

Multilingualism in South Africa
with a focus on
KwaZulu-Natal and
Metropolitan Durban

Peter Broeder
Guus Extra
Jeanne Maartens

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*Peter Broeder
Guus Extra
Jeanne Maartens*

Introduction

This publication deals with the rhetoric and facts about multilingualism in South Africa, with a focus on KwaZulu-Natal and the metropolitan area of Durban. For those who have an interest in the opportunities and challenges presented by multilingualism in a multicultural society, South Africa is, for a number of reasons, one of the most fascinating places to look at. First of all, it has a unique and complex history of apartheid and post-apartheid, in which sociolinguistic issues play a central role. During the years of apartheid (1948–1994), English and Afrikaans were the only two languages with an officially recognized nation-wide status, despite the wide variety of other languages that were (and are) learnt and spoken. Derived from this context, the myth of South Africa as a bilingual English-Afrikaans country persisted for many years. Until 1994, language policy was decided by the apartheid regime and imposed on all inhabitants of South Africa and on all of their languages. The Constitutional Assembly of the post-apartheid Republic of South Africa adopted a new Constitution in 1996 which, at least in writing, is probably more generous to multilingualism than any other Constitution in the world. No less than eleven official languages have formally been adopted. The obvious challenge is how to move away from an apartheid language ideology to a post-apartheid one, not only in its rhetoric, but also in actual practice.

Another reason for focusing on South Africa derives from the concept of language as a core value of culture (cf. Smolicz, 1980; 1992). According to Smolicz and other researchers, the own or ancestral language of socioculturally dominated groups in a multicultural society may or may not be a core value of culture for such groups. In South Africa, where, from a demographic perspective, socioculturally dominant groups have been minority rather than majority groups, a most interesting continuum of attitudes towards this issue emerges. Native speakers of English adhere to the concept of language as a core value of culture more commonly than any other group in South Africa, even to such a degree that they often have a monolingual *habitus*. Most commonly, native speakers of Afrikaans consider Afrikaans to be a major value or even the core value of their culture. In many Afrikaans speaking homes, however, English is spoken as well. One of the consequences of the apartheid regime has been that indigenous African languages, spoken by the majority of the people in South Africa, have been stigmatized to such a degree that they often suffer from a diminished self-esteem by their speakers. As a result, African languages are conceived as core values of culture by their native speakers to a much lower degree. At the extreme of the continuum, Indian languages are rarely conceived as core values of culture by Indian South Africans, at least in

terms of communicative use. Most Indian South Africans speak English at home. However, for many of them, Indian languages hold symbolic value.

This publication is divided into three chapters. The first chapter outlines the new constitutional context of multilingualism in South Africa since the end of apartheid. It also goes into the present distribution of languages in South Africa in general and in KwaZulu-Natal in particular, and the outcomes and shortcomings of available census data on language use. Moreover, the status of Afrikaans, English, African languages and Indian languages, respectively, is discussed in a historical context.

From 1996–1999, a joint research project was initiated and carried out by the Department of Afrikaans and Nederlands at Natal University in Durban and by Babylon, Center for Studies of Multilingualism in the Multicultural Society at Tilburg University in the Netherlands, in order to collect data on what languages primary school children in the greater Durban metropolitan area come into contact with at home and at school. In 1996 and in 1998, more than 10,000 children participated in a large-scale survey. Chapter 2 gives an overview of the aims, method, and sample of the survey. It also describes which languages are used at home, and which languages children would like to learn. Profiles are drawn up of the 10 most frequently mentioned home languages in terms of five dimensions, i.e. language repertoire, language proficiency, language choice, language dominance, and language preference. A crosslinguistic comparison based on these profiles reveals the relative positions of each of these languages compared to one another.

The final chapter is an epilogue to the previous two chapters. It takes up the political context of multilingualism and language planning in the years of waning apartheid, and deals with the rhetoric and the actual practice of multilingualism, in particular in the context of education.

