in the following quote where S explains her experience of alienation at UCT and the contribution of monolingual English to this;

Because for a very long time, speaking of myself, poor working-class students UCT felt alienated at UCT. Because white institution (sic). And you come from a Kasi background, I mean, you've been taught in isiXhosa your entire life, you get to UCT and then the only thing you have to do is to assimilate" (S Interview transcript, 2017).

The founding editor Taariq Amod explains, in an editorial piece from 2015 'Amandla', that the publication or the values and beliefs held by several members is that of Pan Africanism and Black Consciousness. This is marked by the persistent exploration in the publication of the purpose of Black bodies within the institution of UCT and the common references to authors such as Mangaliso Sobukwe, Bantu Biko, and to a lesser extent, Franz Fanon. This is evident in several *Vernac* articles such as; "Amandla" by Taariq Amod, "Intersectionality" by Priyanka Naidoo and "Within the Ivory towers, without the people: Intersectionality in Decolonisation" by Sharon Rankapola.

As such, the Black students in the university, to borrow a paraphrase by Maldonado-Torres; are existing in a context that is in a perpetual state of war, colonised (Maldonado-Torres, 2016). With this state of ever present war, a lot of violence is experienced by the oppressed bodies, both symbolically and literally. The writing space, here *Vernac News*, is one way of forming a resistance against this impending state of doom. Therefore, language is inserted in the discourses on decolonisation as a powerful social tool (Janks, 2009).

Firstly, the symbolic manifestation of war is the continued silencing of Black bodies achieved through the non-use of their languages. This sanctioned act is defended in the university's language policy document (1999; revised 2013);

English is the medium of instruction and administration. English is an international language of communication in science and business, but it is not the **primary language** for many of our students and

staff. A major objective is, therefore, to ensure that our students acquire effective fluency in English by which we understand the ability to communicate through the spoken and written word in a variety of contexts: academic, social, and in their future careers.

Although the other languages are 'recognised', they are, however, not treated as resources for learning and teaching. Such actions by the institution have resulted in the rise of social activism among the Black student body for the integration of 'ethnic or indigenous' languages in the culture of the institution. What I have found to be key with the *Vernac News* publication is the continued questioning and subverting of normative and dominant practices through language, which constitutes an active participation in the decolonial project. The very act of publicly aligning with a 'political' ideology is a direct challenge to the university space that traditionally seeks to erase such acts of affirmation, especially Black affirmation that continues to question or critique the colonial systems of power.

In cases of Black activism, there is a need to be 'palatable' and know your place within a university setting that is argued to be steeped in coloniality. Meaning, you can be a Black social activist, however, you need to remember that 'we' allowed you to exist within this space, therefore, your actions must not threaten us. Thus, the perpetual state of war is sustained (Maldonado-Torres, 2016).

This activism is a common theme in the various texts that appear in the publication. Take for example the language practice of language ownership, utilised by a feminist writer. The author makes use of the term 'womxn' to mark the author's decision to function outside of the hegemony of patriarchy by replacing the 'a' with 'x' in the word commonly spelt as 'woman'. In biological terms, the chromosome makeup that separates men from women is the 'y' chromosome. With women being 'xx' and men being 'xy'. Thus, the use of 'x' is a disruption of patriarchal and gender-based dominant practices. This not only disrupts normative language use, but by removing the word man from woman, the womxn exists outside of 'man'. Meaning, the womxn is no longer described in relation to a man.

A more localised example of language ownership may be the use of the neologism; 'febenza', which is explained as; "repossessing the words feba and Sebenza" (Zizipho Mxayiya quoted by Sharon Rankapola, 2016). This is a combination of two words 'feba+sebenza'. Feba means 'to whore', Sebenza means 'to work'; the words appear in both 'isiXhosa' and 'isiZulu'. A Feminist activist uses this term to take ownership of previously derogatory terms towards womxn (plural) and turning them into positive affirmations. The word has now become an integral part of the Feminist Discourse. This is of further importance for the Black feminist, whose existence has always been oversexualised, and

imagined as asking for violence and rape to be acted upon her in an extremely patriarchal society (Franz Fanon quoted in Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

Decolonisation discourses

Decolonisation has emerged as a discourse which provides the opportunity to interrogate and transform dominant practises and their relation to colonial forms of being (Maldonado-Torres, 2016). Considering the call in #RMF and #FMF to decolonize the university and the curriculum, it is important to look at current dominant practises and how they foster and encourage colonial forms of being. I would like to extend this call to language; the move to decolonize language. Meaning, languages are often separated and treated as existing in silos (McKinney, 2017) due to several factors, both legislative or policy documents, and in broader societal ideology. Additionally, this also means that the standardisation is rejected because it enforces monoglot ideologies of languages, thus reinforcing the dominance of English.

There are several ways of decolonising languages, and it is important to explore these different avenues. For example, writing practises need to be developed to account for the dynamic social context in which language is a part. This raises questions such as; how can we find new ways of understanding these languages in the contemporary Decolonial context? Given that languages do not exist in silos, how do we then represent this in written language in formal publication such as *Vernac news*?

At the UCT, the language policy (UCT, 1999; revised 2013) allows for the development of multilingualism as a means of realising and representing the multicultural makeup of the student population. However, this is only symbolic in a sense that English still enjoys dominance over the other languages found within the university. In a decolonial state, there would be attempts to ensure 'ethnic or indigenous' languages would enjoy equal power in the institution (Alexander, 2004; Mbembe, 2016). This, however, does not mean that English becomes extinct, within the university context, but rather it becomes a resource to draw on and operates at the same level as other languages, without the subjugating of the 'ethnic or indigenous' languages to marginal roles such as signage on the campus. The treatment of 'ethnic or indigenous' languages as objects of study is not necessarily the way to achieving this ideal state.

Vernac news offers an alternative to the academic study of 'ethnic or indigenous' languages as objects. In this context, the 'ethnic or indigenous' languages become and are contributors of knowledge. Take for instance the text by Yazini Kwaza titled 'Ukubaluleka

kweLexicography". This does not only encourage the use of these languages, rather, it is a form of affirmation and contributes to the construction of an intellectual corpus. To quote one of the members of the Vernac team; *Vernac News* was designed as "...a newspaper that could be a platform for the intellectual contributions of black students at UCT in their own languages..." (Interview transcript, 2017). The articles are not mere artefacts for study but are embracing different forms of being. The publication realises this state of being mainly through multilingualism.

Many times, these states of being are taken for granted, as a given, depending on the context. Take for example an incident that occurred when I met with another Xhosa *Vernac News* writer (and fellow student) for an interview. When we sat down, we spoke to each other in English. This was because of the context we were meeting in, UCT campus space. We introduced ourselves in a typical (English) urban context manner; introducing our names, and then stating the reasons for the meeting. However, the moment we started conversing in isiXhosa, a sort of metaphysical shift occurred. To quote S; "why are introducing ourselves this way?" because of the UCT setting/context we automatically assumed a sort of being, a being that is not our Xhosa selves.

What the above example foregrounded is the institutional forces that are constantly at work. The spaces in which we find ourselves often determine which part of our being we perform. This is power at work. Our interaction within this space is associated with what Bourdieu (1977) terms cultural capital; which shapes the ways in which we act and speak. Like economical capital, the ways in which we carry and perform ourselves is either valuable or not valued depending on the market we offer it in or exchange it in.

When we then decided to reintroduce ourselves in isiXhosa, we assumed or became different beings. This made me feel like I was occupying one dimension of myself that I feel is my 'true' self. "Igama nguLwazi. iFani nguMkula. iSiduko nguNgcwini, Mzumbe, Sqwephu, iMpondomise. iKhaya likuTsolo, kwilali yakuNdzebe." [My name is Lwazi. My surname is Mkula. My clan names are Ngcwini, Mzumbe, Sqwephu, I am an iMpondomise], this is how I introduced myself, the second time. The potency of that introduction cannot be captured in the English translation. By doing this I did not just shift from English to isiXhosa, however, I became a different version of myself, a shift occurred. When I introduced myself in this manner, I also became more than just a researcher, I became a person with a lineage and a home. I had an identity that was not constructed within the Anglonormative climate of the university.

This is something that was completely absent in our English introductions. A 'native' speaker of English might not feel the need for the alternate introduction. It is these taken for granted impressions and expressions of ourselves that relieve us of our struggles in the linguistic and academic space. However, this may not be the case for every Xhosa person in the university context. Integrating these factors into the university context is one way of working towards a decolonial state of being.

In a place like UCT, one may be aware of the complexities of the space. Meaning, being Xhosa, an English speaker, and a student means that you must move from one dimension to another. Each dimension is real. *Vernac News* is one space where the often-backgrounded aspects of African language speaking students are represented or foregrounded outside of the tyranny of the Anglonormative space (McKinney, 2017). The different student dimensions are thus affirmed and further legitimatised.

The publication is a combination of knowledge, practice and, more importantly, creative expression. Examples of this are in the frequent use of the terms; 'fam', 'womxn', and 'cis'-.

By freeing the publication from traditional forms of production, as it does not conform to practises such as writing in one named language, following formulaic news genres amongst others, *Vernac News* can create a new space, a decolonial space. This space offers new ways of writing and knowing. In this space, the previously marginalised groups are positioned as bearers of knowledge, thus questioning and subverting the hegemonic practices existing within the university context. Language practises such as the use of multilingualism, urban vernaculars (in the form of Tsotsi-taal and Kaaps Afrikaans), and social activist terminology (for example, Feminist terms), visible in the publication are a realisation of a truly integrated language ecology. Thus, language is inserted into the decolonisation discourses, and this relates back to the idea of language as a site of struggle.

Language ideologies

The notion of African languages as colonial inventions (Makoni, 1999) was discussed in chapter 2. Linked to this, one of the interviewees' comments:

... in terms of isiXhosa... Uhm, isiXhosa is... isiXhosa is a very complex language... owing to very complexity of the nature of, uhm, the so-called Xhosa people. Now we know isiXhosa is made up of different dialects. uQumbu na kuTsolo emaMpondomiseni banesiMpondomise sabo [Qumbu and Tsolo have their own isiMpondomise, in the amaMpondomise area]. (S, interview transcription, 2017).

Note the point that the language or so-called dialect is inextricable to the tribe that speaks it. "... emaMpondomiseni banesiMpondomise sabo" the situated nature of isiXhosa is

foregrounded, as opposed to the backgrounding and subsequent erasure caused by the colonial invention of named standard languages. This notion of individuality and the inextricable relation between language, individuality and identity later resurfaces, as S explains; "... My mother is iMpondo laseNgqeleni, ngaphaya kwaseMthatha [a Mpondo from Ngqeleni, past Mthatha] and she speaks a different dialect. Uhm, and then we have amaXhosa, wase, kuCentane" [Xhosa from Centane].

Treating isiXhosa as existing within a spectrum, is an interesting approach, as it offers an alternative treatment of language, and this is successfully represented in the publication. Although, after a conversation with a former editor of isiXhosa at the publication, this notion of treating isiXhosa as existing within a spectrum was rejected. This author argued for the perpetuation of a pure form of isiXhosa, isiXhosa 'ncakasan'. This caused a strong reaction for me as a researcher who treated the texts as being Decolonial, this meant I had to readjust my research lens to accommodate such ideologies of language.

This means that, there exists multiples ways of realising 'decolonialisation' of languages. And as a researcher, I need to bear this in mind going forward. As an isiXhosa saying puts it: Zingaphuma kuhlathi linye kodwa zikhonya ngokukhonya [they may emerge from the same forest; however, their cries will be varied], highlighting the multiplicity of perspectives and inherent practises.

Language purism, as a language ideology (McKinney, 2017), posits that there exists only one pure version of a language and that is brought forward as the standard. Such a language ideology is in better alignment with the colonial project and perpetuation of war (Maldonado-Torres, 2016). This position is in complete contrast to my view of language being socially constituted, and thus, representative of the social context of interaction (Blommaert, 2006). In my own view, if language practices are still functioning within colonial frames (named African languages and purist language ideologies) they are not capable of truly disrupting and subverting dominant language practices, whether it be in the broader societal context or the university context.

Conclusion

With regards to the orientation to language within the publication *Vernac News*, I would argue that there is no single way of realising the decolonial call in writing, but rather that multiple perspectives and values exist. All these perspectives are realised in varying ways through the different languages and language practices utilised by the different writers. For example, isiXhosa speaking writer O felt that the writing of isiXhosa should take place in a

single recognised pure form of the language. And thus, decolonisation in this context for isiXhosa language would result in the sustaining of a purist ideology of language, whilst not allowing others to write in more urban forms of the language. This is, for me, an imposition of a standard orthography on highly varied language.

I would argue against a purist approach. Decolonising language, let it be isiXhosa or English, or any other language for that matter, would be the realisation of the multiplicity of perspectives and ways of writing/speaking a language at a certain point in time (Makoni and Pennycook, 2005). Consider the Global III-Literacies discussed by Samy Alim (2011). These literacies are dialects of Standard American English (SAE), namely; African American English (Alim, 2011). With the term III-Literacies, Alim highlights the notion of treating previously marginalised versions of English as equally important and valuable as Standard American English. In this framework, no version of the language is treated as being subordinate to another. I would offer a similar approach in dealing with the development of literacies in isiXhosa, whereby, the various styles of isiXhosa are treated as legitimate.

It is clear from the interviews that there are writers that feel that languages should be standardised, for the preservation of languages to occur. Because languages coexist with one another, it becomes difficult to prevent cross-pollination between them, especially in a context like the cosmopolitan university, where diversity is the norm, this language purification is not feasible.

The publication shows the multiple dimensions of the relationship between an individual, or a group of individuals, and their language use. Looking at urban vernacular texts, the text makes it clear that an individual is not confined to a single language, rather the individual's lived experiences influence their linguistic repertoire (Busch, 2015). The way in which texts produced in Tsotsi taal and Kaaps Afrikaans are constructed is so that the author can convey a clear message. The urban vernaculars are a part of the author's linguistic repertoire and therefore form a part of his pool of linguistic resources and identity.

Chapter 5: Textual analysis

Introduction

I will be analysing seven distinct texts, selected from the *Vernac News* over the period March 2015 until April 2016. The notion of Discourse will be the main driving concept for my analysis. In a textual analysis it is important to utilise the concept of Discourse to better understand the 'above the text meaning' of the given text (Gee, 1990), also for looking at the ways in which people occupy and act out their Discourse(s). Although I will be analysing the language practices, it is important to link the language to the broader social practises, and the social context. The way people value and use language is an inextricable part of the social context that the language forms a part of.

The analysis is divided into three major sections: (1) isiXhosa texts; exploring genre and variety; deals with texts that show the multiple genres and styles drawing isiXhosa. (2) Exploring English and translanguaging; deals with the creative and intelligent use of English in combination with other local languages to create a format for communication and meaning-making.(3) Exploring the discourse on decolonisation and intersectionality; deals with texts that examine and illustrate the process and experience of intersectionality as a practice in student activist movements. I have chosen the above-mentioned themes because of their distinct relationship to language and language practices in the university space. The sections are a discussion of the major themes introduced in chapter four.

Background to the Textual analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the main theoretical/analytical framework for this analysis (Fairclough, 1992). This approach, however, will be slightly adjusted to meet the needs of the analysis, in that, although the analysis uses concepts from Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis model (textual, discursive and social levels), it is important to keep in mind that the different levels are interrelated and will tend to overlap. In this case, language usage is a form of social practice. Within the pages of *Vernac News*, the language usage of different authors may be constitutive of the author's social position, and possible political stance.

In addition to Fairclough's model, I will utilise the notions of Primary and Secondary discourses, as proposed by David Gough (2000), although initially introduced by James Gee. Primary discourses are defined as discourses acquired in the context of the family, at the home or community. Secondary discourses are defined as discourses that involve learning (learned knowledge, as opposed to knowledge acquired in everyday interaction) in formal contexts (Gough, 2000) like schools and work.

For the isiXhosa texts that I will be analysing, it must be noted that isiXhosa is a standardised named ‘language’, its nature and value changes from context to context. For example, the variety of isiXhosa used in Port Elizabeth and the variety used in Khayelitsha may be differently valued, depending on the context. What is valued in Khayelitsha may not necessarily be equally valued in Port Elizabeth, and vice versa. As Cape Town speaker of isiXhosa, the moment I converse with an isiXhosa speaker from Tsolo (my home town), my variety of isiXhosa loses value, and thus, I need to change to the valued variety, which fortunately I know. The local variety is usually more formal. The opposite result is experienced by a Tsolo isiXhosa speaker when conversing with a Cape Town speaker of isiXhosa in Cape Town. The value of the language is highly dependent on its usefulness in the social practice and interaction.

Languages such as English, isiXhosa, or Afrikaans enjoy a level of social value, which urban vernaculars such Tsotsi taal or Kaaps Afrikaans do not enjoy in society. In counter to this, scholars like Busch (2005) and others, as discussed in chapter 2, have tried to treat these urban vernaculars as valuable linguistic resources as they represent the speaker’s lived experience.

In the table below table I present the seven texts that I have analysed, that formed the discussion in chapter four. These seven articles appear as appendices. I have chosen to analyse these texts as they best illustrated the themes discussed in chapter four. Not only do the texts illustrate the themes, but they also discuss them.

Table 2: List of texts for detailed discourse analysis

Language resource	Title of article	Author’s name	Subject Matter	Text type and register
isiXhosa	<i>Thank you, Super-care</i>	Olwethu Deliwe	Appreciation of reader’s inputs	isiXhosa praise/ceremonial
isiXhosa/ English essayist form in isiXhosa	<i>Ukubaluleka kweLexicography (uhlalutyo kwezichazimagama) ekuphuhliseni iilwini zeSintu</i>	Yazini Kwaza	The importance of Lexicography for indigenous language development	Academic English essayist text
English/ Translanguaging	<i>Amandla</i>	Taariq Amod	Linguistic and cultural inclusivity in the	Formal English editorial

			university		
English/ Translanguaging	<i>Within the ivory towers, without the people: Intersectionality and Decolonisation</i>	Sharon Rankapola	Intersectionality and Decolonisation	Formal editorial	English
English	<i>Intersectionality</i>	Priyanka Naidoo	Intersectionality	Translanguaging Informative Opinion piece	
Kaaps Afrikaans	<i>Origins of Kaaps</i>	Taariq Amod	Linguistic history of Kaaps	Informal urban Informative	
Tsotsi taal	<i>The origins of Tsotsi Taal</i>	Clifford Mongwegelwa	Tracing the roots of Tsotsi-taal	Informal urban Informative	

Textual Analysis: isiXhosa texts- Exploring Genre and Variety

This section is an analysis of the two of isiXhosa texts that I have chosen to analyse. These texts were chosen to show the variety in the language use within the isiXhosa language community. In addition to this, these texts are also examples of how language and culture come together in a textual form. For this section, addressing isiXhosa articles, I chose to use the language itself as the unifying thread. This will allow the analysis to explore, from a style perspective, the many possible ways in which language is used to achieve both literary and social objectives.

The first article by Olwethu Deliwe on Super-care workers is of absolute importance to this research and in relation to *Vernac News*, in that it is written using a very traditional and ceremonial style of isiXhosa, seldom used in written texts. This genre of isiXhosa is used to give the text the required 'force' (Fairclough, 1992), although the genre is being used outside of its ordinary context or interactional setting (Blommaert, 2012). Both articles also act as 'contact zones', in the sense discussed by Pratt (1991) because of the way in which cultural cues and the language are drawn upon to create a text in a context (formal publication and the university) that normally treats this language and its culture as marginal.

The second article, written by Yazini Kwaza and focusing on the importance of lexicography, is a prime example of this cultural contact in the contact zone. Additionally, the text draws the readers to another concept, that of language ideologies, as it tries to legitimate the importance of developing indigenous languages. The text is written in isiXhosa; however, the text is an English academic essayist form. The results is an isiXhosa academic essayist text.

The two texts are thus examples of two different genres, both utilising the isiXhosa language.

Article 1: isiXhosa editorial by Olwethu Deliwe: 'Thank you Super Care workers'.
March 2015

Summary: The main addressees of the text are the Super-care workers at UCT and it serves as a vote of thanks to this group of readers of the publication. They are addressed here not in the limited sense of their roles as cleaners at UCT, but instead, as parents and sources of strength for many students in the university space. The article argues that they deserve a great deal of gratitude for the role they play.

This text appeared in the March 2015 issue of the paper, as an isiXhosa editorial (Please see appendix 2). My analysis of this text is that of an urban isiXhosa speaker and writer, with only a primary school level of isiXhosa formal tuition. It is also important to note that at this early stage in the history of the publication, the practice of naming the various languages in which articles were written in had not yet been adopted. Thus, one has to be literate in that language to be able to tell which language the text was written in. In this article, I will be analysing the language practises present in the text. I will place emphasis on language as social practice.

Urban isiXhosa is a primary discourse to me, however, standardised written isiXhosa is neither a primary nor a secondary discourse to me (Gough, 2000). The relationship between the primary and secondary discourses is rather complex in this context, given the very distinct in which each one is acquired and learned. Here, the form of written and ceremonial isiXhosa is not necessarily learnt in school but rather acquired through interacting in specific social practices which often do not involve writing; i.e. formal isiXhosa gatherings, iimbizo [communal meetings], ukubhinqisa umfazi [welcoming a new bride], ukwaziswa umzi [announcing a home], to name a few. The language use is closely linked to specific cultural and ceremonial practises, which may not be accessed through explicit tuition in a controlled schooling environment, given the legacy of the apartheid education system. The language is thus a way of being. This poses the question; is this a secondary or a primary discourse?

I would like to argue that the genre and the language used in the article is not meant to be the same as the variant used in everyday social interactions, and even less so in urban situations, thus making a secondary discourse. Rather, it is used to depict a more formal variant of the language in question (Makoni, 1999). Socially, this is important in that it shows the ability of language to be able to travel through various social settings of interaction (Blommaert, 2006), based on the needs or goals of that setting.

At the textual level, the inner most level of Fairclough's model focuses on the actual word units that constitute the text. I will be looking at the various words, or grammatical units, used in the construction of the text. Firstly, the text is almost entirely written using a very formal, learned form of the isiXhosa language. This variety is not particularly common in urban situations as the ones in which this text would be read. Thus, it is important to examine the way in which people use their 'mother-tongues', in everyday social situations versus the way in which these languages appear in formal or intellectual platforms, such as the newspaper. Phrases such as "Maz'enethole"; "... la mazwi akaweli kumhlaba owomileyo, koko komanzi", "tatalahote" [congratulations or a very well done] are extremely formal, and are not commonly used in social situations outside of traditional meetings and ceremonies. It is rare to see this language in written form; however, such language forms are evident in formal contexts like the school.

The author's decision to use the praise poem style, I argue, is one of the genres in which not too much variation occurs in the written and oral forms. In their professional capacity, the Super-care workers are responsible for keeping the campus in a clean and hygienic state, despite their status in the organisation was their exploitation by the outsourced companies that employ them. This professional relationship with the institution has been a centre of attention, marked by the student protests for insourcing workers, at the time of publication. At the cultural level, the Super-care workers represent the parents of the marginalised Black students, their sacrifices ensure our ability to stay at the institution.

In isiXhosa kuthiwa [it is said]; "isiXhosa asitolikwa". Ironically, this means "isiXhosa should not be translated". Therefore, it is rare for one to find fitting urban equivalents of such formal isiXhosa phrases. Apart from the matter of direct translation, the actual act of translating such phrases or finding 'suitable' equivalents for them, I feel, reduces or erases their essence. As such, these phrases and words are not merely used for denotational purposes. They embody a whole lot more. This is not to say that such urban equivalents do not exist, or that these phrases and words are not used in urban contexts. However, these equivalents, I argue, are a reflection of urban isiXhosa speakers, and may be a combination of isiXhosa terms with other urban dialects.

For example, when young men return from esuthwini (initiation school), the way the people involved in the welcoming and subsequent advising of amakrwala (new men) would tend to use such formal language. This is not to say that such a ceremony would not take place in an urban context, they often do. However, in urban contexts, one often finds then that the language resources drawn upon are those related to English urban social contexts. For example, one uses phrases that combine English and isiXhosa words. Although this urban

contextualisation of the language and the related discourse is different from the more traditional variety, it is not incorrect as it succeeds within the social interaction. Language is only a useful resource when it achieves the goals of the social interaction of which it is a mediator.

The author of the text uses the phrase "... la mazwi akaweli kumhlaba owomileyo, koko komanzi", whereas in a more urban situation, a person might have used a more colloquial phrase like; "la mazwi ndiwathetha sekonakele" [I say these words after the damage has been done]. Consider the following; "I say these words after the damage has been done" and "I utter these words in the aftermath of a tragedy". The choice of language affects the discourse and the interpretation of the statement.

At the discursive social level, the middle layer of Fairclough's model, this level examines the conditions of production of the text. This article appeared in a student produced newspaper, it is governed by certain rules, norms, and values held by those involved in its production. And as such, the text must follow a layout and follow certain guidelines to be appropriate. This determines the genre that is used. Such conditions of production are responsible for the variety of the language used in the text. I would argue, based on the genre used in the text, that the text at hand is structured in a way that a standard isiXhosa expert would choose. Such an ideology of language determines the placement of certain words and phrases within the text.

An example of this would be the placement of the phrase "maz'enethole basebenzi ngqalelo" at the beginning of the text. Directly translating such a phrase would not make any sense, however, in isiXhosa this is a very formal way of greeting the ones concerned. Another significant example is the placement of the phrase "Tatalahote" at the end of the text to mark the end of the message, although after this an English summary of the text appears. The English part of the text has been detached from the rest of the text as it appeared after the "Tatalahote". (Please appendix 2).

Because of the variety of isiXhosa used in this text, I found it extremely difficult to read. Thus, I had to stop and think of the meanings of some of the phrases and words used throughout the text, despite being a Xhosa speaker. For example, I do not have a definitive definition of the word 'ngqalelo' but I can predict its meaning based on the entirety of the sentence. This is mainly because; I am not accustomed to reading texts that are written in this style. This is also since lot of the time, I need to translate a lot of what I am reading into English, and this affects the way in which I read and understand certain aspects of the given text, even though I was born in an isiXhosa speaking family, and have therefore what Makoni (1999) calls a combination of 'affiliation' and 'inheritance' to isiXhosa. Affiliation

refers to the attachment and identification with a language. Inheritance refers to a person born into a language tradition that is dominant within the family (Makoni, 1999:246, drawing on Rampton 1995).

The way the text is constructed subsequently affects the way a reader will interpret or understand the text. One is often apprenticed into using languages in this way, and therefore, in a way, into the learning of a discourse, a secondary discourse. This language use can be treated as linguistic capital, which informs one's cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977); and as such becomes integral to one's existence in the social world.

The social level, the third level of Fairclough's model, involves examining the social conditions within which the text is produced. The text's genre and register gives it the impression that it is a socially powerful text, or produced by someone who is socially important, since this variety of isiXhosa is often used by formal speakers and writers, like elders within a family. Although it is not impossible to read off ideologies from texts, one can quite possibly look at the language practises exhibited in texts to try to connect the language usage to the social. The decision to write in a ceremonial variety of isiXhosa is an ideological act although the author may not necessarily have been aware that his action was an ideological one.

Although the author of the text does not explicitly state his position as a language 'purist' or otherwise, I would argue that his language practise is reminiscent of purism. This formal variety of isiXhosa is like the one that appears in school textbooks. Thus, it could be argued that this is the 'standardised' form. This is ideologically important in that this form of isiXhosa is often treated as the most valuable. This treatment of the form is highly linked to the different values a language is attributed with in society.

The decision to use phrases and words such as; 'Masibabe ngazo zozibini kuni' [we give thanks] (paragraph 1), 'sakhwankqiseka' [overwhelmed] (paragraph 2), "ngongenamikhinkqi" [without reservation] (paragraph 4) is interesting. These are extremely formal examples of isiXhosa. Although colloquial forms exist, in this context the use of the colloquial versions may have diminished the so-called social value of the text. The translations I have offered here are, at best, approximations of their meaning in English, as the isiXhosa terms are also not so common to me.

I would argue that the reason the author chose to write the text using this variety of isiXhosa is because the readers that he is addressing are elders, and as such, one must be careful not to use language that may come across as being disrespectful, and not reflective of the reader's cultural position as an elder and parent. In some contexts, addressing elders in a very urban style is regarded as being disrespectful. Again, this is not just a language issue,

but rather about the relationship between language, culture, and social practice. For example, using a Tsotsi taal variety of isiXhosa for such a text would have been strange, possibly diminishing its integrity and possibly being offensive to some elders, as this variety is not associated with formal engagements, especially with one's elders. Although the issues discussed in the text are urban social issues, this does not mean that they need to be discussed using urban vernaculars.

Article 2: An isiXhosa text by Yazini Kwaza titled- "Ukubaluleka kweLexicography (uhlalutyo lwezichazimagama) ekuphuhliseni [i]ilwimi zeSintu". April 2016

Translation: "The importance of Lexicography (defining of words) in the development of Indigenous languages"

Summary: The text argues for the importance of the study of lexicography about African languages. The author argues for the importance of lexicography and its necessity for the development of marginalised African languages. This text is composed in an academic register.

This text appeared in the April 2016 issue of the paper (Please see appendix 3), as a selected piece within the issue. Although this text appears in the same language (isiXhosa) as the previously discussed text, its composition is of a completely different nature. The text is written in an academic style or genre, making it a secondary discourse. What struck me as an important difference is the way in which this text has been written in such close accordance to academic requirements, as opposed to the writing in a learned way of isiXhosa ritual, traditional or ceremonial prose in the first article.

The text deals with the importance of lexicography in the development of languages, in this instance; isiXhosa. The text mainly discusses the various ways in which people can use the tools from lexicography for defining words to the betterment of existing African languages. The text draws several examples from the isiXhosa language and the ways in which the words in the language may have a few meanings depending on the context of their usage. As I will discuss later, the author makes use of several academic referencing practises in a slightly different manner than in traditional academic writings.

At Fairclough's textual level, I felt as if I was reading an English essayist text presented in isiXhosa, a sort of coming together of two different worlds or genres and thus could be a 'contact zone' (Pratt, 1991) within the broader context of *Vernac News*. This is marked by the decision to take a traditionally Western style of writing and successfully adopting and utilising it to fulfil the objects of a text in a language often regarded as being 'oral language'. The variety of isiXhosa used in the text is the variety learned in school, the formal standard,

making it socially valuable. This is in stark difference to the first article's genre and register, reflective of rural isiXhosa culture.

Given this, I am highly sceptical that a non-schooled isiXhosa speaker would be able to produce such a text in the same way that not every English speaker can produce an academic essay. Such literacy practices and conventions, such as referencing and register, need to be learned through instruction, most commonly in a school environment. This is quite different to the learning, reciting or writing an isiXhosa praise poem, for example.

This academic register of writing is textually exhibited by the number of references used throughout the text. For example, "uSamkelo Hadebe wedyunivesithi yaseZimbabwe kwiphepha lakhe elingapapashwanga, uthi..." ["Samkelo Hadebe of the University of Zimbabwe in his unpublished paper, states..."] (paragraph 5). "...uPeter Swanepoel xa ecacisa eyona luyiyo uhlaluty lwezichazimagama kwiphepha lakhe elithi..." (paragraph 2) [Peter Swanepoel explains what it really means to define words in his paper...]. Another stark difference from the previous article is the absence of the use of the first person and use of generalisation is common in academic writing.

At the discursive level, the author discusses Lexicography by making a link to the ways in which we speak indigenous languages but not always bearing in mind that these languages are also items of inquiry. Meaning, they are not static, they are influenced and shaped by contemporary factors. Languages are dynamic forms and the act of studying their meanings and word forms is an important and crucial step in making sure that they do not become obsolete. The author suggests techniques such as translation as means of preserving and developing languages. He argues that translation ensures that the meanings of words that may be spelt the same but have different meanings are correct.

There are several other examples of such language practises throughout the text. Like in paragraph five, the author writes; "UDion Nkomo kwisigxeko-ncomo iOxford Bilingual School Dictionary uthi, idictionary culture, nelulwazi lwezichazi magama ibalulekile ekuhlalutyeni izichazimagama" [Dion Nkomo, in his critique of Oxford Bilingual School Dictionary states; dictionary culture which is the knowledge of word definitions is important for explaining word definitions]. This sentence is not just an example of an academic language practise but also of translanguaging (Li Wei, 2017) in the use of the isiXhosa 'i' before an English word, i.e. iOxford Bilingual School Dictionary; idictionary culture. In effect, the two languages now act as one.

Another example of this academic style of writing is represented in paragraph 6;

UHadebe uhambisa athi kubalulekile ukujonga ixabiso lobulunga lolwazi, ukuchaneka kwamangeniso esichazimagama... ingakumbi kulwimi lesiXhosa kuba kukho amagama anethoni enye, upelo olunye, kodwa ethetha izinto ezahlukileyo, umzekelo ibala. [Hadebe goes on to state that examining the value of accuracy of knowledge, the accurate entries of word definitions... this is more important in isiXhosa as words may sound and be spelt the same but have different meaning, like the word ibala].

This is an important aspect of word definitions for isiXhosa, because in isiXhosa certain words sound and are written the same but may mean different things. The author uses the example 'ibala', which could mean a stain/colour but the same could mean a field. "Hamba uyotshayela ibala" [Go sweep the field]. "Ihempe yam inebala elihle" [my shirt has a nice colour". The meaning of the word 'ibala' is determined by the statement or sentence it is a part of. These language practices illustrated the multifaceted nature of language and the ways in which languaging occurs.

However, in some instances an explanation would be required for its meaning to be determined. For example, "eliphi ibala?", which may mean "which colour?" or "which field?". The meaning in this instance would need a lot more contextual information.

This article succeeds in its goal in several ways, but it also reveals certain ideologies about language. Firstly, it shows how the processes of definition and translation are an important tool in the development of indigenous languages, and the subsequent production of a body of literature in these languages. However, this has its own consequences. 'Intellectuals' writing in such styles could start run the risk of merely reproducing the English genre conventions, thus affecting the ways of knowledge making and knowing in these indigenous languages. This is not entirely a bad thing, but the development of indigenous languages should not be limited to these language's ability to re-reproduce convention of knowledge already reproduced in Western languages. Secondly, the text is as a product of the processes discussed within the text. It has all the required attributes to qualify it an academic text through its clear, and accurate, definitions of terms and use of references. It is an academic essay.

I would argue that the text was produced with a specific audience in mind, namely; a schooled isiXhosa reader, with a good understanding of academic writing. This is not only since the text appears in a student produced newspaper, in a dominantly English-speaking university but because of the Discourse used in the text. This includes the use of references, and domain specific terminology to present and discuss the subject matter. By appearing in a newspaper, the text had to be constructed in such way that it was coherent, with logical flow and accurate information, the production was bound by specific rules and conventions set by the paper, which would have had an influence on the text's composition.

The article is an example of a hybrid text between an opinion piece and an academic essayist genre. Therefore, its placement in the paper is not a misplacement, rather a significant linguistic development, keeping in mind that the paper is produced in a traditionally academic context; the university. To quote one of the writers, involved in the production of the paper; "...and socially and including the issue of language, and that is where the idea of forming *Vernac News*, a newspaper that could be a platform for the intellectual contributions of black students at UCT in their own languages came about". This is to say that texts that appear on this platform are meant to be intellectual contributions, and not mere extracts in Indigenous languages. One would expect to see and read such texts in opinion forming public newspapers such as the Mail and Guardian; The Daily Maverick or the Business Day.

At Fairclough's social level, the bringing to together of two, often separated genres, has resulted in a new type of hybrid academic text. The decision to compose the text in this manner is strategic, the text has a sense of added cultural value in the social context within which it operates (Bourdieu, 1977). In a social context where an ideology of language places academic texts and its language as important, credible and worthy capital, this text could have an immense effect on how such an ideology (as presented by the article) of language is encouraged.

In line with the Decolonial project and the development of indigenous African languages, this text is an example of how language can be utilised to realise the vision of a Decolonised education. The article is an example of an Indigenous African Language representing and discussing knowledge in a way that has come to be accepted as standard and valued in educational environments but now appearing in a language that is not often associated with such norms. It is the starting point of the building of an intellectual corpus in Indigenous African Languages (Alexander, 2004).

Writing in these genres, using Indigenous languages also makes it possible to see these languages as bearers of knowledge, a different (new or old) and different perspectives knowledge. This is contrary to the mere appreciation of African texts and Languages as artefacts whose sole purpose is to be studied and examined in the hopes of development and expansion of Western scholarship.

Conclusion

The texts I have analysed above draw attention to the adaptive nature of language, based on the needs of the author. The texts also subvert the language ideology that treats languages as existing in silos, without contact with others in critical and creative ways. The texts also offer an approach in writing that aligns with the objectives of the decolonial project,

whereby socially unequal languages come together in the contact zone and are used simultaneously in the construction of knowledge.

I now move on to examine articles written in English and the notion of translanguaging (Li Wei, 2017).

Textual Analysis: Exploring English and Translanguaging Practises

In this section I explore the different language practises in English texts, this will be with regards to the formal publication context that *Vernac News* operates within. The language practises that I will mainly focus on are Translanguaging, the use urban vernaculars, and entextualisation. Given the conception of language as social practice, I pay attention to language practices in urban areas and it is important to look at how urban multilingual speakers use language in creative and interesting ways to meet their needs, both formal and informal. The three articles discussed in this section can be found in the appendix 1, 4-5.

The term 'urban vernaculars' is a term encountered in the work of Makoni (1999), he uses it to describe ways in which urban groups use language depending on their immediate needs in a situation of interaction. The use of the term also marks a shift from the colonial structures often attached to the term 'indigenous African languages' (Makoni and Pennycook, 2005). Urban vernaculars are also able to exhibit the ways in which languages are not treated as existing in isolation (ibid.). The treatment of languages as existing within a sort of social continuum may be an important frame for imagining of new and decolonised languages practices.

The following articles analysed, are multilingual as they utilise several languages in their composition. However, their multilingual nature is not a marked 'one language starts here and ends there', instead the languages are so interwoven that they are simply languaging; an urban vernacular.

Article 3: an "English" text by Taariq Amod: Amandla!

Translation: Power!

Summary: The article discusses the importance of indigenous African languages, African identity and African cultures in the university community. This focus is coupled with the political positioning of the publication as a Pan-Africanist paper. The issue was published in March, which marked the birth month of uTata Mangaliso Sobukwe. As a result, the text also pays homage to the father of Pan-Africanism in the South African context.

The article appeared in the March 2015 issue of the paper (Please see appendix 1), as an editorial. Unlike the later editions of the newspaper, this edition is not accompanied by the name of the language of writing. The text is mostly in English. Although the text is mostly in

English, there are number of instances where the author moves away from this language. Thus, the text is multilingual in composition. Apart from analysing the languages used within the text, I will also be looking at strategic (language used specifically to drive a point across) language use within the text.

The text pays respect to leaders of the of Pan-Africanist and Black Consciousness Movement and their ideals, particularly uMangaliso Sobukwe and uBantu⁴ Biko. The text discusses the importance of keeping in the mind how the struggle of Black bodies can be combated through other means than violent protest. The article suggests this can be combated through the affirmation and development of Indigenous African languages. At the same time, the text looks at the social situation on the campus at the time of composition. March 2015 marked the start of the #RhodesMustFall movement which later influenced the adoption of the Decolonisation movement in other student movements like the later #FeesMustFall. The text is an example of 'media as social activism'.

At the textual level, the language use in the text is indicative of the author's knowledge of various languages. The text is mainly written in English; however, it also makes use of other languages. Although the author does not make use of these languages at much length, it is important to acknowledge the language practices he employs to compose the text. The decision to make use of these various languages is not only a sign of the author's ability to use multiple languages but strategic cultural language use too. For example, the title and the opening part of the text is in isiXhosa/isiZulu; "Amandla!", whilst "Wam kelekile" is used as the greeting in the opening of the text. The author mentioned that he studied isiXhosa while in high school, until grade 10 level (T Interview transcript, 2017).

Later in the text, the author chooses to make use of the Sesotho term 'Ntate' as opposed to the English equivalent, Mr, when referring to the late uTata⁵ Robert Sobukwe. The use of the Sesotho term "ntate" is an example of the language practice of; 'entextualisation' (Blommaert, 2006). The form "ntate" is culturally important in the cultural context of Sesotho speakers. Although it now occurs in a new context, its metapragmatic value has not changed, although it now appears in a different from that of its initial language and context of use in oral interactions. It has thus become re-contextualised within the discourse of the text. Blommaert defines the process of entextualisation as follows:

Entextualization is part of what Silverstein and Urban call the 'natural history of discourse.' 'Original' pieces of discourse – socially, culturally, and historically situated unique events – are lifted out of their original context and transmitted into another context, by quoting or echoing them, by writing them down, by inserting them into another discourse, by using them as examples or as data for scientific analysis.

⁴I have inserted the prefix 'u' from isiXhosa

⁵I have chosen to use the isiXhosa term "uTata".

At the discursive and social levels; the language practises are not mere shifts in language use but they are socially informed decisions to make the text accessible and relevant to a broader social readership. It allows the text to work in a much wider social context outside the borders and margins of the page. The text argues for addressing several social issues relating to the process of achieving a sense of social justice, especially regarding language, culture and human rights. “Our newspaper shares the same beliefs as this great man (Sobukwe). Beliefs in Pan-Africanism”; “We as Africans, are only ones who are capable of solving the challenges and issues we face today.” (paragraphs 3 and 4). The main Discourse in this text is the affirmation of African languages and culture, with an addition of social activism via the Pan Africanist philosophical framework.