The metropolitan stratification of languages in South Africa and the nature of the interaction between languages in contact is in urgent need of investigation. The greater metropolitan area of Durban in KwaZulu-Natal offers a context *par excellence* for the empirical investigation of multilingualism at home and at school. First of all, the whole range of languages, with English, Afrikaans, African languages and Indian languages, plays a role in this multicultural area, probably more so than anywhere else in South Africa. Second, according to many people involved, Durban is the last British outpost in South Africa. Nevertheless, African languages, Indian languages and Afrikaans are undoubtedly in strong competition with English in this area. Third, the University of Natal at Durban and the University of Tilburg in the Netherlands have an agreement of cooperation and have been working together (see, e.g., Extra and Maartens, 1998) for a number of years in this domain of research.

The reported findings of the Durban Language Survey point to interesting patterns of language variation. The multitude of languages that the children bring to the classrooms and the bi-/multilingual home environment of many children will come as a surprise to educational planners who have not made any provision for this in the educational system. The survey has the potential to be an important and extensive source of data on language and the primary school child in KwaZulu-Natal. The knowledge this brings is a prerequisite for any strategic educational planning in this large and educationally underdeveloped area.

1 Distribution and status of languages in South Africa

Section 1.1 of this chapter provides an overview of the new constitutional context of multilingualism in South Africa since the end of apartheid. Section 1.2 contains a discussion of the present distribution of languages in South Africa and KwaZulu-Natal, and the outcomes and shortcomings of available census data on language use. In Section 1.3, the status of Afrikaans, English, African languages and Indian languages is discussed in a historical contextualisation.

1.1 The constitutional context

South Africa provides a complex and intriguing picture of multilingualism, due to its broad spectrum of both indigenous and non-indigenous languages and to its politically burdened history of apartheid. During the period of apartheid (1948–1994), English and Afrikaans were the only two languages with an officially recognized nation-wide status, despite the wide variety of other languages learnt and spoken in South Africa. Apart from Afrikaans, English and other languages of European origin, two major groups of languages should be mentioned here, i.e.,

- Bantu languages, in particular (isi)Zulu, (isi)Xhosa, (si)Swati, (isi)Ndebele, (se)Sotho, (se)Tswana, (xi)Tsonga (tshi)Venda and Sepedi;
- Indian languages, in particular Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil, Urdu and Telegu.

While Bantu languages have their roots in Southern Africa, European and Indian languages originate from abroad, coming into South Africa since the 17th and 19th centuries respectively. For a historical and sociolinguistic discussion of the spectrum of languages in South Africa, we refer to Mesthrie (1995a) and Extra and Maartens (1998).

On 8 May 1996, the Constitutional Assembly of the post-apartheid Republic of South Africa adopted a new Constitution, which provides in Clause 6 for no less than eleven official languages in the context of an ambitious language policy:

- 1 The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.
- 2 Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.
- 3a The national government and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and

the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages.

- 3b Municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents.
- 4 The national government and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor their use of official languages. Without detracting from the provisions of subsection (2), all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.
- 5a A Pan South Africa Language Board established by national legislation must promote and create conditions for the development and use of:
- i) all official languages;
 - ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and
 - iii) sign language; and
- 5b promote and ensure respect for:
- i) all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu; and
 - ii) Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa.

Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1995:484) point out that it is in the sphere of education that violations of linguistic human rights are most often perpetrated. In this sphere also the new South African government has been active and there have been a host of discussion documents in circulation, of which the following are but a selection:

- the Education Clause in the *Bill of Rights* (1996);
- the Department of Education document *Towards a Language Policy in Education: Discussion Document* (1995);
- the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology *Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG) Final report* (1996) (see also Appendix 1);
- Second White Paper on Education (1996); and
- the Department of Education *Language Policy* (1997).