One cannot read Ideology off texts, however, the language usage within a text is indexical of the author’s social beliefs, let these be those of social activism, racist, oppressor etc. Such beliefs and values are foregrounded by the language practices of the author, as evidenced in this chosen text. Of course, this is not always an accurate representation, as one cannot draw conclusions based on reading alone.

Such, often implicit, beliefs are exhibited using language phrases that have become markers of *iindlela umntu ajonga ngazo ilizwe elibanzi* [the way in which one examines and interprets the world]. In the middle of the text, the author pays a special tribute to uTata uMangaliso Sobukwe, and in doing so *uveza iinkolelo zakhe malunga nesimo sesintu* [makes apparent his own and the paper’s social beliefs]. The explicit declaration that the paper is Pan-Africanist in social belief; “It was with the perceived lack of Pan-Africanism or lack of action regarding these ideas that I formed the idea of this newspaper” (Amod, 2015). The paper was also influenced by the reading of their social multilingual newspapers like ‘*Isolezwe*’; distributed mainly in the Eastern Cape (T Interview transcript, 2017).

The author was at the time the chairperson of Vernac News, the text is largely governed by the rules of the editorial genre. This is exemplified by the reflectivity of the language and the laying out of upcoming objectives. For example, “what a whirlwind six months it has been since our first edition last year”; “... in a nutshell, this year could not have started on a better note”; “We also will be introducing more languages in each edition...”. In addition to this, the text also seeks to speak to a larger social group. This is also evidenced by statements such as; “We as Africans, are the only ones capable of solving the challenges we face today.”.

Article 4: a Tsotsi taal text by Clifford Mongwegelwa. March 2015: The origins of Tsotsi Taal

Summary; The text traces the origins of Tsotsi taal, and how the dialect is adapted in different areas or locations across South Africa. The text is composed in an urban

vernacular, Tsotsi taal, a dialect popular in many urban townships in the South African context. Each township has a different variety of Tsotsi taal based on the community's make up and dominant languages. Tsotsi taal was initially used a way to speak about 'illegal' plans without anyone else picking up details of the plan, especially white people (with the term used 'bo-Menier' (Mongwegelwa, 2015) used here and discussed further below). The dialect is a combination of a number languages spoken with the community.

The article appeared in the March 2015 issue of *Vernac News* (Please see appendix 4). The author states that this version of Tsotsi taal used in the article is spoken in the town of Rustenburg. In addition, the text makes a lot of use of the Sesotho, popular in areas such as Rustenburg. Although the text is predominantly in Tsotsi taal, it is still clear for this variety of Tsotsi taal, that Sesotho is the parent language.

The text traces the emergence and early uses of Tsotsi taal amongst Black township dwellers, and then looks at how this urban vernacular is now positioned. The author also looks at how different areas make use of terms found within Tsotsi taal in different contexts than the context of the author. In this analysis, I will be examining how the text is an example of 'translanguaging' (McKinney, 2017; Li Wei, 2017), as opposed to code switching or hybrid language use. In my understanding, when one deals with code-switching; the different languages are treated as separate but working together or assisting one another in making meaning. The beginning and the ending of a language is clearly marked. Hybrid language use and several languages are used to create the communication. However, the various languages are still treated as operating separately but constitute the text and cultural and contextual factors are not considered.

In contrast, translanguaging assumes that languages do not exist in isolation from one another or exist in silos, bounded entities (McKinney, 2017). Here, languages are so closely connected that they exist in sort of linguistic continuum, thus allowing for the blending of one to another. Imagine the idea of a colour spectrum; mixing certain colours results in a new colour. Although one may be aware of the two original colours, the new colour is treated as different and new. Translanguaging embodies such a conceptualisation.

At the textual level, the actual word units are a combination of conventional spelling in named languages such as Sesotho, Afrikaans, and English. For instance, words such as 'vraesa' [to question from vra in Afrikaans]; 'buyile' [bought, from buy]; and 'covang' [take, from vang in Afrikaans], are spelled using conventional spelling in the named languages concerned. However, a great number of words used in the text cannot be classified or categorised as belonging to a named language. Thus, it is languaging (Li Wei, 2017). In this case, code-switching would not capture such a language practice, but a term like

translanguaging does. For example, di-code [codes]; transi [car] which is potentially derived from the English word 'transport'; bo-Menier [white men] a combination of the Sesotho prefix 'bo' with the Afrikaans word 'meneer' [Mr.], plus the also important to note here is the shift away from the more standard verbal pronunciation 'Meneer' to the more colloquial with shortening of syllables.

This language practice is common amongst urban isiXhosa speakers too. Take for instance an example from research on accounting tutorials (Paxton and Tyam, 2010), where the language use of isiXhosa speakers is examined in meaning-making. It was found that isiXhosa speakers often combined isiXhosa prefixes to words; iAccount, iBalance, iMaths, and many others. Although this was not an example of Tsotsi taal, it captures the ways in which urban dwellers draw from other languages to create and make sense of knowledge in both formal and informal settings. The work of Gough (2000) looks at the various ways in which isiXhosa speakers make use of genres from their primary languages in formal written discourses in formal contexts such as the university.

Terms used in these tutorials form part of the participants' secondary discourses and as such are learnt in a schooling context. However, the participants' knowledge of the use of the 'i' prefix comes from their primary discourses. Therefore, the knowledge they bring into the literacy event is combined knowledge which emerges in the classroom.

At the discursive level, the text is composed using the parent, or carrier, language of Sesotho, which is possibly because the text was produced by someone familiar with Tsotsi taal from an area with a strong Sesotho presence. The Afrikaans and English languages also feature a lot in the composition of the text. This is because the two languages enjoy hegemony over several other languages in the South African context. However, a speaker without the knowledge of Sesotho may not necessarily be able to make sense of the text.

The author makes use of several word forms that are not necessarily from a named language, but neologisms. For example, the word 'transi' is derived from the English word 'transport'. The author is aware of the various linguistic resources at his disposal. As mentioned earlier in article, the dialect was created to prevent 'outsiders' from understanding what 'insiders' were talking about or planning. Therefore, the word forms are discursive tools. There is a seamless usage of several languages to create new meaning of common terms such as 'reverse parking', "Majita ba Eastern Cape hulle se hore "six nine" ke ho parker ka reverse" [Guys from the Eastern Cape say to 'six nine' is to reverse park] which in this case means 'to take a dump'.

At the social level; Tsotsi taal is often stigmatised for its association with Tsotsi (thieves). Because of this stigma, many people would not use this sort of language to communicate in

formal institutions like schools, nor would they use it in cultural institutions such as churches. However, the text draws attention to the fact that the dialect is an extremely intricate and complex form of communication. And by foregrounding its prevalence across South Africa, the article demonstrates the potential potency of Tsotsi taal as a legitimate form of communication.

Socially, the dialect is used by urban dwellers, although I have encountered cases in rural areas. Tsotsi taal is not only a linguistic form of expression, but rather a representation of a cultural way of life. This is evidenced in the 'introductory' paragraph of the text; "Kasi e ngwe le engwe ha o shaya jika ko yona o thola Bro Joe wa gunta" [Every location you make a turn at you find a Bro Joe that is a gangster]. This marks a cultural way of life in many townships, let it be in Gauteng's Soweto or Hout Bay's Imizamo Yethu, you are bound to find such a character. However, Tsotsi taal is never the same in the different areas it is spoken in. The author makes the example of '69' used by Eastern Cape speakers to refer 'to taking a dump'. However, the same term means to urinate in the author's context.

Article 5; a Kaaps Afrikaans text by Taariq Amod. September 2015: Origins of Kaaps

Summary; The text traces the origins of Kaaps, a dialect of Afrikaans spoken on the Cape flats, mainly by the coloured community. The text is composed in the urban vernacular 'Kaaps Afrikaans'. Other variants of the dialect evident in different areas, especially those that are closely linked to gangsterism discourses. The content of the text seeks to position Kaaps as a legitimate language and not subordinate or secondary to 'suiwer/pure Afrikaans'. Kaaps, historically, is categorised as a powerful historical linguistic creation for the representation and identity of enslaved people in the slave colony of Cape, and how the language lost its power through linguistic dispossession.

The text appeared in the September 2015 issue (Please see appendix 5). I will be examining the way in which the author makes use of alternative writing in this article, using Kaaps, and then relating these to the broader social context. Like Tsotsi taal, the dialect is seldom used in writing and remains largely an oral language, although this is changing with the increased use of mobile phones and social media platforms, and authors committed to its use as a form of identity. The author draws from several orthographic conventions such as spelling in English and Afrikaans.

The text mainly traces the roots of the Kaaps Afrikaans language since the establishment of the Cape colony in the 17th century. The author also looks at the various ways in which speakers of Kaaps are stigmatised for publicly speaking it in places such as the university. This idea is linked to what Bourdieu (1977) as 'linguistic capital', whereby languages are assigned 'pseudo-economic' value as currency. Although the ability to speak Kaaps may be

a highly valuable cultural and linguistic asset in many parts of the Cape flats, it is, however, not valued, and often stigmatised in the context of the university. This results in a lack of investment, recorded by their speakers and non-speakers, in the development and use of the language. The notion of identity construction and imagination are salient in this analysis.

At the textual level, the author makes use of several words that are often associated with Afrikaans. However, these words have been altered to resemble or simulate the spoken speech of Kaaps. This process of re-appropriation and creation of neologisms in this language is not a mere combination of different languages and dialects, instead it is the creative use of language to reflect the creativity and meaning-making process in the cultural context of the speakers of the language. Thus, it involves translanguaging (Li Wei, 2017).

Take for instance the Afrikaans word 'jy'. In Kaaps, this word is pronounced as 'dji', and then written as this, to highlight that this is how speakers pronounce it. The text is evidence of this practise. The use of the word 'kanala' which is taken from the early Malaysian Muslims who brought to Cape Town as slaves, means 'please'. The author makes use of several other words like; 'vergiettie' [not forget], 'kannie' [cannot] and 'moennie' [must not]. All these words are also present in Afrikaans, in these forms: 'vergeet nie', 'kan nie' and 'moet nie'. The way in which the dialect is written here closely resembles the way in which its speakers speak the language.

This genre captures the distinctive accent of the speakers of Kaaps. Thus, there is proximity or at least close correlation between the word form and its pronunciation by speakers who do not normally speak standard Afrikaans. It is often argued that oral languages are not as advanced as written, a language ideology marked by the great divide between the oral and written, and how this relationship has come to be social tool of oppression. This division was a cultural invention in colonial times (Ramose, 1999), however, such an ideology of language still exists in today's context. In addition, written language is often regarded as the more favourable and intellectual form.

At the discursive level, the language is put forward as a tool for teaching and education, and teaching people about the role slaves played in shaping the linguistic development in the Cape Town context, since the arrival of the colonialist. The language offers its speakers the ability to articulate and represent their experiences and cultural identities in a so-called marginalised linguistic format.

The notion of 'translanguaging' (Makalela, 2015; Li Wei, 2017) seems suitable for describing or understanding how Kaaps can achieve linguistic objectives. Take for instance the use of 'a' versus '-n', making the point that the various languages are involved in the meaning-making process. For example, "Since ek a kleing laatie gewies" [since I was a young boy]

(second sentence of paragraph 1); “Alhoewel ek op a so-called wit skool” [going to a so-called white school] (sentence 2 in paragraph 1); “... UCT maak a coloured soes a wit mens” [UCT makes a coloured person to be white] (second paragraph). Meaning is achieved through a seamless use of Afrikaans and English in a way that both languages are represented. The language becomes more capable of articulating and achieving communicative goals. At the social level, the language is a form of collective identity and memory. This notion, I argue, can be used to describe and explore the text’s discursive dimensions. I explore this in the following section.

At the social level; Language is treated as a marker of a collective identity and history. It is not merely speaking non-suiwer (not pure) form of Afrikaans, instead it is a statement that standard Afrikaans is not ‘above us’ in a hierarchy of languages. The text also relates the story of Afrikaans and how Kaaps was conceived from it, thus showing the fundamental connection between the two, “... hierrie hardkoppige mense refused om Dutch te praat, soe hulle het a nuwe taal gemaak, a nuwe ‘Creole’ of iets daarsoe... natuurlik Kaapse Afrikaans” [these stubborn people refused to speak Dutch and created a Creole, or something like that... authentic Kaaps Afrikaans] (paragraph four). I would argue that this is like the idea of a collective self-memory and imagination discussed by Wa Thiong’o (2003). The way in which story of Kaaps is told in society determines and influences public perception of the language.

This is clearly evidenced by the author’s closing statement; “Laat ons a belofte maak, dat ons nooit die storie van Kaaps vergietie” [Let us make a promise, that we will never forget the story of Kaaps]. The imagery and history of the language as told and remembered by these speakers may subsequently lead to the complete, true, history of the language. Note the use of ‘a’ as opposed to the Afrikaans ‘n in the sentence, such a language practices highlights the dialect’s ability to successful and creative draw from several orthographic conventions, this may not necessarily be a rejection of the Afrikaans equivalent ‘- ‘n’. Already the textual history of the language is being constructed. By taking ownership of the language, its speakers are embarking on journey of self-representation that is not determined or based on the ‘other’s’ conception of them, thus, affirming their right to their own identity (Wa Thiong’o, 2003). Thus, Kaaps is no longer conceived of as an Afrikaans dialect, it becomes claimed as a language.

Conclusion

The analysed texts show the innovative ways in which urban multilingual speakers engage in the process of ‘languaging’ to represent themselves and their knowledge in their social language practices. They also show how languages and their orthographies are not limited

to usage in one named language, as previously understood by purist ideologies of language. Additionally, they help us understand the different ways in which language changes to better suit the needs of its speakers in society.

I move on to the final section of the analysis. Here I will be conducting detailed analysis of texts that align with the themes of Decolonisation and Decoloniality (Intersectionality), drawing on writers such as Santos (2014), Maldonado-Torres (2007; 2016), and Walter D. Mignolo (2003).

Textual Analysis: Exploring the Discourse(s) on Decolonisation and Intersectionality

The discourse on Decolonisation and Intersectionality is key part of my research project, and it is for this reason that I will dedicate a part of this chapter analysing texts that exemplify and exhibit these discourses. The common thread across all the texts analysed here is the ways in which language use proves to be an important tool for exploring the notion and practices of decolonisation in language and society. This is not to say that the two texts below are the only texts available on the topic rather that they deal explicitly with this notion. Other texts are listed in table 1 in chapter 4.

The texts appeared during a very important point during the student movements' call for the decolonisation of the university. This point also marked the emergence of inter-discourses on decolonisation amongst the various student movement groups. For example, the more explicit representation of Queer, Feminist, and **Intersectionality** theories, at the same time as the UCT Shackville TRC group in early 2016. During this period at the university, it was common for one to read and hear statements such as; 'this artwork is a racist reminder of the oppressive past', 'this statue is a violent reminder of the apartheid regime', 'a decolonised education system in our time', 'inclusive education', and many others.

These feelings amongst the students, mainly black students, resulted in the emergence and prominence of several discourses on; decolonising the curriculum and intersectionality. The chosen texts are representative of this social condition at the university. Although the subject matter in the texts is of major importance, I focus on the language practices and how these relate to the broader social context that the texts function within.

[Article 6: An English text by Sharon Rankapola. April 2016: Within the Ivory towers, without the people: Intersectionality in Decolonisation.](#)

Summary: The text explores the necessity of 'Intersectionality' within the student activist movement involved with the calls for decolonisation, this notion is extended to the broader social context, through an examination of social issues existing outside the immediate context of the university. This text marks the intersectional nature of the various struggles

experienced by bodies in the society. The struggles of black women are highlighted in the midst of interrelated struggles, and the idea is that the notion of decolonisation is problematized to ensure that it does not alienate or erase the experiences of marginalised groups i.e. Black Women, Queer, Feminists and the broader LGBTQI+. These two texts can be found in appendix 6-7.

This text is written predominantly in English. The text is an important example of the ways in which the idea of living is constructed through several interrelated experiences, let these be violent or pleasant experiences. For example, one's experience as a Black woman in a society is inextricable from her experience as being poor (or rich). As discussed in chapter 2, there is no such thing as a single story. I will be relating the concepts of intersectionality and decolonisation to the social use of language by looking at the ways in which the author uses her language resources to achieve the text's objectives. An example of this is the notion of 'repossessing language' or the process of reclaiming a language.

The text discusses the possible consequences of operating within the university without considering the procedures for relating whatever work done within the space to the outside social world. Meaning, the work being done at the university runs the risk of putting the academic enquiry as the main objective as opposed to it being people and their lived experiences. The text goes on to discuss the possibilities of utilising an intersectional theory in the struggle to achieve decolonisation within and outside of the university. This discussion on intersectionality attempts to bring to the fore the lived experiences of marginalised groups such as Feminists and Queers within student activist movements.

At the textual level, I look at the notion of reclaiming (repossessing) language by analysing actual examples of this reclaiming of language. A text is in a way the sum of the combined word units. Firstly, the author makes use of the words such as 'Afrikan' "... we asked an important question that once the black Afrikans take back the land, who is it going to belong to?" (paragraph 1); quotes the word 'Febenza' "... that is about repossessing the words ukufeba and ukusebenza" (paragraph 4), and 'eKasi' "A black woman going back eKasi and bringing that power back..." (paragraph 4) [The word "kasi" is drawn from the word for township used under apartheid- location or lokasie (Afrikaans)]. This, as opposed to the traditional English spelling of the words; "African" to refer to the African people; "Township" to refer to the informal and suburban black settlements. This is one way in which language becomes a non-passive form of social expression, and instead a powerful social tool (Janks, 2009). Such use of language does not only give one a sense of ownership of the language, it also does disrupt and subverts dominant language practises and ideologies.

At the discursive level, I would argue that the text is written with a reader in mind; a Black African female individual. And as such, the composition of this text may be determined by this important factor. However, keeping in line with the ideals of intersectionality and decolonisation, this text is not limited to consumption only by the ideal reader. For example, the fact that the author makes use of terms such “LGBTQI+”, “Febenza” individuals is indicative of the need that the text needs to be consumed widely.

This taking ownership of language is achieved in the text by using ‘translanguaging’. Let us take the term “Febenza” (paragraph four, sentence one and four) as an example of this taking ownership or repossessing of language; “... that is about repossessing the words ukufeba and ukusebenza”. This term is not used by the author herself but is a direct quotation from Zizipho Mxayiya from the ‘The Febenza Collective. Despite this, I would still like to draw attention to this term’s social relevance and the possibilities that language in the achievement of social justice. The word is a combination of two contrasting words in the languages of isiXhosa and isiZulu. The one; “ukuFeba” is a derogatory term used to refer to a female’s sexual lifestyle. The other; “ukuSebenza⁶” is a positive term to refer to the action of working. The neologism “Febenza” is not just a word but a powerful social statement directed at the social oppression of Black women in society.

This may be the same as the use of the word “Afrikan”, used in the first paragraph of the article, as opposed to the traditional English spelling of the word. Such language practises insert language into the broader discourse of decolonisation. Language assumes a social role and becomes a form of decoloniality (Maldonado-Torres, 2016) as opposed to it being a mere tool to achieve the state of decoloniality.

At the social level, the ability for one to be literate in a dominant language is a step towards a successful socio-economical existence. To paraphrase Bourdieu (1977), a language is only worth what its speakers are worth. This ideology is challenged here using language practises not commonly associated with dominant languages. Illustrated in the author language practices. Although the author makes use of a dominant language, English, she can, in a sense, take ownership of the language through use of various writing practises and orthographic choices. This is an important because language can be used to either further entrench oppressive language ideologies or to empower the oppressed group, here we see the latter.

Language is a site of struggle (D interview transcript). To repossess English or any other language is combative, not a mere struggle over the norms and conventions of a language. The notion of decolonisation is interested in the repositioning and “repossessing” of social

⁶note: the prefix “uku” changes a word into a verb.

practises such as language and knowledge making. The notion of decolonisation operates along such a combative line, in that for a concept like a language to be deconstructed, one needs to be able to take ownership of it and utilise it for the process of achieving one's objectives. I would argue that the treatment of language as being more than linguistic units is an intersectional act. In this sense language is no longer just a means to an end, but instead a problem and a solution.

The ability to use language is associated and often a result of several other social factors. This is exemplified by the author's mention of being "literate" as a possible prerequisite for the land ownership issue, "... we will see the black man fighting his own because one will always be richer, literate... and more accepted by the society than the other..." (paragraph 2). Being fluent/proficient in a dominant language may determine the successful or unsuccessfulness of an individual in society. Language ideologies are born out of this intricate intersection between social values and symbolic power relations in society.

[Article 7: An English text by Priyanka Naidoo. 2016: Intersectionality](#)

Summary: This article explains the importance of 'Intersectionality' within student activist movements, such as #FMF in the university space. The text argues for plurality within the activism of students. Meaning that student activist movements need to be aware and sensitive to the reality that people do not lead single struggle lives, and thus they need to be aware of any actions that may erase or marginalise people within these movements, thus making the activists themselves perpetrators of injustice. The text mainly draws attention to feminism amongst student activist movements during the #FMF protests.