Central government spells out its position on language in education in the 1996 *South African Bill of Rights*, Clause 29:

Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that

education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account:

- a) equity;
- b) practicability; and
- c) the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory law and practice.

In the Department of Education documentation the emphasis appears to be very much on developing multilingualism within a framework of additive bilingualism. While schools are not compelled to offer more than one language of learning and teaching, they are encouraged to pursue a policy based on the principle of 'maintain[ing] home language(s) while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s)'. From Grade 3, at least two languages must be learnt as subjects. From Grades 10–12 two languages must be passed. The *Education White Paper 2* (1996:4) states:

We will not promote, under any circumstances, the use of only one of the official languages of learning (medium of instruction) in all public schools. Language policy in education cannot thrive in an atmosphere of coercion. No language community should have reason to fear that the education system will be used to suppress its mother tongue.

However, it is becoming increasingly apparent that a considerable mismatch appears to exist between emerging language policy on the one hand, and actual language practice in the spheres of government and education on the other. Whereas language policy expressly professes to promote multilingualism in South Africa, language practitioners in languages other than English are complaining more and more that their languages are being marginalised to an even greater extent than in the past. At the LANGTAG workshop on *Language Equity* in March 1996, the hegemony of English was severely criticised, among others by Khethiwe Mboweni-Marais (Director of *Afrophone Translations*) who stated that development was not synonymous with English, as the South African Broadcasting Corporation and the South African Defence Force appear to accept (both of whom have recently adopted a monolingual policy of English only, instead of its previous bilingual Afrikaans/English policy). The opinion was expressed that South Africa was fast developing into a monolingual English country rather than a multilingual country.

It is the perceived mismatch between policy and practice for the languages of lesser status in South Africa, that is the focus of the following chapters. It will be argued that what is reflected especially in the educational language policy, exists in a complex context that influences its implementation to a very great extent. This is exactly the point that Hartshorne (1995:306) makes in

reference to Faure (1972:170) when he states that the educational policy of any country reflects 'its political options, its traditions and values, and its conceptions of the future' and exists in the context of a particular social, economic and political order. In the South African situation, the social, economic and political context can only be fully understood in terms of the history of language policy in South Africa. The focus here will specifically be that of the history of language policy *in education*, because this is the area in which the decisions and mistakes of today most affect our common future.

Before turning to this history, the term 'language policy' will be briefly examined. Dirven (1991:165) points out that this concept is usually understood to mean the official policy of a government in planning the use of one or more languages in a given country. He explains that it can also be given a wider psychological interpretation to refer to the attitudes different population groups have towards the official language legislation and towards the other languages of their nation. Dirven's interpretation of the term includes the non-statutory, but tacitly agreed-upon, attitudes of language communities towards official legislation and the influx of elements from one language into another. For example, ever since the Belgian language acts were passed in 1932 and 1963, they have been systematically sabotaged by the French-speaking majority in Brussels. The Flemish reaction has been one of resignation on the one hand, and of proposing and passing ever stricter and more watertight language acts, decrees and regulations on the other. In what follows, language policy will be referred to in both the above senses, i.e., both as official and as community-based. An overview of present-day statistics and trends concerning the languages that play a role in South Africa's multilingual and multicultural society, precedes the historical contextualisation.

1.2 Distribution of languages

1.2.1 Available statistics

The earliest interest in language spread in South Africa focussed on Afrikaans. The first linguistic map of Afrikaans was published by Van Ginniken (1913) in his *Handboek der Nederlandsche Taal*. Van Ginniken distinguished between Western Afrikaans, spoken in the then Western Province, and North-Eastern Afrikaans, spoken in Transvaal, the (formerly Orange) Free State and the Middle and Eastern Cape to Natal. Van Ginniken's work on Afrikaans was followed up by such later studies as Coetzee (1958) on the geographical distribution of Afrikaans and English in South Africa. Coetzee concluded that in the thirties the cities had become English-dominant, whereas the countryside had remained Afrikaans-dominant. Apart from Afrikaans and English, virtually no demolinguistic studies were undertaken on African or other languages in South Africa before 1950.

Van Warmeloo (1952) and Louw (1959) are among the first linguistic maps which show the distribution of languages spoken in South Africa. In the early eighties, the more ambitious *Language Atlas of South Africa* programme was inceptioned, which meant to identify, illustrate and discuss the distribution of all South African languages in a series of language maps. Du Preez (1987) gives an account of this research programme, derived from an international survey of the development and stance of demo- or geolinguistics at that time.

In the changing South Africa of the nineties, language planning became a primary area of debate on the national agenda of reform. In this context, reliable census data on (home) language use were referred to as prerequisite. Censuses have been held in South Africa during this century at intervals of ten years and, since 1991, at five-year intervals. The 1980 and 1991 census data are the last and first ones in the apartheid and post-apartheid era respectively. Information based on the 1980 census data is provided by Grobler *et al* (1990). The 1991 census data have been documented by Luüs and Oberholzer (1994) and Krige *et al* (1994). Van der Merwe and Van Niekerk (1994) provide most interesting comparative data on the 1980 and 1991 censuses in their *Language Atlas of South Africa*.

Both the 1980 and 1991 censuses were based on questionnaires, written in English and Afrikaans only, and delivered to the heads of households. Both censuses contained questions on ethnicity/race and language. In the 1991 census, the first question asked for 'population group' in terms of 'White/Coloured/Asian/Black'. The second question was formulated as follows: 'Indicate whether each person (in the household) can speak (communicate in), read and/or write the following languages: Afrikaans/English/Black Language/Other.' In addition, the following two questions were asked: 'State which language each person most often speaks at home' and 'If more than one language is usually spoken at home, state the other language which is spoken.' Black languages should be specified in terms of the Bantu languages distinguished in Chapter 1.

In the most recently held 1996 census, based on questionnaires available in any of the eleven official languages, the phrasing on ethnicity/race was: 'How would (the person) describe him-/herself?' Possible answers related to 'African/Black, Coloured, Indian/Asian and White'. No further specifications were given, nor was there room for other specifications. The two questions regarding language use were phrased as follows in the 1996 census: 'Which language does (the person) speak most often at home?', and 'Does (the person) speak more than one language at home?' The answer to the former question had to be specified in an open space (no elucidation was given), while the answer to the latter question had to be specified as yes or no. If yes, 'The language (the person) speaks next most often' was asked for.

At the time of writing, the language data of the 1996 census had not yet been widely published. The relevant 1980 and 1991 census data in all cases was supplied in report-form by the Central Statistical Service (CSS) as provided by the South African government. As such, the accuracy of this information is highly doubtful. It is internationally accepted that a census cannot be 100% accurate. The census figures available for South Africa, however, present the researcher with a unique set of inadequacies due to a unique political history. The list of inadequacies has been summarized from commentary by Krige *et al* (1994). In South African censuses up to and including the 1980 census, the process whereby adjustment for undercount was made, was completely lacking in transparency and no methodology was made available to the public. The published figures already incorporated the undercount adjustment. It is no surprise then that numerous allegations of political manipulation have been made, supported by examples of absurdities in the data. In the 1985 census reports, the unadjusted figures were provided together with the lists giving the recommended adjustment by race, gender and age. No provision was made for the incorporation of district-related (urban/rural) differences.