The text appeared in the April 2016 issue (Please see appendix 7). The text is written in English. However, it makes use of several urban cultural terms that set it apart from the previously analysed article. The text draws mainly on feminist discourse for its discussion of the notion of Intersectionality. I will be looking at the various discourses used in the text that are constitutive of the discourses on decolonisation and intersectionality. These varying discourses offer debates about the notion of decolonisation and what it entails. In addition to the debates, the text raises issues of multiplicity of perspectives within the decolonisation space.

The text mainly discusses the issue of marginalisation, and subsequent oppression, of certain groups within the #FeesMustFall and #EndOutsourcing student movements. The text deconstructs the notion of Intersectionality and explores the different ways in which the framework/notion can be adopted in the various student activist movements. The author outlines the various theories informing the notion of Intersectionality as a framework/notion that seeks to expose and eliminate the oppressive relationships that occur amongst

marginalised bodies. The focus on issues relating to gender, race, sex, class, identity, queerness, womxnhood [this spelling used by the author], patriarchy, etc.

At the textual level, I will be examining the various ways in which the author uses her language resources to construct the text. Similarly, to the previous text, the concept of language repossessing plays a major role in the text's construction. Firstly, although the author makes use of the prefix 'cis' just three times throughout the text, it is important to draw attention to it. This usage is evidenced in the opening paragraphs; "cisgender heterosexual Black man", "patriarchal cis-heteronormative world", "cis-het⁷ black males". The presence of this prefix marks the problematisation of the taken-for-granted conceptions of gender and sex.

Taking the decision to use the term opens a discourse on embedded struggles within the larger struggle of decolonisation. Not only does the author foreground the often-backgrounded struggles but, goes on to problematize those who claim to be striving for social justice: "Within the campaign, discussing issues of gender was seen as being 'divisive' and straying from the logical conclusion- the one where cis-het black males reigned supreme" (paragraph four). Meaning, the acts and statements of those who are put forward as leaders in the fight for social justice should be truly examined and not taken as free of oppressive nuances; "This sort of 'racism now, patriarchy later' rhetoric is what happens when privilege goes unchecked in these social movements" (paragraph four, sentence three). This language usage is one way in which language succeeds in stirring debates in traditionally unproblematic spaces. The appearance of the prefix 'cis', I would argue, has been a key marker of Urban Feminist written discourse in the university space.

The author makes a lot of use of "quotation" marks to highlight major ideas in the text, although at other points in the text this linguistic tool is reserved for direct quotation. This technique is successful for focusing the reader's attention to stop and pause to internalise the word housed within the "quotation". This is evidenced early in the opening line; "Towards the logic conclusion", "racism now, patriarchy later", "divisive" and "straying"; "There is no such thing as a single-issue struggle as we do not live single-issues lives" (a direct reference from Audre Lorde). At a closer look, the "quotations" may be direct quotes to challenge and counter the utterances of the cisgender heterosexual Black male of leaders of the student activist movements.

At the discursive level, the concept of entextualisation (Blommaert, 2006) plays a very vital role in the production process involved. This is evidenced by the author's continued use of rephrasing and resituating of previous work in her own composition. The author's referencing

⁷ Cis-het when the sex and gender of a heterosexual individual correlate.

of several texts is a way in which Feminist culture is transmitted through language. The author has a combination of both direct and indirect quotation of prominent writers; Kim, Knowles, Krenshaw, and Lorde, on Feminism and Intersectionality to bring her points across in the text.

The statements that the author quotes or references are in way taken out of their original contexts, as they have already occurred in the past. For example; “There is no such thing as a single-issues struggle as we do not live single-issues lives” (from Audre Lorde); “The revolution will be Intersectional or it will be bullshit” (from Twitter). These statements ensure that the culture of Intersectionality is preserved and represented in intellectual (texts in circulation) and social justice spaces (student movements). I cannot discuss the original spaces of utterance (Blommaert, 2006) these quotes were transmitted from; however, they have successfully been recontextualized in the space in which they appear in. the author’s discursive practise of entextualisation has made the text a discourse.

At the social level; I will explore several ideas related to the symbolic power relations within the social space of student activist movements. The text interrogates the various way in which participants’ discourses may prove to be problematic and going against the objectives of a social justice movements. The assertion is foregrounded by the text’s various discourses on collective awareness, Intersectionality, and Feminism.

On the one hand, the text problematizes the notion of gendered positionality that has become naturalised in several social spaces, namely patriarchy and the misrepresentation of marginalised bodies. These notions of patriarchy and cis-heteronormativity are challenged by Feminist discourses to question the credibility of having cis-het Black males in the struggle for social justice. The text opens an alternative space for realising the struggle for social justice in such a way that marginalised bodies within the oppressed groups are brought forward as ideal speakers and contributors to the struggle, in this way dismantling the hegemonic positioning of males as the only sources of liberation. This also affirms Feminism as a dominant discourse as opposed to it being treated merely as reaction to existing discourses.

On the other hand, the text argues against the ‘singular image’ of the struggle. It advocates for the visibility of marginalised bodies, it argues for equity within the struggle. This is evidenced in the frequent foregrounding of bodies that are often treated as of less importance, mainly the Feminist and Queer bodies in the revolution. The linking of the various struggles offers a multiplicity of centres, voices, and states of being. These intersections are crucial in the recognition of a state of Decoloniality (Maldonado-Torres,

2016), this space is categorised by the various representations of the lived struggles of Black bodies in such a way that no one struggle is singled out as being the only legitimate struggle.

Conclusion

The analysis has shown how *Vernac News* published texts that not only disrupt dominant language practices and social power dynamics, but texts that truly represent the social climate at significant periods during the student protests at the University of Cape Town between 2015 and 2016. The texts do not only discuss the notions of decolonisation and intersectionality, they embody them in several ways.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The study examined what ideologies of language are constructed in *Vernac News*, a UCT student publication, during the Rhodes Must Fall (#RMF) and Fees Must Fall (#FMF) protests that took place in 2015 and 2016, and examines the language practices used in the construction of language ideologies. Through individual interviews, the study takes account of the perspectives of three students involved in the development and publication of *Vernac News*, to understand the aims of the paper within the context of the student protests.

Initially, twelve articles were chosen from the four issues of the publication that coincided with major student protests at the university. I wanted to show how these texts were conceived in relation to the social conditions of protest, further emphasising the notion of language being a powerful social tool (Janks, 2009). The language practices analysed in the seven texts selected for detailed analysis in chapter 5 best illustrated how language ideologies are challenged and subverted within the pages of the publication. These texts also showed the various ways in which social conditions influence or even determine the type of texts produced in crucial periods. Three major themes were identified in the study; language ideologies, translanguaging, and decolonisation and decoloniality.

The study used theories that view language as a social tool, thus, making language an integral part of society. Therefore, situated language use is inextricable from the social context within which it operates. As discussed by Bourdieu (1977), language is a form of currency in a capitalist social world, with its value dependent on the linguistic market one chooses to exchange it in. Being fluent in a dominant language can give you access to several socio-economic avenues, let this be through education or otherwise. Although Bourdieu refers to symbolic power, I would argue that the study shows that the power of dominant languages is not only symbolic, but very real. This is exemplified by language policy in the South African context where values and beliefs attributed to a language or a group of languages may result in the marginalisation of non-dominant languages based on the cultural value of a language (McKinney, 2017).

The study also looked at the various ways in which social activist movements understand and make use of media as a conduit for gaining a following amongst the public, and for getting the message out and creating a collective identity (Carroll and Hackett, 2006). This use of media for activism, as discussed in the study, results in varied language practices by students. These language practices include translanguaging, which has been an integral notion, and theme, throughout the study; the development of language ideologies through taking ownership of language through the subverting of orthographic conventions in formal languages. This is best illustrated in the articles analysed in chapter 5. These alternative

language practices in turn challenge and subvert dominant language practices in formal context such as the university.

Conclusions, limitation and significance of study

Following work on language ideologies (McKinney, 2017; Blommaert 2006) the study shows the various ways in which dominant language practices are being challenged and subverted through language practices produced in *Vernac News*. The paper offers an alternative to the Anglonormative language practices of the university. This is achieved through the affirmation of indigenous African languages within the *Vernac News* publication. The publication shows how these languages and cultures are an important part of our society.

The articles that are published in *Vernac News*, I have shown, are representative of a language ideology that sees indigenous languages as sources of knowledge, and that these languages are contributors to the development of an intellectual corpus in African languages and culture, by their speakers. This shift in language ideologies, in a sense, offers a multiplicity of knowledges (Wa Thiong'o, 2003) outside of the western epistemological model. As illustrated by the various articles, the texts all share the notion of language ownership. This is illustrated in several ways: using conventions from dominant languages to challenge the hierarchical positions of the so-called dominant languages; the process of translanguaging, whereby writers make use of orthographic conventions from several languages, in creative and intelligent ways to construct a text; using language as a social tool to position oneself or a group, for example in feminist discourse.

Languages practices in *Vernac News* are in alignment with the ideals of decolonisation, as previously marginalised and oppressed groups come together to form a resistance to the hegemonic practices of the Anglonormative university space. However, the texts analysed in the study pointed out the several ways in which these decolonisation movements may be reproducing oppressive practices within their movements. The study has shown how notions of decolonisation and decoloniality are related, through the examination of intersectionality as a decolonial practice. This notion of decoloniality is coupled with the powerful notion of the contact zone (Pratt, 1991), whereby languages and cultures previously treated as unequal encounter each other, in often conflictual ways.

The study successfully argued that *Vernac News* was such a contact zone. This is best illustrated in the analyses in chapter 5, whereby dominant languages such as English and Afrikaans encounter non-dominant languages such as isiXhosa and Kaaps, and in the process these languages and their cultures come together and create new texts and cultures, such as the academic essay in isiXhosa or quasi-historical account of the origins of

an urban language; Kaaps Afrikaans. In such contact, the various languages are no longer treated as existing in a predetermined hierarchy.

The study, as discussed above, has shed light on the various ways in which language is inserted in broad societal discourses such as decolonisation and decoloniality. However, this was a small-scale study and, as such the study was limited in that regard. Also, since the study was conducted retrospectively, I was not able to observe the various members of the editorial team interact in the production process. Based on the writers' interview accounts and articles within the pages of the publication, I would argue that the interaction would have added value to the study. I would have been able to observe the different ways in which decisions on choice of language and design were made, especially regarding the articles that truly reflect the social condition of production. This lack of observation then influenced the decision on theoretical and analytical approaches used in the study.

The combination of Critical Discourse Analysis and Linguistic Ethnography allowed for the study to provide evidence drawn from both the published texts and interviews. This evidence shed light on the language practices observed in student produced media. Both approaches paid careful attention to the social context to make conclusions on the data produced in the study.

The study will form a part of the growing literature on decolonisation in education within the South African context, through the exploration of language ideologies in student activist movements and then relating those findings to the study of language in educational contexts. For example, the practice of languaging forms an important part of understanding the linguistic and lived experience (Busch, 2015) of young multilingual children in urban schools, and who are taught in a second or even third language at school.

Recommendations

The recognition of students' accounts of language use as practised by them, is important for the process of language policy development at the university. It is of no real significance to have a language policy that promotes multilingualism whilst upholding the ideals of an Anglonormative linguistic ideology. Thus, further research needs to be conducted to identify points where students' language practices and language ideologies can be used to inform teaching practices and the development of a decolonised language ideology at the university. A move away from Eurocentric treatment of indigenous languages needs to be adopted, to avoid a situation where future language policy reproduces patterns of inequality and marginalisation.

There exists a great deal of literature on the issue of English and its role in the African context, like the work of Makoni, Pennycook, McKinney, amongst others. However, this research needs to be the basis for the realisation of a truly integrated language policy, in a decolonial space. This study does not call for the erasure of English in the university context or a return to language use in a pre-colonial context. In contrast, the study recommends that English be treated as existing with and amongst indigenous African languages, and it should be treated as such, as opposed to enjoying a level of hegemony and power over all the other languages. Therefore, there is a need to recognise standard named language such as isiXhosa as existing in a continuum, and the meaning-making power of urban vernaculars.

Student produced media, as evidenced by *Vernac News*, provides a platform for the development of language practices as used daily by the students on the university campus as well as a contribution to decolonising the university. In this space, English is not treated as the only source or tool for to represent knowledge, but rather as one linguistic resource from a tool-box.

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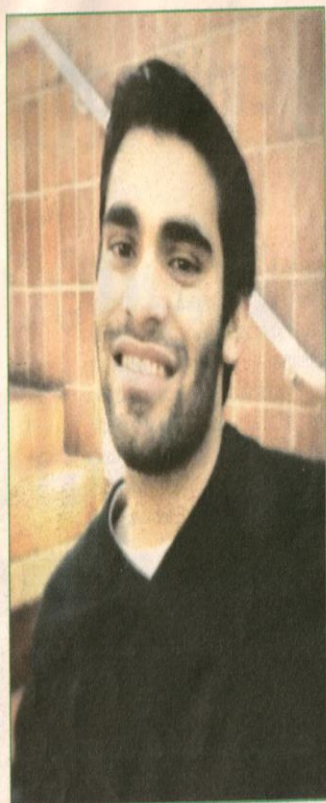
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TAARIQ AMOD
 Founder & Chairperson

AMANDLA!

the public for copies of our first edition.

Thus it is with great pleasure that among other exciting developments, we will be publishing three editions per semester this year beginning in March and the last one in May for the first semester and in the second semester we will publish in August and the last edition in October. We will also be introducing more languages in each edition to include isiZulu, seSotho, sePedi, seSwati, chiShona (and maybe Swahili). Additionally we will be having a new section in our newspaper titled Educational.

This will feature basic phrases from selected African languages in an attempt to educate non-speakers to at least be able to communicate in one of our other official languages. Furthermore, we've been able to establish a fantastic Facebook following with just under five hundred likes while our recently constructed website and Instagram page have also been receiving many views. These platforms are steadily growing in membership.

Our theme for this edition is Human Rights Day, or Sharpeville Day, as it was once known and our chosen hero we will be featuring is Ntate Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe. Our newspaper firmly shares the same beliefs as this great man did. Beliefs in Pan-Africanism. It was with the perceived lack of Pan-Africanism or lack of action regarding these ideals that I formed the idea for this newspaper. And so, as a fitting tribute we at Vernac News salute you Ntate Sobukwe. You might have left us 37 years ago, but your spirit and ideas live on, your wisdom endures and breathes through platforms such as this newspaper. We still remember you.

I would like to conclude with a call to action. We as Africans, are the only ones who are capable of solving the challenges and issues we face today. I therefore challenge all of you to partake in this initiative but also to create your own ones so that the change that our forefathers struggled for is quickly realised

within our lifetime. Do not be dragged down by the sceptics, naysayers and individualistic people who are deaf to the cries of our people. Before the Vernac News dream became a reality, many, including friends of mine, were sceptical about having such a platform that celebrated African languages. So much so that even though they entertained the idea, they cited many issues and challenges that they thought would outweigh any tangible progress in this matter. "It's too complicated so I doubt you'll be able to do it", said one person. The Vernac News Team has persevered and the outcome is what you see here today. We have not done this for ourselves but instead for the people who are to follow behind us in this institution and those whose lives have been lost struggling for this day where we can be unashamedly or unrestrictedly proud of our languages, culture and identity as Africans. Be the next Vernac News. Be bigger and bolder. Be the next one to take South Africa and Africa forward.

Wam kelekile to the second edition of Vernac News, and the first edition for 2015. What a whirlwind six months it has been since the release of our very first edition last year. In all honesty, we have received an unbelievably welcoming response from most of our fellow students and the greater UCT community. The response ranges from each extreme with some students shedding a tear at the beauty of their languages displayed so proudly in our paper and others in shame at

their lack of ability to read and write in their mother tongues. Nonetheless the staff and students excited by the sharpness in the Setswana articles, the deep isiXhosa poems and the kind of African expression shown in Vernac News, have celebrated our initiative and continue to encourage us to keep going - in a nutshell, this year could not have started on a better note. And to think that we as a collective thought two thousand five hundred copies was too much, yet we still have requests from

Article 3. (Appendix 1)



Thank you Super Care workers

OLWETHU DELIWE
Head Nguni & Education Editor

Maz' enethole basebenzi bakowethu! Masibambe ngazo zozibini kuni, senze amazwi ombulelo senjenje. Kulonyaka udlulileyo sikhuphe iphepha-ndaba lethu lelwimi zakwaNtu. Phepha ndaba elo lokuqala ukususela ngemini zamandulo, elinika umdla kwizinto zabantu abatsha abagaxeleka kuzo. Leyo ke ibe yinto etsho wagunqa umzi kuba abaqulunkqi nababhexshi balo ingabantu abatsha.

Enye yeenjongo zolusasazo ibikudibanisa imihlambi eyalanayo, ukwenzela abantu abamdaka ngokwebala bazidle ngobuntu babo. Kwaye bazive beyinxalenye yoluntu ngokubanzi. Siye ke sakhwankqiseka kukubona ukuba iphepha ndaba eli aniliyekelanga yalelabafundi kuphela, nani nabonisa umdla omkhulu ngokulifunda. Sithe sisajonge leyo safumana imiyalezo esuka kuni, incoma kwaye icela amanye amaphepha (kuba nifuna ukubonisa ngawo nakubanye abantu).

Asingeze ke thina inxaso enjena siyiyeke

ngqalelo. Iyasivuyisa ke thina lonto ngoba kakade umnqweno wethu ngowokuba nibeyinxalenye nabafundi, nifumane izabelo ngokulinganayo. Imigushuzo yenu isishiye sonwabile, yiyo lonto siyinika ngqalelo. Ningabazali bethu, siphethwe nini, kodwa intlonipho enisinika yona ingaphaya kokuqonda. Naleyo into siyayibulela.

Umsebenzi eniwenzayo, kwaye nokuqinisekise ukuba

amagumbi esifundela kuwo acocekile uyabonakala. Sizingomba isifuba nje ngokuba ngabafundi balapha, kwaye singenaxhala lokuzisa oogxa bethu abasuka ebumelwaneni ukuba basindwendwele kungenxa yenu. Amazwi obulumnko neengecebiso zenu xa sigagana nani apho nixelenga khona awawhi phantsi. Siyancoma, kwaye sibulela ngomsebenzi eniwubambe ngongenamikhinkqi! Ze'

Kubalulekile enikwenzayo ngokungenamkethe. Kwiziphithi-phithi ezenzekayo kuleDyunivesithi, zezinganibangeli okokuba nilahl' ithemba. Ukrwitha-krwithwano lwabasemagunyeni lwenzeka naphi na. Ubuhlanga ize ibe yinto apho ningayithatheli ngqalelo. Apho kunyanzeleke khona ukuba nithathe inxaxheba, zenizize ukucinga ndilungiselele mhla waze waphel' umbona



sikhuselekile. Singemnkuni, kodwa ke siyathanda okuba sigqithise umbulelo nakubafundi abathe bathabatha iphepha eli baze banomdla lilo. Ootitshala beDyunivesithi le, abathe babonisa umdla kwiphepha eli, siyabulela.

Zenenjenje ke nakwamanye amacandelo azayo. Nisiphathe kakuhle ngolu hlobo. Nihumbule ukuba Isandla sihlamba esinye. Siyanibona, kwaye sinijongile.

* Onomdla ngokusinika ingxelo, angenza njalo ngembalelwano kwi-emails, nefumaneka kwiphepha eli kwindawo etyhikitywe 'disclaimer'.

Tatalahote!

Thank you Super Care Cleaners for the support of the newspaper. We acknowledge the support that we received from you - the mama's and tata's are our family. In as much as the newspaper was for everyone within and outside the boundaries of UCT, it was great to see that also as cleaners you took part in having to engage with the newspaper. We will forever be grateful for that.

UKUBALULEKA KWELEXICOGRAPHY (UHLALUTYO LWEZICHAZIMAGAMA) EKUPHUHLISENI IILWIMI ZESINTU

YAZINI KWAZA
isiXhosa

“**A**yikokuchitha xesha na ukufunda ngedictionary” imibuzo elolu hlobo ivela qho xa abafundi abenza ilexicography bephuma kwizifundo zabo zelexicography. Abangakuqondayo kukuba ukufunda ngezichazi-magama kubalulekile kwaye yenye yeendlela enokunceda ukuphuhlisa iilwimi zesiNtu. iLexicography lufundo banzi ngezichazi magama, oku kuquka ukusisibenzisa, ukusihlela kunye nokusihlalutya. Ukusihlalutya kubaluleke ukogqitha zonke ezinye kuba kunika ithuba lokuba abathethi bolwimi olo lukwischazimagama babenako ukunika izimvo zabo nento leyo encedayo ukuphuhlisa iilwimi zesiNtu ezisasilelayo ngenxa yokongamela kolwimi lwasezintu, isiNgesi.

Uhlalutyo zichazimagama yiyo nayiphi na into ebhaliweyo malunga nesichazimagama nokuba iyancoma okanye iyagxeka na, utsho u Piet Swanepoel xa ecacisa eyona luyiyo uhlalutyo lwezichazimagama kwiphepha lakhe elithi: Towards a Framework for the Description and Evaluation of Dictionary Evaluation Criteria. Ukuhlalutya izichazi magama kubaluleke kanye kanje ngokuba izichazimagama zibalulekile. Amagama afumaneka kwisintu sezichazimagama, ngamagama asetyenziswa mihla le, kungenjalo ngamagama amatsha afundwayo ngabantu ukuze bakwazi ukwasebenzisa mihla le, into ethetha ukuba, ukuba kukho ingxaki kwisichazimagama ulwimi luyachaphazeleka. Kaloku uhlalutyo zichazi magama lunceda ekuphuhliseni ulwimi, yiyo loo nto uhlalutyo zichazimagama lubalulekile.

Uninzi lwabantu abachaphazelekayo zizichazimagama baye bafune ukuba izimvo zabo ngezichazimagama zivakale nento leyo ikhuthazwayo ngababhali bezichazimagama. Noxa kunjalo, ezinye zezi zimvo aziye zibeluncedo kuba hayi yonke into ebhaliweyo ngezichazi magama luhlalutyo lwezichazimagama. Umzekelo iOxford English-Xhosa Dictionary (OEXD) nepapashwe ngo-2014 ikhazwe kumajelo osasazo kusithiwa ilikuphe latsola ukuba igama elithi condom ngukhondom ngesiXhosa. Le ngxelo, nebonakala ngathi luhlalutyo lwesi sichazimagama i-OEXD ayilulo uhlalutyo lwezichazimagama. Okokuqala, ayiloncedo kubabhali kunye nabasebenzisi

besichazimagama kuba ayibonakalisi ngxaki ngale ngcaciso okwesibini ayiniki mkhombandlela wokuba yintoni engalunganga kwaye kumele ukuba kwenziwe ntoni ukulungisa loo nto ingalunganga. Oku kunganabi (ukucacisa iingxaki kunye nezisombululo zazo) kwabantu abahlalutya isichazimagama kunokubangelwa kukuba uninzi lwabantu lukholelwa ukuba nabani na osebenzisa isichazimagama unegunya lokusihlalutya kodwa akukho njalo kuba ukuhlalutya isichazimagama kunemigaqo yaso nto leyo ethetha ukuba hayi nabani na unako ukusihlalutya isichazi magama. Kwakhona ukuba siqaphela ingxelo eyenziwe ngamaphepha ndaba nge-OEXD sinokuqaphela ukuba aba bantu ziintatheli nekonkwenzeka ukuba azinalo ulwazi ngohalutyo lwezichazi magama.

USamukele Hadebe weDyunivesithi yaseZimbabwe kwiphepha lakhe elingapapashwanga, uthi ukusebenzisa isichazimagama ungenalwazi luphangaleleyo ngaso kufana nqwa nokugxeka isakhiwo sendlu kuba uhlala kuyo kodwa ungenalwazi ngokwakhiwa kwezindlu. Oku kubonisa ukubaluleka kolwazi okanye kwemigaqo ebalulekileyo enokusetyenziswa xa ubani ehlalutya isichazimagama kwaye kubonisa ukuba xa ubani engenalwazi olu lwazi lokuhlalutya kwezichazi-magama kungakhokelela ekubeni ubani angahlutiyi ngokuyinyaniso. UDion Nkomo kwisigxeko-ncom iOxford Bilingual School Dictionary uthi, idictionary culture, nelulwazi lwezichazi-magama ibalulekile ekuhlalutweni izichazimagama., Olu lwazi luquka ukwazi ukuba sibhalwe ngubani esibhalela bani, ngeenjongo ezithini. Ukuba ngaba isichazi-magama siyiphendule kwaye sayenza ngokuyimpumelelo le mibuzo ingasentla, loo nto inokuthetha ukuba siwenzile umsebenzi besimisweliwe ukuwenza kwaye ubani osihlalutyo kufuneka ejonge loo nto xa esihlalutya.

Eyona nto ingundoqo kukuba ubani azazi ukuba ujonge ntoni xa ehlalutya isichazimagama, iqweqwe okanye ubukhulu besichazimagama abumanxaxheba iinkulu ekuhlalutweni isichazimagama kuba kaloku eyona njongo iphambili ekuhlalutweni isichazimagama kukuphuhlisa ulwimi.UHadebe uhambisa athi kubalulekile ukujonga ixabiso lobalunga lolwazi, ukuchaneka kwamangeniso esichazimagama, ingakumbi kulwimi lwesiXhosa kuba kukho amagama anethoni enye, upelo olunye kodwa

ethetha izinto ezahlukileyo, umzekelo ibala. Kubalulekile kwakhona ukujonga ukuba ngaba amagama acaciswe lula na ngohlobo asetyenziswa ngalo nokuba aqondeka lula na, nokujonga ukuba ngaba amagama afakwe ngenemo elandelelanayo na. Izinto ezifana nobungakanani besichazimagama zibalulekile ekuphuhliseni injongo yesichazi-magama kodwa ayidlali ndima ingako ekuhlalutweni. Le migaqo yokuhlalutya izichazimagama ngendlela ingayimpumelelo ekuphuhliseni ulwimi, ababhali bezichazi magama kunye nabasebenzisi bezichazimagama. Oku kulikhwelo elibonisa ukubaluleka kokufunda nzulu ngezichazi -magama nanjengoko izichazimagama zingumthombo wolwimi. Ukutsho oko, xa abantu bengafundi ngezichazimagama nangohlalutyo lwazo ithetha ukuba kusezakuba nzima ukuphuhlisa ulwimi, oku kubonisa ukubaluleka kofundo lwezichazi-magama kuba ulwimi lukwizichazimagama kwaye ukuphuhlisa nokungaphuhli kwalo kuxhomekeke ekuhlalutweni kwezi zichazimagama.

Lexicography is an imperative practice in the development of indigenous languages. This is done through allowing space for the users of dictionaries to have a say as to how easy, how clear and how relevant dictionaries are in their everyday language.

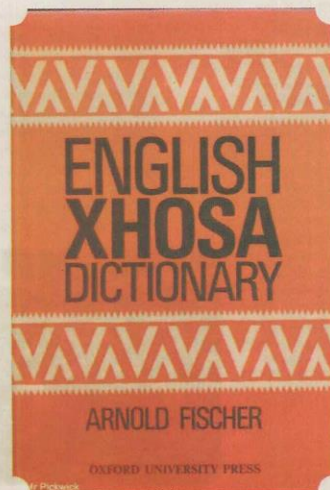


Image credit: <http://pictures.abebooks.com>

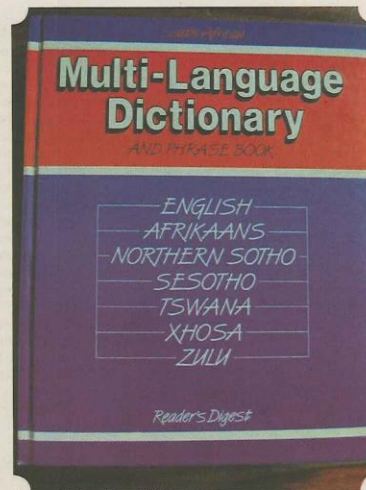


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origins of Tsotsi Taal

Heita Hola! Fede? Moja!

CLIFFORD MONGWEGELWA

Wayaway ga re le ko kasi re utlwa mense ba ringa ka di-code. Kasi e nngwe le engwe ha o shaya jika ko yona o thola Bro Joe wa gunta. A ringa phrases like "die laaitie is n moegoe maan", a bitsa majita "laititjies or mpinchis" and banna ba hae a re ke "dinqosi". Ke na le ho bloma one man and ke di bale gore grand moja die taal van ons, re e qcova waar.

Nou flop ke hore ke shova ka Tsotsi taal and ke ho chaela ka yona. Taba ke hore le he ke go segela story sa yona, moet ke e spanise. Mara geen flop e re ke go bethele. Tsotsi taal ke ntho e e thomileng mzobane blind. Grand sharp, e spanisitswe strong ka nako tsa Apartheid mo Mzansi, nako e bo Ngamla ne ba worvaya bo darkie seur, nako tsa bo Sophia Town le ander Kasis. Die tyd, bo-darkie ba ne ba ringa taal tse different mara ba bloma die selde Kasis. Nou ne ba bloma kaofela and nou ne ba tlameile ba ringe taal e ba e verstanang kaofela. Taal eo ke yona e vandag re khombang Tsotsi taal.

Tsotsi taal started was back in the days, it was used quiet extensively during the apartheid regim, the times of the formation of Sophia Town. Black people who spoke different languages would be living in the same area and they saw and felt the need to establish a language they all understood.

Legama Tsotsi Taal le chunilwe ka mafoko a spinzana, Tsotsi e tsho Leghintsa and Taal e tsho ringas ka Afrikaans. So mense ba qcovile Afrikaans ba e chuna taal e ba tlo qalang ka yona and ba spanisa di-taal tse dingwe, Sesotho, diTaal tsa BaNguni (Zulu, Xhosa, Swati), go e qinisa. So nou ba shapile taal ya fruit salad hore ba shove simple soo n mphakathi.

Tsotsi taal e ne e gaya boTsoti and mphakathi chance ya go ringa ba sa jumpise hore ba ringa ka eng so ne ba missioner grand against boMenier. Ga e qala, ne e ringiwa more ke maghintsa ge ba ya roundong ba lo shapa mpondas or ba lo spina iets. BoNgamla ne e le bona ba tlatsiawang seur. Manyora ne ba e spanisa weer ge ba shova ka boNgamla. BoTsotsi entse di-term soos boGata (The Police), boKoos(Afrikaans People), nnyoko/zaka/lebotha (Money), ghedlele/transi/mavili (vehicle), Spinza/popla/wash (alcohol), tshipi/ntjeza (Gun) and bocheri/bothekini/rush (girls). Die goedes ke tsona tse manyora a di phelelang and so qho ne ba dispanisa ga ba ringa.

Lines like, "che my geld", "hier kom boGata/bogata ba zwagala", "Transi e kahabategile" or even "spinza se baie" ke taal ya everyday ya Manyora. Ba e shapa left, right and centre so boNgamla ga ba verstan gore majita a ring aka eng.

Go ringa waar, Tsotsi taal e godile and nou posi e nngwe le e nngwe e shova taal ya bona. Majita ba Eastern Cape hulle se hore "six nine" ke ho parker ka reverse (taking a dump) mara Jozi, Pitori, Rusty le Bloem "six nine" ke go shapa mfana (urinating) so wa kgona ho qcava hore nou die ding ya taal ya evolver so jive nou ke hore go ba nzima go ringa di selde iets everywhere. Altyd o tlameile o checke gore o waar then o zame go segela mense ba da grand.

As ke vaiya nou, e re ke go chaele. Rona bo-darkie re tswa ver le tsotsi taal. Tsotsi taal e tshwana le setso nou so next time ga manyora ba shova love it and

Poetry

Nguwo! Nguwo! Nguwo! Nguwo! Nguwo! Nguwo!

OLWETHU

Mandenjenje xa ndivuma kuMvelingqangi. Kubenjalo xa sibong' amabandla. Ndisith' sidlule! esi silo 'de yathwas' inyanga! Ndiyavuma, ndisith' nguwo ngumtshato. Halala-la! Yehaa-a! wadan' usathana! Kakade besilindele ukuba zithi phethuthu ngolu h... Ngabanomona kuphela bebefun' ezimbi Bak'hala behleli kakade abayindawo. Ngamayeye namhlanje nguwo nguwo umtshato-c... Ngamayeye kuba nazi iimvegu neentsana kulo ms... umlisela nomthinjana, amanene namanenekazi, amawasa namawasakazi, nezidwangube ezibalule... Khululan' iibhatyi zenu ke nina nonwabe.

Mand'giny' ingwiqi ndenjenje. Uk'susela namhlanje zakuthi nta iindlebe. Imilomo yakusoloko ithe mhomhe. Iindaba zona zakuthi thante. 'Zenizithande kuyo yonke into ephandl' apha. Ngalandlela niz'cebul' ekuthetheni. Undiva ke yint' engafunekiyi. Ndandike ndava ngondoq' osis'bindi Mna ndith undoqo lunyamezelo. Mandinamnekele emtshatweni ndenjenje!

Mandivuyisane nawe ndisithi halala. Ngundlel' ende lo, ukrelekrele. Ngumatyathang' omeleleyo, unesibindi. Akujongw' emva kuyanyamezelwa. Andikoyikisi koko ndiyancoma! Akubalekwa ngenxa yobunzima. Ndingatsh' ukuba hlala noba kukrakra. Ndingatsh' ukuba phindisa ngephini kwakubakut... Kuyonakal' ukuhla, kodw' iintetho ziyanceda. Kuyakhalwa xa kunzima, abadala baneedlebe. Kudala yahanjwa le ndlela ayiqalwa ngoku. Yaqalwa ngabadala, yasind' abaninzi. Kodwa ke ayiy' intsinda badala. La mazwi makhulu antsothile. Mandibuyis' unyawo ndinganeni kumhlab' ongen... Ndakuthini na ukuzibizel' amahashe ndingena m... Mandityeshelengeli kuwe makoti. Amahla ndenyuka eli khaya nguwe, nguwo' obopha amaxonya mhla libalele, nguwo' ungapha nangapha ngeemini zobunzima. Yonwabele le dyokwe kusemtshatweni apha. 'Ze ningohlulwa zindudumo zomhlaba koko kuku... Mandingatheth' ndophel' mandikushiye Maleta. Bamba le leta mntakwethu, wamnkelele Mntakw...

Ngxe nto yakuthi ngokophela. Mandixolise ngobuy' neenyaw' ez'nodaka. Xa ubethekile kubanzim' iindawo zokuhlala. Ezamadoda ke zona zithethw' ebuhlanti. Andingekhe ndonwabe ngabadala ndisakuphula... Ndakusebenza ndigobe ukuhlawula loo matyala. Mand'giny' ingwiqi ndenjenje!

ORIGINS OF KAAPS

TAARIQ AMOD
Kaaps Afrikaans

Kanala my bru, moenie sê dat Afrikaans issie jou taal!e! Onthou, as dij bly in die Kaap, dan moet dij Kaaps Taal praat. Since ek a klein laaitie gewies, het ek gehoerrie taal van my Kaapse familie en my maanskepe van Lansdowne.

Alhoewel ek op a so-called wit skool was, het ek meer vannie lingo geleer by my "brasse" in onse bruin clique. Nou by UCT, praat ek nie meer Kaaps Taal by Campus'ie maa slegs by die huis en somkere in plekke soes Lansdowne. Ek skat soema allie UCT brase en kiners wat Kaaps kan praat is a bietjie stervy, want hulle sallie Kaaps taal praat'ie.

Sien dij, UCT maak a coloured soes a wit mens. "Nicole" becomes "Nickie", "ree-aly" becomes "relly", a Datsun is vrekgam (unless dijs a Whitie), "nai man" becomes "are you like, serious bro". Dijs vergiet wie dij is, waavandaan dij kom en die is jou agtergrond man. Dijs raak lekke skaam vir Gatsby dyts, darels en dalchie te iet of net te mention.

Maa' genoegmetaldaigedagtes, ekskat, niemand wietonsgeskiedenis'ie. Especially, die Kaapse geskiedenis. Hulle maak asof Kaaps taal te praat is 'backward' of iets. Hulle sê suiwer Afrikaans issie beste een coz of it's dutch geskiedenis. Wagge biechie, issit net dutch? Maa' waavandaan kom Piesang, Labarang, Slammat, Gogga, Eina en Dagga van? Julle gattie dai woorde in dutch vindie. Soe nou dis obvious dat Afrikaans nie net a Dutch taal issie! Kom ek sal jou die origins van Afrikaans vertel dan kan dijs self sien hoe Afrikaans die respek moet kry warrit verdien.

In die 17th century, wanneer die Dutch na Kaapstad toegekomm't het hulle die Khoi-san ontmoet en saam met die Malay mense vannie Malaysian Dutch colony, het die Dutch mense, die Khoi-san en Malay mense as slawe ge-use. Maa' hierrie hardkoppige mense refused om Dutch te praat, soe hulle het a nuwe taal gemaak, soes a nuwe "Creole" of iets daarsoe. Hierrie nuwe creole was, natuurlik Kaapse Afrikaans. So dit was as gevolg van hierrie dutch mense dat Kaaps Afrikaans gebore was.

But nou becoz Afrikaans wassie a Dutch taal'ie, het die oppressed mense a geskrywende manier geverg om te komuniekeit. Soos die Malay mens het die geskrywende deel van Arabic gebruik, vir allie oppressed mense, coz die Malay mense was nogal Muslim en allie muslims van dai tye het Arabic gelies en geskryf.

Ja my bru, Afrikaans was a taal wat die brave oppressed mense vannie Kaap teen die Dutch mense gebruik as a manier van power te wys en hulle eie identity te behou. Die lafhartige Dutch mense het dan Afrikaans ge-standardise soe die oppressed

mense heddie belangrike tool verloor. Gedurende die colonial en pre-Apartheid tye het die Nationale Party teen al oppressed mense Afrikaans gebruik. Vandag is daar nog steeds a stigma vir Afrikaans. Maa' dis hoekom onse storie soe belangrik is om te onthou. Ons moet vir onse respek baklei. Ons moet ons identity en stem behou!

Laat ons a belofte maak, dat ons nooit die storie van Kaaps vergietjie.

Salute!

In the 17th century, when the Dutch came to Cape Town, they encountered the Khoi-san people and along with the Malay people from the Malaysian Dutch colony, enslaved them. But these stubborn people refused to speak Dutch, so they made a new language or creole of the sort. This new creole was of course, Kaapse Afrikaans. It was against the Dutch people that only spoke Dutch. But because Afrikaans was not a Dutch language, the oppressed people had to create a new written form in order to communicate. So the Malay people used a written form of Arabic, for all the oppressed people, because the Malay people were of course Muslim and could read and write in Arabic.

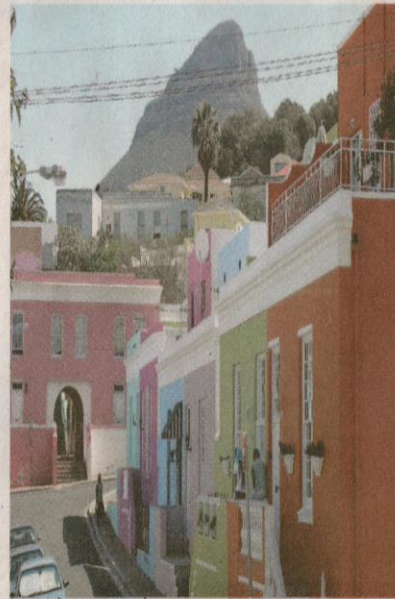


Image credit: maurits vermeulen



SHARON RANKAPOLA
Chairperson

WITHIN THE IVORY TOWERS, WITHOUT THE PEOPLE: INTERSECTIONALITY IN DECOLONIZATION

English In the previous edition, we asked an important question that once the black Afrikans take back the land, who is it going to belong to? Is it going to be shared equally amongst men and women who fought for it, or is it going to be used as a proxy for discrimination against the black Afrikan woman? Intersectionality extends on that and asks if the needs of different bodies will be considered. It suggests that a person cannot be looked in isolation from all the factors that make up that person. For instance, it will analyse one as a graduate middle-class, able-bodied, black woman, than just saying she is a black woman, and by her possessing those 'qualities', she is oppressional on a poor black physically impaired woman who doesn't even have a matric certificate.

So, it may be a good idea to consider that even after decolonization, the black woman will still be oppressed, because although she is contributing equally to the struggles and fighting for the land as hard as the black man, she'd still have to prove to men that she's as strong and powerful as them. The LGBTQ+ will still have to fight for acceptance in the society, because although they are equally contributing to the struggles, 'we deserve it better than them'. So I think in as much as we think that decolonization will ease the black person's heart because finally justice will have been served and he will get what he rightfully deserves, the land, we will see a black man fighting his own because one will always be richer, literate, able, and more accepted by

the society than the other, but that doesn't mean we should stop trying.

With that being said, we should then educate our society on the concept of intersectionality, and how it can be used as a basis to measure our progress, in as far as inclusivity, oppression and humanity are concerned. It is of no use to me, if these concepts are defined and practised within the ivory towers (within UCT, amongst academia, or students) but without the people (our communities who have no idea what intersection, for instance, means). These concepts that has the potential to bring light to every single individual should be made known to all (and not only academia or the educated), so that when the black man finally takes back the land, understanding all these concepts and their possible impacts, he doesn't side-line the unprivileged, and oppress them further by withholding the land from them because of either greed, or the perception that they are less deserving of the land than him.