After the 1991 census, validation and adjustment was coordinated by the BMR (*Bureau for Market Research*), Unisa (*University of South Africa*) and representatives from organisations such as the HSRC (*Human Sciences Research Council*) and the DBSA (*Development Bank of Southern Africa*) with the result that these figures are accepted as the most accurate and dependable of any South African census. Unfortunately, the structural constraints inherent in the earlier censuses are apparent here as well:

- 1) The census reports provide information only on what is called 'first home language' and no information is available on other languages that people can and do speak.
- 2) The census figures do not reflect the many (approximately ninety), often very diverse, dialects of especially the African languages, nor do they reflect the use of urban varieties such as 'Townie Sotho', urban-mixed *lingua francas* such as 'Pretoria Sotho' or a pidgin such as 'Fanakalo'.
- 3) The way in which questions were asked and the data were analysed, influenced the statistics in important ways. For example, the CSS published data make no provision for Africans who may have Afrikaans or English as their first language. If they do, the only available category in which to classify their home language is 'other'.
- 4) Language data from the former so-called TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei) is unavailable and is simply either represented by an estimate in the distribution figures available or ignored, as in the 1980 figures.

5) Finally, it should be kept in mind that years of rapid political and social change have passed since the 1991 census. Widespread urbanisation and the influx of illegal immigrants, primarily across the borders of South Africa, are factors to contend with on the language scene. In 1994, the territorial division of South Africa into four provinces, six homelands and the four independent TBVC states changed into a nine-province division – a fact to be kept in mind when considering pre-1994 language maps.

At the very least, the 1980/1991 census data identify the most important role-players on the South African multilingual scene. Listed in Table 1 are the main home languages spoken in South Africa, the number of speakers of each language and the percentage for each language out of the total number of speakers, as these were given in the 1980 and 1991 census reports, according to Van der Merwe and Van Niekerk (1994:2).

Language	Number of speakers			Percentage		
	1981 ¹	1991 ¹	1992 ²	1981 ¹	1991 ¹	1992 ²
isiZulu	6,051,200	8,343,590	8,343,590	25.1	26.9	22.1
Afrikaans	4,910,400	5,702,535	5,702,535	20.4	18.4	15.1
Sesotho sa Leboa	2,430,400	3,530,616	3,530,616	10.1	11.4	9.4
English	2,802,400	3,414,900	3,414,900	11.6	11.0	9.0
isiXhosa	2,193,900	2,503,966	6,646,568	9.1	8.1	17.6
Sesotho	1,884,800	2,420,889	2,420,889	7.8	7.8	6.4
Xitsonga	892,800	1,439,809	1,439,809	3.7	4.6	3.8
Setswana	1,364,000	1,431,569	3,482,657	5.6	4.6	9.2
siSwati	644,800	952,478	952,478	2.7	3.1	2.5
isiNdebele	471,200	477,895	477,895	1.9	1.5	1.3
Tshivenda	173,600	114,743	673,540	0.7	0.4	1.8
European immigr.	148,800	109,825	109,825	0.6	0.4	0.3
Oriental	99,200	25,505	25,505	0.4	0.1	0.1
Other	49,600	495,597	495,597	0.2	1.6	1.3
Total	24,117,100	30,963,917	37,716,404	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 1 Languages of South Africa (source: Van der Merwe & Van Niekerk, 1994:2)

1 Former TBVC countries excluded.

2 Former TBVC countries included. Estimated populations are as follows: Transkei (3,292,602), Bophuthatswana (2,051,088), Venda (558,797) and Ciskei (850,000), totalling 6,752,487 persons in 1991.

The 1980 statistics for Zulu exclude speakers in the Transkei and Swaziland. The figures for Xhosa exclude speakers in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Lesotho. The figures for North Sotho and Northern Ndebele include speakers in Lebowa, but exclude speakers in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. The figures for South Sotho include speakers in Qwa-Qwa but exclude those in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. The latter three states are also not reflected in the numbers for speakers of Setswana. The figures for Siswati include speakers living in Ka Ngwane and the Southern Ndebele figures include speakers in Kwa Ndebele, but the Venda figures exclude the former Republic of Venda. The effect of all this is to distort the percentages provided above to the point of absurdity where core areas for a language, such as the Transkei for Xhosa, and Venda for the language with the same name, are excluded.