In this edition, our cover page was sourced from The Febenza Collective. Zizipho Mxayiya, one of its members describes it as a movement "that is about repossessing the words ukufeba and ukusebenza. Essentially, we're a group of independent black, non-binary, queer, straight bodies who work to live their best lives, in a society that rushes to dictate what and

what not the female, black, queer, non-binary body should do. It's about flourishing, be it in the club, in the business world, academics; Febenza flourishes. In addition, the whole point of photo shoots is to tell the story through pictures. A black woman going back eKasi and bringing back that power that she is everything, smart, beautiful, intelligent and all the slut-shaming does not dictate who she is."



CAMILLA SIBANDA
Vice-Chairperson



THEKWANE NDABA
Vice-Chairperson

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Letters to the editor need to be kept to a maximum of 300 words and can be sent to vernacnewsuct@yahoo.co.za

TRANSLATION SERVICES

Translating from English to an Afrikan language (depending on capacity)

45c per word

INTERSECTIONALITY

PRIYANKA NAIDOO *English* **“T**owards the logical conclusion”. The one sentence that had perfect attendance at every #FeesMustFall plenary, meeting after meeting and it soon became clear that we all had different versions of the ‘logical conclusion’. This was until Intersectionality became an agenda point at every meeting.

Intersectionality- a term first used by Kimberlé Crenshaw, which allows us to understand how identity plays a pivotal role in both oppression and privilege. The term encompasses race, class, ability as well as gender. It also highlights the fact that oppression is not hierarchical and can come in various forms. This of course means that you can simultaneously be an oppressor while forming part of a marginalized group. For example, you can be a cisgender heterosexual Black male who is privileged due to the fact that we live in a patriarchal cis-heteronormative world. But at the same time they are marginalized on the basis of their race.

This brings us to intersectionality in Student movements and more specifically the #FeesMustFall and #EndOutsourcing Campaign which was made up of various student movements and organizations each with their own politics. In an article written by Corinne Knowles, a lecturer at the university currently known as Rhodes the campaign is examined through a feminist lens by which Knowles highlights the fact the rights of workers, a diverse student body as well as a decolonized curriculum are necessary for making a university an accessible public commodity. Knowles perfectly highlights how these issues are intersectional. Similarly, Black Radical Feminist Audre Lorde has said “there is no thing as a single-issue struggle as we do not live single-issues lives”.

Within the campaign discussing issues of gender was seen as “divisive” and “straying” away from the logical conclusion- the one where cis-het black males reigned supreme. There was a clear lack of understanding around the intersectionality of these issues and how they played out as lived realities for many of the people within the movement. This sort of “racism now, patriarchy later” rhetoric is what happens when privilege goes unchecked in these social justice movements. The main problem with this is that you’re expected to priorities your Blackness before your Womxnhood, Queerness or any other

identity- something you don’t have the luxury of doing as these identities are entangled. This of course begs the question: What does it mean to call a social justice movement progressive or revolutionary if it contributes to the silencing and marginalization of the lived experience of its members?

Intersectionality is not simply a feminist term, it has been the banner under which people in the movement have demanded to have their voices heard and have reclaimed their space. Social justice movements that ignore intersecting identities in essence end up being the vanguard of the system that they are seeking to dismantle as they are maintain the status quo. #WokeOnlyOnRace was a twitter trend started by Hejin Kim, in which she highlighted the fact that mostly the men in #FeesMustFall could quote Biko and Fanon verbatim but would never go near a book by Audre Lorde, or even examine how their hyper-masculinity contributed to oppression within the movement. If we want to continue labeling these as social justice campaigns- intersectionality needs to be at the forefront of every decision made, the politics of any space needs to be cognizant of the fact that it is made up of a diverse group of individuals who lead intersecting lives. My favorite quote is that “The revolution will be intersectional, or it will be bullshit”.



Image credit: <http://www.ohrdemocracy.org>

MATSALWA YA XITSONGA KWALA TINYONGENI TA HINA

MATIMBA MABONDA
Xitsonga

Ndzi vula ndzi nga tipfinyingi leswaku Xitsonga i ririmi lero fuwa ri tihela ri saseka swinene. Ku sukela eka mimpfumawulo leyi hi yi endlaka loko hi angulana ku fikela eku tsaleni ka Xitsonga!

“Kewani vatukulu va Gwambe na Dzavani. N’wina swihluke swa Nghunghunyani. N’wina vo chava ku tsongola swa tinxaka-timbe. N’wina maGaza. Ndza mi losa.” Lawa a ku ri marito ya mudyondzi wa Xitsonga exikolweni xa le henhla eSoweto. Mpundzu wo sungula loko vana va fika kona, u va xewetile hi ndlela leyi. A ku na ku kanakana ni kun’we leswaku endzhaku ko amukeriwa xihenhla hi ndlela leyi munhu u titwa a ri ekaya.

Xin’wana xa leswi xi nandzhisaka ririmi ra hina i ku tirhisa swigaririmi. Ku hlaya swona i ku twa ku xurha. Ndzi nga tata tibuku to tala swinene.

Mhakankulu hi leyi:

Xana hi nga endlisa ku yini leswaku ririmi ra hina ri nga lovi? Tindlela titele, kambe ndzi ta khumba ya matsalwa ntsena. Matsalwa ya kumeka hi swiyenge swo hambanahambana- swiphato, mintsheketo, switori, migaringana, mintlangu na yin’wana minxaka ya matsalelo.

Hina tani hi machudeni kwala UCT hi katekile hikuva matsalwa ya Xitsonga ya kona kwala layiburari ya hina. Xin’wana xa kona hi leswaku swa koteka no lombi matsalwa munhu a ya tihlayela ekaya. A hi ku xonga ka swona, Gaza ya pfuka eKapa mpela.

Kahle-kahle xikongomelo-nkulu xa tsalwa leri i ku hlohlotela maGaza-kulorhi ku hlaya matsalwa lama nga kona kwala layiburari ya hina. Loko hina hi nga ma hlayi kumbe ku hlayela tinxaka tin’wana, i mani a nga swi endlaka?

Xo hetelela, a hi buleni. Hi swihi swigaririmi leswi mi swi tivika swo nyanganyisa Xitsonga? Mi nga ndzi rhumela eka email leyi: mbnmat008@myuct.ac.za. Swi ta kandziyisiwa eka pphaphungu rona reri eka xiphemu lexi landzelaka.

Inkomo, ndzi ta hela kwala ku fana na papila...

Xitsonga is a beautiful African language; from words pronunciation to our dialogues. The use of figures of speech makes it more pleasurable to the ears. Fortunately for us here at UCT, literature material is available in our main library. Should we not read our own African literature stories, no one will.



Information letter (Appendix 8)

To whom it may concern

Re: Language ideologies (constructed) in student produced media. Examining how language use develops language ideologies in Vernac News.

I, Lwazi Mkula, am a master's student at the University of Cape Town, in the School of Education. I would like to ask you for your permission to conduct an interview with you. My research is focused on investigating the dominant views and beliefs about language as well as the ways in which language is used in the student publication; *Vernac News*. The interview seeks to give context to the data collected from various articles published in the publication in question.

Briefly, the research is concerned with examining how language, as a powerful social tool, is being inserted in the Decolonization discourse, at the University of Cape Town. The research seeks to shed light on the language ideologies present at the university, and how these language ideologies are being challenged or subsided by language practises found in *Vernac News*. The research will also explore ways in which previously, or currently, marginalised languages are being affirmed in the university environment.

Data will be collected in two ways. One, I will conduct textual analysis of articles produced in *Vernac News*, at key points during the period from 2015-2016. Two, I will conduct interviews with members or former members of the *Vernac News* team. These interviews will be used as a basis for understanding the context of the analysed texts. The interviews are crucial for producing unbiased and credible data. They will open up, and inform, the textual analysis process. The interviewees will only be required to answer a short series of questions, designed to get their insights on the selected topic. The interview will take approximately 30-40 minutes of your time.

If you are willing to be interviewed, as part of this research project, please complete the attached consent form. Please feel free to contact me with any questions you might have regarding the research, either by email or telephone: mklwa002@myuct.ac.za or at 072 409 8308. You are also welcome to contact my supervisors on the following email address; Dr. Carolyn McKinney at carolyn.mckinney@uct.ac.za; Dr. Catherine Kell at catherine.kell@uct.ac.za.

Thank you

Lwazi Mkula

Participant Consent form (appendix 9)

Name:

Signature:

Date:

I consent to	Yes	No
be interviewed		
the interview being audio recorded		

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that confidentiality will be maintained. I can withdraw my participation at any time.

Interview Questions (Appendix 10)

1. Can you please tell me about the origins or the background of the paper?
2. How did you get involved with the paper?
3. Does the paper have a target audience? Or who do you think reads the paper? If so, why and who?
4. Is there a standard variety of language of use when writing for the paper? For example, is one required to write in a standard variety of English or isiXhosa?
5. What informed the layout or design of the paper?
6. I have noticed that the languages that appear in each issue differ, it is never the same as the previous issue. How do you choose the languages that appear in an issue?
7. How did you make the decision to label the languages used in articles? What informed this decision?
8. What is the purpose of the English summary translations that accompany the various indigenous language texts?
9. I realised that there is an element of social activism in the paper's general ideology. Was this intended? Do you see yourself as an activist? And, do you see language or your writing as a form of this activism?
10. What are your views on the role of language in society?
11. What informed the education section of the paper?

Note; this year paper has gone completely digital, and on a weekly basis.

Interview questions for the isiXhosa writers

1. Ingaba isiXhosa osibhalayo kwiphepha ndaba i *Vernac News*, sohluke kanjani kwi isiXhosa osithethayo, okanye osibhalayo ngaphandle?

[is the isiXhosa you write when writing for *Vernac News* different to the isiXhosa you use socially?]

2. Ngoku nokwakho, uziva njani ngokuxutywa, okanye ukungxamgwa, kwesiXhosa nezinye iilwimi?

[In your opinion, how do you feel about the mixing of isiXhosa, or integration of isiXhosa, with other languages?]

3. IsiXhosa usifundile esikolweni okanye usifunde ekuhlaleni? If you studied isiXhosa in school, was it taken as a Home Language (HL) or First Additional Language (FAL)?

[did you formely study isiXhosa or did you acquire it through interaction in the community, or both?]

4. Do you think there should be a standard variety of isiXhosa? i.e. standard spelling conventions, and such. Ndiyaqonda ukuba uyayazi into yokubana zininzi indlela zokubhala, nokuthetha isiXhosa.

[I am sure that you are aware that there exist various ways of writing and speaking isiXhosa.]

5. Ingaba athini awakho amava ngokubhala kwakho ngolwimi lwakho leenkobe kweliphepha ndaba? Given that there are not a lot of opportunities to write isiXhosa for a wide audience in this context?

[What is your experience of writing isiXhosa within this paper?]

The interview took place on; Friday, 30th of June 2017.

Venue; Baxter Theatre Centre

Recording tool; mobile smartphone.

Interviewee: S

R: Uhm, so can you tell me about the origins and background of the paper?

S: *clears throat* *Vernac news* came from a conversation that was {held} launched by UCT. Uhm, the conversation was organised by the English newspaper Varsity. Uhm, I think that was in 2015 {2014}. Ja, that was in 2015. And from then, it, from the conversations that we had in that discussion, from the arguments that we made, it was clear that black people had no ownership of UCT; Academically, Socially, uhm, and otherwise... and socially and including the issue of language, and that is where the idea of forming *Vernac news*, a newspaper that could be a platform for the intellectual contributions of black students at UCT in their own languages came about. Because we, we, we... politically we see language as a site of struggle. That we are under, uhm, the hegemony of English is by no natural design, but it's by manmade design. And so, by us taking, you know, the initiative to write, uhm, in isiXhosa and all the other languages is political sort of choice to say we recognise that our languages, our cultures, spirituality, our economy and everything has made customised since the arrival of the white colonialist. And I, you know writing in Vernac we are not only reviving the languages but instilling a sense of pride, you know, in black students... I think I have gone over.

R: *laughs* that is alright. Definitely alright. That's fascinating, I really liked the, that idea of 'language as a site of struggle' and important. Because that is how I felt as well when I was going through the paper. I felt like that this is how we should be treating our languages instead of all this sort of like, uhm, specific purposes that are not really important, or beneficial to our existence within this space. Okay. Let's go to the next question.

R: How did you get involved with the paper?

S: I was *clears throat* part of Rhodes Fees Must Fall. And the people that created... that created *Vernac news*, the founders of *Vernac news* were also comrades from Rhodes Must Fall so it was through chatting and you know. /R: same spaces.

R: Does the paper have a specific target audience or... *interrupted by S*

S: Yes, I mean like by virtue of having chosen Vernacular News. I mean our target audience is black students. But there are economic and cultural cleavages for black students at UCT, we have. You, you have your lower, rather poor working class and then you have your... your I'd say the middle class and then you have upper middle class. And then, but there what we noticed is that *Vernac news* is much more popular with the poor working class at UCT. And that on its own, you know, is a victory for us. /R: Yeah. S: Because for a very long time, speaking of myself, poor working class students UCT felt alienated at UCT. Because white institution. And you come from a Kasi background, I mean, you've been taught in isiXhosa your entire life, you get to UCT and then the only thing you have to do is to assimilate. But when there is a paper that caters to, there is a paper that caters to your language... Uhm, and, and, and a paper dedicated to preserve of the purity of the languages and then you at least feel a sense of welcome, you know. /R: Yeah, Yeah, sort of feeling a part of something. Good, good. You've actually answered my later question, thanks.

R: is there a standard variety of language of use when writing for the paper. For example, is one required to write in a standard variety of English or isiXhosa, or do you sort of or is that sort of up to you or?

S: Look, Uhm, in terms of English we try to keep it as standard as possible. Uhm, in terms of isiXhosa... Uhm, isiXhosa is... isiXhosa is a very complex language... owing to very complexity of the nature of, uhm, the so-called Xhosa people. Now we know isiXhosa is made up of different dialects. uQumbu na kuTsolo emaMpondomiseni banesiMpondomise sabo. /R: Yeah, yeah, nendlela abisithetha ngayo bathetha isiXhosa, ukusibhala isiXhosa kuthi. /S: My mother is iMpondo laseNggeleni, ngaphaya kwaseMthatha and she speaks a different dialect. Uhm, and then we have amaXhosa, wase, kuCentane, /R: Phesheya komBhashe, ewe. /S: you know, and so they have all these dialects and all these languages. And so, its... academically of course they have tried to sort of standardise these. /R: To sort of standardise that, ja. /S: But I mean, four years into university, you know, that standardisation no longer has any impact on how you speak and how you write the language. /R: how you write the language, ja. /S: Ours is to say, write as much Xhosa as you can, you know, because... really there is no pure isiXhosa. There is no pure isiXhosa /R: Such thing does not exist, ja. /S: it does not exist, it is very complex issue. So... *clears throat*

R: That's very nice. 'Cause when I went through the isiXhosa texts, I could feel like every texts had its difference, I could tell like, hmm, this is so different from the last text I wrote, or I read and stuff. That got me thinking because I did not learn isiXhosa esikolweni. Growing I went to a township school that was mostly coloured because I lived far away so I never had the opportunity, like, to learn to write in isiXhosa... but because ekhaya sisithetha that was the way I exposed to it.

R: so, what informed the layout or design of the paper? Because I know sometimes you... at the beginning, there were no labels for the languages. A text would appear in a language but in the later texts I noticed that there were all of a sudden, these languages like English, isiXhosa.

S: I was not very much involved in terms of, you know, because I was an external writer, so I was not very much involved, uhm, in the labelling. But I would imagine the justification of that is... uhm, you want... you know when one gets a cover... and then they would browse through the paper. If you want them to see their language. I mean like you get languages like isiXhosa and Zulu, and then they're quite similar, right? /R: Yeah. /S: but if someone has the intention of reading isiXhosa, you want them to go straight to that. /R: towards that. /S: But if someone also has, uhm, uhm, what is this, a wish to learn more isiZulu, to go that specific text. I would imagine that is the justification for that.

R: Good.... You actually answered part of my next question *laughs*. Because I noticed that in each issue the language that appear sort of differ, like, inoba like the same sort of language template it changes depending on things you're reading. So, do you think there is... a reason for that or is it just... happens as to what you receive?

S: no, I think it's a matter of receiving. Uhm, uhm, [inaudible] what we see, like now we've gone completely digital. What we see is... is an, an over concentration on isiXhosa. Because now our production cycle is very weekly, you know. /R: Yes, I noticed its changed a lot, because I follow you guys on Twitter... Facebook. I have noticed that there is so much more happening there now than before. /S: So... now you have a lot content for isiXhosa... I mean, you know, geographically we're in the Western Cape and more Xhosa people. Uhm, but not just that, for us to be able to content from other languages... uhm, uhm, we have to... ask people two weeks in advance. But yho. It's a struggle to get them to write. You get a very few people who write in those languages. And then it's not easy

for them ukuba when... Uyafumanisa ukuba umntu ubusy. Mhlawumbi you get two Venda writers on campus and they're both busy at the same time... And then you find that there is no Tshivenda for that week, and then the same happens for the next week and the other week. You know. You get to a point to... uhm... where you bring variety by all means. /R: uhm, like a representation of everything that you... thanks. Uhm... okay.

R: So, I also noticed that, uhm, there is always like an accompanying English summary... can you tell me more about that... like what's the purpose for that?

S: That is, that is... is two things. One is because we are a brand, right? If someone does not understand isiXhosa but they still, follow *Vernac news* on social media pages. Uhm, we want... for instance, we have... there is a news headline saying... "students... or student shot at UCT on campus" ... and then we have, isiXhosa of the same thing... right?... People that don't speak isiXhosa but follow us will want to know what happened. And, uhm, and, and, and English, even though we do not want to use it, is, you know, the short way of reaching... so it's a question of reaching people as fast as possible, because we understand the hegemony of the English language. And I must say that, it is not an admission of the hegemony of English language but what we are also saying here I that... we can still use English but our use of English should not be in such a way that... it, it, it bares hegemony over the other languages. Like, it must be used in an equal manner. /R: interesting. Oh yeah, that is quite similar to, uhm, Ngugi, he would say the same thing, he does not regard English as an African language, at all. In all his writing, he refuses to accept it as this. And therefore, he said it should not exist as something that is here [gestures 'high level'] and everything exist beneath it [gestures]. That is quite a powerful sort of concept to actually work in or sort of like function within. /S: No, I meant, Okay. We were at a lecture on decolonial thought lecture, and someone posed this question; "why are we using English in a decolonial lecture? And Lutshaba said that; it would be useless for us to have this lecture in isiXhosa... and assume. Uhm, that everybody can... uhm, you know... /R: Everybody can understand. /S: Yes. Whereas if we used English, is able to reach everybody. But its... That is not an admission of hegemony of English but we are saying English must be used in an equal manner as other languages. But also, it poses, to, a challenges... a challenge to us as black people to say... seeing that... we view English as the fastest way, on, education reaches, uhm, then what are we doing to develop our own languages to, uhm, to... standardise our languages in such a manner that it is easy for one to write an academic paper in isiXhosa. And that is why *Vernac News* exists, you know. If you saw our... our... the hardcopy that we used to print out... we would write an entire article in vernac, and then you'd have one paragraph in English. /R: In English. Those sort of accompanying summaries... /S: That on its own was an ideological... sort of... you know, that was a political statement to say; we prioritise our own, and then for those who do not understand you're just going to make do... /R: Ngani fumane apha. Ngani rhabule. /S: But ngawufumane umncwane, if you don't want to, you are... /R: f***ked, nantsoke. /S: You know. Uhm, from that moment, you are sparking curiosity in the Bantu language.

R: this is not a question in my interview but wanted ask ngento oyithethileyo ne; do you think it is important to distinguish between a native language and an indigenous language? Do you think it is important or... or do you guys just sort of uhm...?

S: No, no, hay. I think it's just English. What is? I mean honestly, how do you distinguish between a native and an indigenous? I mean, if you go to England, English is the native language and is also the indigenous language. So, it just one thing. /R: Yeah, it's one in the same thing. Thanks.

R: I also realised that there is an element of social activism in the paper's general ideology, like, this idea of activism, quite a strong feeling of social activism. So, was this sort of intended meaning or....?

S: I think it, it stems from... act as a product of activists. /R: Okay. /S: So, uhm, in nature it was going to be in-planned to black people's struggle. Like now, since we've gone online now, we've sort of shifted our line of production approach... we mostly focus on news now, on things like votes and opinions. /R: Yeah, I noticed, like. /S: And, and, and that's our biggest... sort of... because we are trying to, you know, we trying to do here an, attract people to an intellectual platform. [inaudible]. If you, if you look at the history of South African political activists, all of them... Hendrik Verwoerd was an editor of a newspaper. /R: of a newspaper. /S: Yes. Robert Sobukwe was an editor. /R: Editor! Yeah, yeah. Biko as well. /S: Biko as well, he was a columnist. So, so, there is always this... there is tradition here of... the South African struggle, Afrikaners of course having their own struggle, of course. /R: Of course, /S: And the blacks their own struggle. Using newspapers as a platform to, to, to, to, to... I do not want to say propagate... But using newspapers as a platform... to get closer to the people. /R: To the people, yeah. As a sort of medium to sort of... create a connection to the people. /S: Because here we have... we have a duty... because we did not become activists simply because it was personal difference. We became activists because there was a material need in the black society for us to become /R: Activists. /S: Yes. So... it goes without question that we then had the duty to use those platforms to, to, to, to bring to the fore... /R: Our main struggles. /S: Yes, our struggles. To tell our own stories. /R: Yeah! That is quite important. It actually answered the other questions as well. *laughs* thanks.

R: What are your, like views on the role of language in society? Like, you mentioned earlier on that; language is a site of struggle. Could you perhaps elaborate a bit more on that?

S: well, uhm. Language is not just a means of communication... it is power. Yeah. Uhm, its... cause within that power, whoever is dominant in society will use English to transmit their culture from one group to another. Yes, in South African we know the white population has power. Economic power [inaudible] and... that is why today we have English speaking dominantly. /R: Yeah. /S: And the moment we speak in a certain language... our behaviour, our norms, our things we like, the people that we interact with /R: Sort of... shifts. /S: Yes, it shifts. Because... we are not just... You want to interact with people... who speak in a certain way. Dress in a certain way. That eat in places that are designed for 'you' kind of people, your kind of people. And, and, and... you know. That's the culture aspect of it. But there is also the power aspect of language in context, you know. To say, if we speak in this language, if we exercise our politics in this language. Uhm, then we have already accepted that we are... we have already accepted the vast accusation of our own. But not only that. It means that we are going to write law... in the English culture. It means we are going to practise governance in the English culture. That is why you have black politicians going overseas to learn about democracy. /R: Yeah. And then they come back. /S: Yes. Because, uhm, even the political literature has been written in these languages in such a way that it makes African civilisation something that was never there. /R: Yeah *laughs*. Some primitives. Yeah. /S: Yes. So, so, so, the issue of language and power, I mean, from a personal level, I did say; when you get to UCT for instance... uhm, you... get there you have certain items or... in the lecture halls, the tutorials, even in the class sitting, if you have a certain accent there are certain assumptions, cultural assumptions, that are made about you... certain economic, uhm, you know, assumptions made about you, not only that. You are also afforded, uhm... different kind of treatment from society. You're treated differently. /R: Yeah, you can tell. /S: You know. How you speak can potentially determine how people see you as intellectual or just /R: Sub-human, yeah. /S: And, and, and the other, it either determines your success in life because, I mean, you could get a brother here. For instance, in things like tutorials, where you are in a space where sometimes you are marked on how much you speak. Sometimes you can even get tutorials, in institutions like UCT where you get all kinds of people from private schools... private public schools or... public township schools. Uhm, and there, you already see the hegemony... of

being able to speak English in certain manner; the tone, and how intimidating it is to people who don't speak the language in that sense. And, you get for instance, students willing to argue it was a method of debating, and those who express themselves... you know, in a posh accent, even if they have the dumbest of points. By virtue of them expressing themselves in that manner, in that tone, in that body language... they've already, uhm, won the debate. And wena speaking in your township accent, if there is such a thing, then you have already lost the debate. /R: Based on how you sound. How you use your English. I actually experienced that. I did a course in English in upper campus, I think third year, I think. And we had this conversation about life in the township. And this girl... posh accent, private schools, everything, is like your typical black upper middle class person. And ndiphaya mna like kodwa sisi ayikho lento uyithethayo maan, ndihlala elokshini mna and lento uyithethayo ayikho. Kunanamhlanje ndiyakuxelela, yayingathi zange ndithethe nokuthetha kula klasi. And yayi yitutorial okukwayo leya. And I told them like, there's, there's a way of experiencing township life and there is a way of talking about it. Wena you are talking about it, you've never experienced this. Uva ngokuxelelwa, lanto yo'ba umntu ave ngokuva kuthiwa kunje elokshini, kuthiwa kunje elokshini. Ndithi kuye jonga sisi, xa use lokshini awunophuma ngexesha elithile nje na njani okokuqala, awuyazi wena lonto leyo, kodwa uthetha ngetownship life ngoku. Ngenxa yento yokubana umnyama uqonde ukuba unalo igunya lokuthetha ngale topic. And I'm like no. Just because umnyana ayikuniki igunya lonto leyo... yabo? /S: Ayikho enye indlela. This is the type of black you find at UCT. Uhm, uhm, I did mention that there are cultural cleavages at UCT, those stems from; the economic cleavages, like some amongst us are more privileged than others... Uhm, so, that informs our... our prejudices, and our objectivity or lack thereof. Uhm, uhm, uhm... yeah. Uhm... Objectivity is... do you have any question you...? /R: Ja, ukugqhiba kwakho ukuphendula lena iquestion. Well, well...

R: In the paper, there is an education section, where like they give you a saying in isiXhosa and then they translate it into a different language. I think, from isiXhosa and then changes into English, and then Afrikaans. What informed that, do you know?

S: We have language reviewers, uhm... I was not part of the concept of that idea, so I cannot answer... [inaudible]. /R: That is not a problem, not a problem. We have got three more questions. And ezi, these questions are for the isiXhosa writers. They are very specific for nina.

R: So, ingaba isiXhosa, I am assuming that uyabhala isiXhosa. Uhm, ingaba isiXhosa usibhalayo sohluke njani kwesi usithethayo, ukuba sehlukile?

S: Well... IsiXhosa endis' bhalayo nesiXhosa endisithethayo, isiXhosa endisithethayo is dependent on... my location... uhm, the sort of cultural influences that are there... For instance, in the township, we speak isiXhosa but it's not isiXhosa that is pure, you know. It's, its isiXhosa mixed with Tsotsitaal. That does not mean I can write academic Xhosa or Xhosa that is not influenced. /R: Yeah. /S: When I am at UCT, I speak isiXhosa mixed with English, because I am in a certain cultural setting /R: The setting. /S: Yes. Yes. So, I would say it is dependent on the setting. Uhm, but in terms of writing isiXhosa... its dependent on the topic at hand... So, there's no, there's no specific, I'd say, factors that impact on how they going to write, in terms of how I speak isiXhosa. /R: Perfect.

R: So, like xa ubhala kwiVernac for example. Which one would you think, which one do you use in that instance?

S: I, I just use your... purest form of isiXhosa as possible. Because I did say that there is no standard. /R: Standard, yeah. /S: but there are certain words of course that, uqond' ba they are Xhosa. For instance, you get abantu, you get this from people from P. E. or East London, athetha athi umntu

unesisu. Uhm, you know, in the Xhosa language there is no isisu /R: Awunotsho kanjalo. /S: Ja, you know. So, so, certain things can be easily discarded... uhm, as not being /R: a part of. /S: For instance, you get words like 'ukugqhaya' /R: Ukugqhaya. /S: Yes, but {could have possibly been 'bath'} kukujula, hayi Ukugqhaya amatye, /R: Okanye, ukugibisele. /S: ukugibisela. ukugqhaya I have never heard of that in isiXhosa... So, so, there are certain words you would discard based on your own, uhm, sort of cultural upbringing, /R: Upbringing. /S: Uhm, to say; I am not used to it mna. I am not completely discarding it but I'm saying I do not understand it. /R: Kwesi siXhosa sisisebenzisayo asili sebenzisi elogama lithile, nje mhlawumbi. /S: But also, I think in our... our discarding of certain words, I think we are putting ourselves at a disadvantage because... languages are not static, they move with the times. Before, before the advent of HIV and AIDS for instance, we had the word 'ingculaza'... we now have it. So, so, so... I think, we should embrace new words... because we are trying to modernise our languages. /R: Yeah. /S: But we should not do that in a way that bastardises the language. Because I'm very much for... for new languages, rather for new forms of expressions but within the Xhosa oral tradition. /R: Yes. Okay, thanks.

R: So, wena, in your, in your opinion... how do you feel about... 'lanto yokungxanga isiXhosa, neh, nezinye iilanguages? For example, xa ubhala isiXhosa sakho ube unawo amagama wakho esilungu okanye wesiSotho, njalo?

S: No, I think... I think it's a good thing... People have this conception for languages so different there is no connection or... So, I think it's a good thing in terms of dispelling those notions of difference, you know. Uhm, you get words. I mean, you get, uhm, speak people that speak, uhm, Swahili for instance, you get words that mean the same thing. /R: Nama lwimi 'ethu. /S: For instance, you get someone like Kanye West. His name Kanye, uhm, uhm, it's a Swahili name meaning the one. And, and, ngesiZulu, 'kanye' meaning. /R: Once. /S: Means just once, or ngesiXhosa the same thing. /R: Same thing, ja. /S: So, so, there's always kind of... uhm, uhm, uhm, uhm, sort of connection. /R; nection with another language /S: You should never, I'd say, uhm, uhm... seeing that as people, sometimes, have this accusation {possibly 'bastardisation'} of isiXhosa like, uhm...

R: So, uhm, isiXhosa ubusifunde esikolweni or ngo'thetha?

S: Mostly ndisifunde esikolweni. /R: Okay. /S: In fact, nokusithetha, I think in the township ukuthetha isiXhosa, nendlela abantu abasithetha ngayo isiXhosa. So, it's always been a very big part of my life. /R: Of your life.

R: So, was this home language, or first language okanye? /S: home language. /R: Home language, neh. Okay.

R: ... okay. There are two more questions.

R: So, do you think there should be a standard variety of isiXhosa? For example, like, standard spelling conventions and such? Do you think that is necessary for us to have like a standard? For example, English, there is a standard English.

S: No. I don't think there is a standard English. /R: Yeah. /S: I mean... you know, xa ucofa icomputer yakho, and there's like, you get the English keyboard /R: Like UK English. /S: Uhm, uhm, there way certain words are spelt. The word colour, for instance. In America, the word colour has no 'u' but somewhere else it has a 'u'. So, I think it's a tricky subject. Uhm, uhm... I used to... xa ujonge amagama abantu abamnyama, kuthiwa for instance, you get surnames like; Thabatha. And, in certain instances, you find that there is no 'h'. And then kukho abanye abantu /R: Ubakhona la 'h'. /S: You know. Who has the authority, you know... /R: of, to determine. /S: to determine it. So, uhm,

it's a tricky question. But I don't think it should be... I don't think we should be very much focussed on that. Obviously, it is important in terms of the quality of the language. But in terms of... in terms of content, I don't think it changes content. Content supersedes spelling... /R: I feel the same way as well. Kukhona ichomie yam. Ifani yakhe nguBhuwa, but its spelt B-U-W-A. I'm like; mmm-mmm, nguBuwa lowo, ayingo Bhuwa, nguBuwa lowo kuthi. Okay, last question.

R: What is your experience of writing isiXhosa in the paper, like, what could you say about that process?

S: I think it's been... I haven't written anything in isiXhosa, in the past year [inaudible]. In fact, I have been writing reviews. But in terms of opinions, I have not. Well, what I found is that... when I first started writing... uhm, it was a difficult experience. Because I have been... I've been from.... A Xhosa school in the township, you know. You come to UCT, and... there is no, no speaking of isiXhosa or anything, but you're forced to assimilate. So, you find yourself in a very... in a cultural dilemma, yes, yes. /R: Ja. /S: Writing one paragraph in isiXhosa is a struggle. /R: In fact, it's mind bobbling. /S: Yes, you're right. R: You find it so difficult. /S: You know, that comes from years of... uhm... it come from years of... assimilating into another cultural set-up. But over, uhm, time, uhm, things change. Uhm. And you are able to, uhm... you know, uyaqhela. /R: Uyaqhela. I think I went through lonto [inaudible]. Because I feel like, when I read these isiXhosa texts, I always feel like I've been... so alienated from my own sense of language and, why am I not seeing more of this? Like, why is it that when I want to see a text enje kufuneka ndifumane i*Vernac news* yodwa? I mean, like, is there no way of having these, like, I mean like, can we not have an intellectual corpus of works that appear in these languages? /S: you don't get Xhosa books, except at the library. /R: ja. /S: And... not everyone goes to the library. Uhm... you can't find isiXhosa texts in the bookshops. /R: Ja, it's very rare. It's so rare. /S: Yes. In fact, I've argued that; most bookshops in Cape Town there are no isiXhosa books. You can't find them, they're not there. If you want to own a Xhosa book, you either go to your old high school teacher /R: Teacher. Ewe, /S: and ask; teacher ndicela iincwadi ezingafundwayo. You find books from the library. *laughs*. /R: I've also noticed that most Xhosa books in bookshops zezi fori abantwana and that's it. Like, you don't get very complex Xhosa texts anymore. You just don't get them anymore. Mna, iincwadi zesiXhosa endinazo are like, PDFs from like 1920something, like; "Ityala lamawele", ii'nto 'zinjalo. and those are so old, like, what is happening now? Like, is anyone producing these? /S: There books are there but. /R: There are being produced. But they're not being sold at accessible places for thina, cause kwindawo esiya kuzo azikho ezincwadi, and kuthiwa zibhalelwa thina but thina bantu bazo asizifumani, uyazibona izinto ezinjalo? But ke, ndiyabulela kakhulu mntakwethu maan. /S: Sharp. /R: Undincede kakhulu maan. /S: That's fine, that's fine. Ujonge ukuyiqhamba nini lento? [recording stopped].

The interview took place on; Saturday 19th of August 2017. (Appendix 12)

Venue: Clarinus village, UCT

Recording tool: mobile smartphone.

Interviewee: O

R: tell me about the background of the paper?

O: oh, bendicinga ukuba uzothetha ngesiXhosa [I thought you speak in isiXhosa]. *laughs*. Uhm, so I was not part of the early discussions for the paper. uhh, I was only invited to come and support during the second stage of the paper, ja. So not quite sure, like, where it is coming from. But I can tell you that when I came in, uhm, to be part of the initiative it was to promote indigenous languages. That was when came in the foundation, the basis of the paper. But I was not part of the original discussions. I was part of the second phase, where they needed writer, editors and everyone else.

laughing

R: so, you actually answered the second question actually. /O: What is the second question?

/R: How did you get involved with the paper? so...?

O: oh, a friend of mine... I didn't answer that question... a friend of mine called me and told me there was a meeting about indigenous, or uhm, indigenous newspaper that focused on each indigenous language. African languages. And then, because they know that I love writing isiXhosa, and I liked to speak isiXhosa a lot, so they... invited me to come. So, I went to the first meeting and thought it was a very good thing. And then I joined. R: cool, you can actually speak in isiXhosa if you want. You don't have to speak English.

laughing

R: Ok. Does the paper have a target audience or who do you think reads the paper?

O: So, our target audience, uhm, when I was still with Vernac at the time, uhm, it was students, across the whole university. Yes. Because we were distributing the paper at UCT, e-UWC, at some point in Stellenbosch. We were targeting the students, or university students. And as the paper grew, uhh, i-target audience yethu, uhm, nayo yakhula [our target audience... also grew] to an extent that everyone who wanted to read the paper, we made it available for them. This is now from community members, because we wanted i-contribution yabo [their contribution], into yokubana [that], how is the paper? Are we... Into esiyibhalayo [what we write], is it something they would love to read? Is it still on the market? /R: is it still relevant. /O: Yes. Like, is it, would they buy i-newspaper enje [such a newspaper]? Mhlawumbi i-Vernac ibithengiswa [maybe if Vernac was for sale]. So, we ended

up not only giving it to students, now giving it to staff members, all the way to community members. KomaLanga [Langa], I think, nase [as well as] Khayelitsha. /R: oh ja, I know kwaLanga. /O: yes.

R: Is there a standard variety of language use in the production of the paper? For example, is one required to write in a standard of i-English okanye isiXhosa [English or isiXhosa]? Or is that all up to you?

O: No, no, no. it is entirely up to you. But obviously we do encourage abantu abakwazi ukuthetha iilwimi zesintu [people that can speak African languages] to come and write. But, uhm, we don't say bhala [write] in English, bhala ngesiXhosa [write in isiXhosa], so we don't say bhala ngesiSotho [write in Sesotho]. I am not sure if I am answering the question, but when i-posts [posts] when they come out, or when we need writers in isiXhosa, isiZulu, isiSuthu [Sesotho], and they come and write in their language. So, and there is no standard format where we say, uhm, this is how it needs to... /R: Look like. /O: Yes. No, no, no. basically, you write your own topic. You have a choice, uhm... choosing a topic, one. Also, you have your own style of writing. But I have to say that, we make sure into yokubana [that]; whatever you submit 'it's your work' but it needs to be up to standard. /R: Oh, ok, ja. O: It needs to be up to standard.

R: so, what informed the layout of the design of the paper? Like, how did you decide what to put in and what to leave out, and that sort of thing?

O: That was 'cause... I was the editor there... But I wasn't the editor for the layout, design. So, but we did give out contributions towards ii-colour [colours], like maybe yi [it should be] ... like, i-front page umzekelo [for example, the front page]. We would give out input, and then ii-colours esizisebenzisayo [the colours they use], I don't want to lie and say those were South African, uhm, flag colours... but zi-Similar [they are similar] to that. But I think, I mean, doing i-design [the design] and i-layout [the layout], ii-colours [the colours]. But I think we were strategic because besifun, besifun'ukubonisa [we wanted to discuss ideas] different colours. Different languages. Different people. So, you will see green, yellow, and I think, I am not sure. /R: Red. /O: yes. Showing into yokuba [that] people are different. Languages are different. Colours are different. But I was not part of inantuka, idesign [the design]. /R: oh, ok /O: Bendi, bendinika nje i-input [I was just giving] there and there. There was a design team and were dedicated to looking at the layout of the lantuka, iphepha eli [this paper]. R: Ok, thanks.

R: uhm... I noticed that the languages that appear in the issues differ, like, it is never the same as the previous issue /O: uhuh. /R: how do you choose the languages that appear on the overall issue?

O: So, then that I can answer because, uhm, as the editor I needed to make sure into yokubana [that it] it balances out. Because initially when we first started inantuka i-Vernac news ibisis'Xhosa, is'Xhosa, is'Xhosa [that Vernac news was Xhosa, Xhosa, Xhosa], and then moved to 80 percent isiXhosa, 20 percent isiSuthu [Sesotho] and Tswana. And not only because in our team, it was Xhosas and Sothos [baSotho]. And then after some time, we had one article in English, and then we had, uhm, 15 percent of, uhm, so I would say 15 percent of Sotho; uhm, 15 percent of... English and Afrikaans; and, uhm, 60... 70 percent of isiXhosa. /R: Yeah. /O: uh, to come back to your question; at some point we, we, we, we sent calls out there for abantu ba, abanomdla wokubhala [to people interested in writing] and we received amaNdebele, 'maZulu, 'maXhosa, uhm, Afrikaans, and, ukuba mabazobhala [to come write]. And we tried by all means intoyokubana, i-article esizithumelayo emaphepheni ziyabalanc(a) [we made that the articles that we published were balanced out]. nqha, so if we send five articles in isiXhosa, and five articles in Zulu, five articles in Sotho, and five articles in, uhh, in any other language, yes. But we try to balance it out.

R: How did you come to the decision to label the different languages used in the articles? So, what informed to the decision? For example, you know, there was always short descriptions in English at the bottom or aph' ecaleni [on the side]. Uhm, what informed that?

O: Ok. Uhm... young people, they don't understand ii-languages [languages], when I say they don't understand ii-languages [languages]. I am talking about i... the content and the concept of being able to speak your mother tongue. Once you come to an institution efana [such as] ne-UCT [UCT], whereby uzothi 'molweni ebantwini' [when you say 'hello'], instead of saying 'hello guys' abantu [people] don't pay much attention because they tend not to understand how powerful i-language ozalwe nayo [the language you bring], like, the messages you can bring across ngolwimi lakho leenkobe [your home/mother language]. /R: hmm. /O: That's why. Two, uhm, to make the paper, I am not saying that when you are writing ngee-Indigenous [iin indigenous] languages, the paper was not attractive, but to attract abanye abantu [other people] that do not know isiXhosa but they do want to know what is going on in these articles, because we get a lot of those. Uhm, abantu abamhlophe, abelungu besithi "ndiyifundile i-article yakho [some white people would say "I read your article], and I'm like, no you didn't. you only read that part that was in English. *laughing* And they would be like, just from that one part I could understand what was portrayed in that message, and thank you because, uhm, the article was in isiXhosa but there was the part where I am also accommodated, and thank you for that. So, I think to bring, uhm, even ku namaXhosa [Xhosas] that don't even know how to thetha [speak] isiXhosa. They don't even know how to read isiXhosa, bathi sinzima [they say it is difficult]. So, then we, we, besingafuni ukuyenza straight nje for abantu abakwazi ukufunda or ukuthetha, abanye

besifuna ba-contribut(e) [we didn't want to be exclusive for people who could read or speak isiXhosa, we wanted other to contribute too]. That i-input yabo [their input] just by reading ilantuka [the], uhm, eza-phrases zibalwe nge-English [the phrases written in English]. Translating into ebhalwe phayana [translating what is written], so, basically, I would say it was to attract i-attention yabanye abantu [attract the attention of people] that might not really be interested in reading that, into ebhalwe ngelwimi lesintu [something written in an indigenous language]. /R: Thank you.

R: So, uhm, what is the... how did you make the decision, neh, to label? For example, each language would say isiXhosa, and the next would be like English. So, was that done on purpose or was it just, sort of?

O: uhh, no. so you're saying, its English, and then isiXhosa, /R: benibhala mos [as you were writing], ii-articles [the articles] in original languages, this is an English text, this is an isiXhosa text. So, why did that happen? /O: Oh. /R: Remember like, earlier on, there wasn't that. But later on, I started noticing that there languages are labelled.

O: Remember that when we started i-Vernac [Vernac], there were few of us. But as ba iminyaka ihamba, i-months zihamba [as years, months went by], it became more people got interested enantukeni ephepheni [this paper]. And we, we, we accepted more ideas... uhm, so, those were the ideas from abantu [people] into yo'bana abantu [see people] came from different, what was amazing in the Vernac team was that; you, when you sit down kwi-meeting [in meetings] discussing iphepha eliyana [the paper] there are gonna be more things, new things ezizayo [coming]. So, you find that at first, the first issue was very good in isiXhosa but it was dry at the same time. The content was good but the paper was just dry. /R: Ja. /O: The second issue that came out that year was much better than the first one, the third issue, as time went by ii-ideas ziyaza [ideas came] and then abantu [people], you know, so /R: a strategy. /O: It was a strategy. I think it was, Uhm, a market, a marketing thing, into yokubana xa ufuna, mhla'mbi [you find that, maybe,] you don't know isiSuthu [Sesotho], but would love to read isiSuthu [Sesotho]. I would leave isiXhosa because ndiyasazi [I know] isiXhosa, ndiya kule article lena yesiSuthu. So, instead of ukubana ndipag(e) throughout. Ibisi-strategy [it was a strategy] i-design team [the design team], and nee-editors [and editors]. Sat down and they were like this is what we need to have. I mean beautiful ideas from different people. /R: Alright. Thanks.

R: I realised that there was an element of social activism in the paper's general, sort of, ideology and this strong activist idea. So, was this intended, and do you see yourself as an activist? And lastly, do you see language as a form of activism?

O: ... yes. I am saying yes to your last two questions. /R: Ok. /O: uhm, uhm, I love to write... and... I get very emotional when it comes to ii-languages [languages] not just isiXhosa qha [only]. Uhm, because... uhm... we use what we call 'usiba lencwadi' [pen/feather of the book]. We use pen and paper to voice out how you feel. But the way you say it, the way you're writing it, you're being an activist. You're being an activist in... umzekelo [an example], right now xa ndithetha isiXhosa nawe [as I speak to you] in isiXhosa, unconsciously, basically I am saying to you into yokubana; zibalulekile ii-languages [that our languages are important], masithethe ilwimi lakuthi [let's talk our language] as opposed to si-conduct(e) [conduct] i-interview [the interview] in English. *laughing* once we start in English, we are suppressing the mother-tongue. You know isiXhosa, I know isiXhosa. Why is the interview not in isiXhosa? /R: isiXhosa, yeah. /O: You know. So, by, by, by... speaking in English all the time means uya-suppress(a) [you are suppressing] your mother-tongue. Because English is seen as this beautiful co... it is this universal language that is out there. We don't have to be perfect in it. But we can perfect though ilwimi esisuka kulo [the language we come from]. So, I would say yes xa ndibhala mna [when I write] I am an activist. I do encourage abantu [people], and abantu abanzi [a lot of people] always say ndibhala ngesiXhosa esinzima [in write difficult isiXhosa], and I am like no, sis'Xhosa [its isiXhosa]. There is no Xhosa esilula [easy], there is no Xhosa esinzima [difficult]. Sis'Xhosa qha [just isiXhosa]. And we need to learn that. So, mna [I] I would say yes, I am an activist. I'll put it that way. /R: An Activist.

laughing

R: So, what is your value on the role of language in society?

O: Zibalulekile ii-languages... Zibalulekile ii-languages... uhm... kakhulu [language are veryb important]. Zibalulekile ii-languages... uhm... kakhulu, and I believe that if ever besinofunda [if we were to read] ii... umzekelo [for example], if ever besinofunda iincwadi... esikolweni ngolwimi lwethu [we were to read books in school in our language] there is a lot that we can contribute towards to i-society [society]. In that reading ye-mother language. *inaudible* like studying in English, studying i-social [social] work, e-UCT [at UCT] in your mother-tongue. Believe me, you'd contribute a lot in society. But now we have been so restricted kuba kaloku sifunda ngento yokuba esingayaziyo [because we study something we don't know]. Sometimes, yintoni inxanxadi nge-English? [what is inxanxadi in English] I mean I don't know that. But once an English person asks that yintoni na [what is it?], I won't know that. Yet I do know ngelwimi lam [in my language] /R: ukuba yintoni na. /O: Yes. What is your question again? /R: What are your views on the role of language/O: Yes, yes. Kanene i-language ibalulekile kakhulu [language is very important], uhm, uhm... we would be better people if besi-promot(a) [if were we to promote] into yo'bona abantu mabathethe ulwimi labo [that people

speak their language]. Hmm. And really use English just as i-basis of ilantuka [the] of... language of universal communication method. /R: Yes. Thank you.

R: So, what informed the education sector, sec, section of the paper? at the end, there is always an item /O: yes, something. /R: those sections, hmm.

O: uhm, 'cause abantu abaninzi... bebengasazi [a lot of people did not know]. If you notice ilantuka i-educational section [the educational] I, ithetha [it discusses] like basic things. /R: yeah. /O: Mama [mother], Tata [father], Sisi [sister], umntana ukhaba ibhola [the child kicks the ball], molo [hello], sala kakuhle [stay well]. And we felt as if we know how to say 'hello' in English, we should be able to say 'dumelang' in Sotho. Sawubona in Zulu [hello]. Hm, uhm, uhm, molweni [hello] in isiXhosa. So, those, but at least even if you, you don't know these languages, you able to say the basics. You need to know them. You need to be able to say; dumela, le kae? Ke teng, ha ku na matata [hello. How are you? I am fine, no worries]. Those basic things, you need to know. /R: Yeaj. /O: That's why we formed that section, one. But also at the same time it was, we, we were trying to make it easy for abantu [people] that do not know ezi-languages [these languages], so that they don't just go to i-course [a course] so that they can learn kwiphepha eli [in a paper like this]. /R: ahh. Thanks. Now we are going to go to the actual isiXhosa questions. /O: Ok.

R: Ingaba isiXhosa esi osibhalayo sohluke kanjani kosibhalayo kwiphephandaba i-Vernac news [How is the isiXhosa you write different from the one you write in the newspaper Vernac news]? Umahluko [difference] like, sohluke kanjani kwisiXhosa osithethayo ekuhlaleni, okanye xa ungagandle [how is it different from isiXhosa you speak in the community, or outside]?

O: ok. Not necessarily for(i) mna because isiXhosa endisithethayo sisiXhosa endisibhalayo [for me, the isiXhosa I speak and write]. *inaudible* do you wanna pause this?

Here there was a lengthy disruption for a few minutes

R: Ingaba isiXhosa osibhalayo kwiphephandaba i-Vernac news sohluke kanjani kosithethayo, okanye osibhalayo ngaphandle [How is the isiXhosa you write in the newspaper Vernac news different to the one you speak or write outside]? If there is a change.

O: Mna ndithetha isiXhosa ncakasane [I speak isiXhosa exclusively/purely]. Ndithetha isiXhosa esimpuliswa [I speak pure/clean isiXhosa]. Andithethi isiXhosa saselokshini, okanye isiXhosa esiqanjwa ngoku sithini thini [I do not speak isiXhosa from the township, or isiXhosa that's being created now, and so on]. So, no, IsiXhosa endisibhala kwi-Vernac asohlukanga tuu kwesi ndisithethayo [I write in Vernac is not different, at all, from the one I speak], in my entire life. But there is a difference. I know ngokuya bendiyi-editor [at the time I was an editor], I had to read ii-

articles zabantu besiXhosa [articles from Xhosa people] and you could see ukuba kukho i-shift lendlela ababhalaya ngayo [that there was a shift in the way they write], you could see they are trying so hard ukuba [to be], like ibeyi-academic [it to be academic] isiXhosa writing. But at the same time, because they've got all these bad habits, of saying izinto zesiXhosa ngeluhlobo abacing'ba esizitsho ngayo elokshini [isiXhosa forms in the way they say them in the township]. Ilhlobo olufanayo nendlela obhalayo ngayo [Same way as you write]. So mna, indlela endibhalayo ngayo isiXhosa ayitshintshi, ayitshintshi [the way I write isiXhosa does not change], same thing. But I do want to opinion to you that abantu xa bebhala [people, when they write] you can see into yok'bana indlela ababhala ngayo nendlela abathetha ngayo [that the way they write and the way they talk], and its bad because it is different because ayisosiXhosa ncakasane [it is not isiXhosa exclusively/clearly]. /R: Ok. So, there is like a pure form of isiXhosa? O: no, I wouldn't say isiXhosa esi-pure [pure] but isiXhosa ncakasane [clear]. IsiXhosa nje ncakasane [just clearly]. But not isiXhosa esikhiwa ngaphayana [that's taken from somewhere else]. *interruption* /R: Ok. We'll go to the next one. Ngokuba sizothatha ixesha elide kakhulu [because it will take too much time] if we try to retrace our conversation.

R: Ngokuno kwakho, neh, usiva njani ngokuxutywa okanye ukungxangwa kwesiXhosa nezinye iilwimi [In your opinion, how do you feel about the mixing isiXhosa with other languages]? /O: Uthetha njani [How do you mean]? /R: Like, using isiXhosa ne-English ngexesha eliyi-one [isiXhosa with English at the same time].

O: No, it shouldn't happen. It should not happen. Mele'kuba ayenzeki [it should not happen]. Ewe ke xa uthetha [Yes if you are speaking] because it is quite hard ukuthetha [to talk] isiXhosa ncakasane [exclusively] but xa ubhalayo [but when you write] you cannot mix isiXhosa ne-English [and English]. Azidibani [they do not mix]. Because isi-French sisi-French [French is French]. I mean isi-French asihambelani nesiZulu [French does not go with isiZulu]. English ayihambelani nesiXhosa [does not go with]. Why ngoku isiXhosa sifuneka sizoxutywa nezinye ii-languages [now why should isiXhosa be mix with other languages?]? Hay, hay Andihambiselani nayo lonto tu, tu, tu ndikuxelele [No, no they do not go together, at all to tell you]. Kaloku [because] because the whole point of starting i-Vernac [Vernac], let's start there. The whole point of ukubana ndithethe [of me talking] isiXhosa is because we want to preserve ii-languages [languages]. How are preserving languages xa umane uzothetha isiXhosa ne-english [if you're going to speak isiXhosa with English]. IsiXhosa ne-English. [isiXhosa and English]. No, hay andivumi [No I do not agree]. *laughing* /R: You answered very quickly. That was so quick. You didn't even have to think about it. *laughing* O: No. I mean like zange wambona umlungu ethetha i-English nesiXhosa, nesiXhosa [you have never seen a white person speaking English and isiXhosa, and isiXhosa] at the same. Like lento siyenzayo thina ngoku [what we are doing

now]. Zange umlungu wayenza lonto leyo [a white [person has never done that]. I mean, zange ndava kwa i-China limix(a) lithetha isi-China sakowalo mntakabawo [I have never even heard of a Chinese person mixing his Chinese]. Nditsho umtu wase-Zimbabwe ndihlale nawo ixesha elide kakhulu [I mean, people from Zimbabwe, I have stayed with them for a long time]. Zange ndabava bethetha isi-Shona nenye i-language. It's purely isiShona [I never heard them speak Shona with another language]. So, why should I mix Xhosa with English? No.

R: IsiXhosa usifunde esikolweni okanye usifunde ekuhlaleni?

O: uhm, ok. IsiXhosa bendisenza as I [I did isiXhosa as a] ..., uhm... as i-home language esikolweni [Home language at school]. Ndafika apha e-tertiary ndasizama but zange ndi-Admit(we) [I got here, at tertiary, I tried but I did not get admitted]. /R: Zange sibekho [was it not available]? /O: no, ndandifuna nje [I just wanted it] for interest sake. Ndandifuna ukusiva [I just wanted to try it out], to see if ndingakwazi [if I could do it]. nje uku e-xapand(e) nje i-knowledge yam more ngesiXhosa [just to expand more on my knowledge in isiXhosa]. But because I passed isiXhosa very well e-high [high] school, they said there was no point. /R: so, the was no point. It happens, they see that you can speak isiXhosa so you can't do isiXhosa. /O: haha, yes, yes.

R: Do you think there should be a standard variety of isiXhosa? For example, like, spelling conventions, and... that sort of thing. Like, uhm... Do you think there needs to be isiXhosa esi-standard [that is standard]? /O: What do you mean esi-standard [a standard]? /R: like, kubekho isiXhosa nje ngalanto ugqhib'okuyithetha [for there to be isiXhosa like what you mentioned]. Like, isiXhosa esi-pure [pure] or esimpuliswa [pure/clean]?

O: Oh yes. Are you asking me kufuneka isiXhosa sibe... sibe-standard [if isiXhosa needs to be, to be standard]? Oh yes. /R: Ja [Yes]. A standard variety. /O: I know amaXhosa ngabantu aba-flexible kakhulu [Xhosa people are flexible, a lot]. They allow ilantuka [for the] ... they allow i- [the]... them being flexible, and them being smart to adapt kwezinye ii-languages [to other languages]. But what I am saying is yes, we should have a standard isiXhosa, ngoba isiXhosa sisiXhosa [because isiXhosa is isiXhosa]. IsiXhosa masingaxutywa [should not be mixed]. /R: Masingaxutywa, neh [It should be mixed, right]? /O: Ngok'ba [because] like, imagine i-situation [a situation] whereby singena [we do not have] standard of isiXhosa, and, iyohluka [it differs] depending on i-regions nee-regions [from region to region], but yi-tone eyohlukayo [the tone differs], not really i-language lena [the language itself]. Or ever, uhm, I am trying to think of umzekelo kengoku [of an example now]. /R: Like, into yomntu othetha isiXhosa kodwa ikhaya liseMthatha [a thing of someone speaking isiXhosa but their home is home is in Mthatha]. *inaudible* /O: Heeke, Heekeⁱ [Indeed, indeed]. Yi-tone etshintshayo,

mhlawubi isiXhosa sintsokothe ke ngamanye amaxesha kwezinye ii-regions [The tone changes, maybe isiXhosa is very deep sometimes in some regions]. Otherwise, no. Standard isiXhosa, yes.

R: Ingaba athini awakho amava ngokubhala kwakho ngelwimi lakho leenkobe kweliphephandaba [What are your views/opinions on writing in your mother tongue in the newspaper]? Like, how do you feel about that, like, does it feel empowering or? /O: It makes me happy.

O: One, it is empowering. Two, it makes me happy. And I am grateful that abantu abaninzi [a lot of people], they read my articles, and then they come to me bathi [they say] “enkosi [thank you], we didn’t know that. And we didn’t know that, ukuba kwisiXhosa kukho igama elithile [that in isiXhosa there is a certain word]. And for me, it’s not empowering for me, but it is empowering nakubanye abantu [for other people], it gave them an education process kuyo yonke lento [in this whole thing]. Yes.

R: Given that there are not a lot of opportunities to write isiXhosa for a white audience e-UCT [at UCT]. How do you, how does that make you feel?

O: Act, actually... I mean bakhona abantu aba ngamaXhosa [there are people that are Xhosa]. But surprisingly enough that, bakhona abantu [there are people] who showed interest abanga singawo amaXhosa esikolweni [that are not Xhosa at the school], I mean e-UCT [at UCT]. So, it wasn’t really about... Hence, I said earlier on, i-audience yes yayi-based on izi-students kuqala [our audience, yes, was based on students at the beginning]. When we added eza-subjects [those subjects] we wanted to attract abanye abantu [attract other people]. So, for me I wasn’t really writing for amaXhosa qha [for Xhosa people only]. Bendibhala for nabanye abantu [I was writing for other people] that had interest in this language, so that they can read. I mean right now sazi ukuba kukhona abantu bebesuka [we know there are people who come from], asibazi [we do not know], they will come to us; ngum-Sotho [Sotho]. But they’ll come to us, you know; athi “siyabulela isiXhosa siyasazi” [they would say “thank you I know isiXhosa now”]. So, ja [yes] no. I didn’t feel like that I was writing for amaXhosa qha [Xhosa people only]. I wasn’t affected by that.

R: So, what is your experience of writing isiXhosa within the paper? So, in general just to conclude lento *inaudible* to summarise your experience of writing isiXhosa kwi phephandaba [in the newspaper].

O: So, asi... One, sibhal’ e-compute(teni) okuqala [we write on a computer]. And i-computer yethu ayi, ayis’ translat(i), like ayisilungisi, ‘kuba i-wrong(o) apha [our computer does not translate, it does not correct that it is wrong here]. That was one of the challenges because you have to reread into yakho [your thing] over and over. And then ufumanise kengoku xa i, i-first [you find that when the

first], first version i-send(wa) [is sent] to ii-editors [editors] kune ii-errors [there are errors], then you have to write again, ulungise ezo-errors ezo [fix those errors]. That was the only challenge, otherwise writing in isiXhosa kwi-newspaper [in the newspaper] was rewarding and amazing. I felt really, really good. I felt as if I was making a difference ebomini babanye abantu [in other's lives]. Felt if this was yenye yezinto ebekufuneka ndizenze [if this was one of the things I had to do] was that, I did my best and I feel quite happy.

R: Good, thanks.

O: Ndiyabulela [Thank you].

Written Interview answers by T (Appendix 13)

1. Can you please tell me about the origins or the background of the paper?

Ans: It was a combination of a lack of African identity at UCT despite claims that it is the leading African university on the continent and inspiration from successful vernacular news publications such as Isolezwe and iLanga.

2. How did you get involved with the paper?

Ans: I was the founder of the paper.

3. Does the paper have a target audience? Or who do you think reads the paper? If so, why and who?

Ans: Initially, the paper's target audience was the entire UCT community. The initial aim was to stoke interest of African languages in the community. Based on feedback this changed whereby the main content of the paper was aimed at African language speakers and the educational section was aimed for non-African language speakers.

4. Is there a standard variety of language of use when writing for the paper? For example, is one required to write in a standard variety of English or isiXhosa?

Ans: For the most part, every language was to be edited and represented in its formal form. The exceptions were the poems and the colloquial pieces such as Tsotsi Taal and Kaaps.

5. What informed the lay out or design of the paper?

Ans: Initially, a standard student newspaper layout was used similar to uct's other student publication, Varsity. Later, our new layout designer tried to incorporate a more African themed layout.

6. I have noticed that the languages that appear in each issue differ, it is never the same as the previous issue. How do you choose the languages that appear in an issue?

Ans: The languages depends on our internal (within the team) and external (uct community and other stakeholders) submissions. However we have dedicated editors for the languages that appear more often, such as isiXhosa or Setswana.

7. How did you make the decision to label the languages used in articles? What informed this decision?

Ans: This decision occurred when we began receiving more languages than we had initially planned for and felt it necessary to distinguish them since our target audience was the uct community at the time. Thus our intention was to point out just how diverse our newspaper had become.

8. What is the purpose of the English summary translations that accompany the various indigenous language texts?

Ans: This was done to stoke interest in the articles and incite people to read or learn to read the articles if they wished to understand the meat of the article.

9. I realised that there is an element of social activism in the paper's general ideology. Was this intended? Do you see yourself as an activist? And, do you see language or your writing as a form of this activism?

Ans: Yes this was intended. As mentioned before, the birth of the paper was due to the current social climate at the time at UCT, particularly among students who wished to express their African identity. I took part in Rhodes Must Fall and later Fees Must Fall and consequently Vernac News benefited from this overall increase in student activism since this spoke to our core principles of Pan-Africanism.

10. What are your views on the role of language in society?

Ans: Language is a powerful tool in society. Besides the obvious usage of language as form of communication, it is a powerful tool of expression of identity and culture. It also has the power to unify people and bring them together (such as the role of Swahili in the East African countries of Kenya and Tanzania for example) or it has the power to divide and conquer (Afrikaans as an example).

11. What informed the education section of the paper?

Ans: As it became clear that the original aim of getting everyone to learn to read African languages, we introduced an educational section to at least cater for the non-African language speaker in an effort to be more inclusive.

ⁱ Heeke: possibly spelt with the goose vowel.