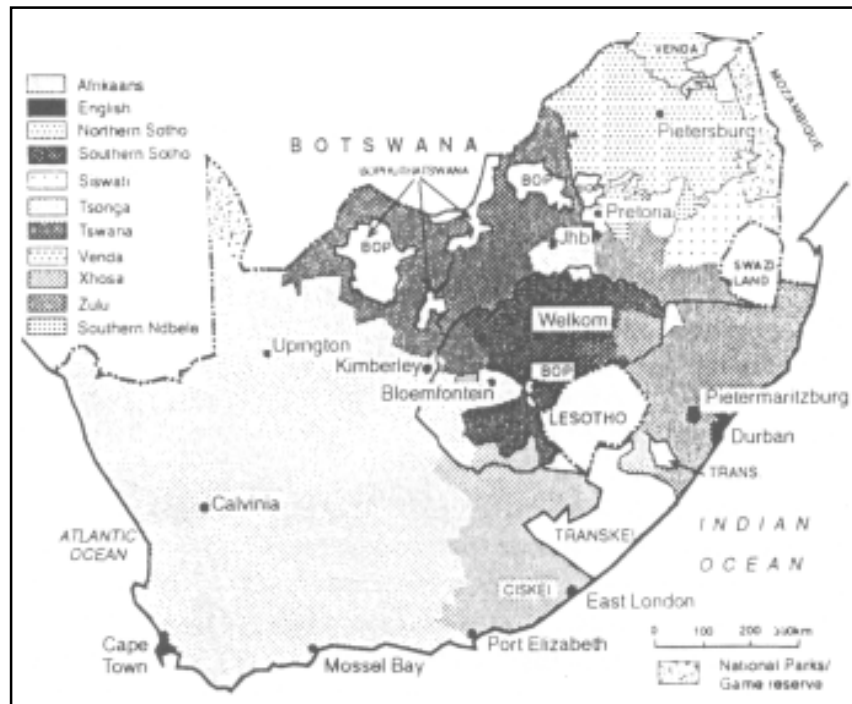
The 1991 data leads to the conclusion that the four most dominant languages in terms of speaker-numbers (Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho and Afrikaans) are spoken by 72% of the population. 42% (about 16 million people) of the population report being able to speak/understand/read/write English. Another 42% of the population also claim the same for Afrikaans and 43% of the population for Zulu.

1.2.2 Distribution of languages in South Africa

Although there are no clear-cut boundaries in the distribution of languages in South Africa, most of them have a strong regional or local base throughout the country.

Language distribution calculated in terms of the home language which in absolute numbers has the strongest support in a specific district is known as 'dominant language distribution'. All the maps provided in this section are from the *Language Atlas* and as such are based on 1980 census statistics. It is clear from Map 1 below that there are specific districts in which one of the eleven most widely used languages is the dominant language. Only Northern Ndebele does not occur on this map. Afrikaans is the dominant home language in the large, but rather sparsely populated, area in the south-west of the country, and also in ten districts in the interior: Boksburg, Brakpan, Middelburg, Newcastle, Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Sasolburg and Vereeniging. Afrikaans is also the most widespread language over the nine provinces. English as a dominant home language is concentrated in nine districts, all important metropolitan areas with a high population density: Durban-Pinetown-Inanda, Pietermaritzburg, Johannesburg-Germiston-Randburg, Cape Town and Simonstown. Xhosa is concentrated in the Transkei (Eastern

Cape), Petrusburg in the Free State and the mining districts of Oberholzer and Westonaria. South Sotho is concentrated in the Free State. Siswati is concentrated in Mpumalanga. Venda is concentrated in Venda area of the Northern Province. Tsonga is concentrated in the Tsonga district near the Kruger National Park (Mpumalanga). Zulu is concentrated in KwaZulu-Natal and in the former Southern Transvaal (Gauteng). North Sotho is concentrated in the Northern Province. Tswana is concentrated in the Northern Cape, the North-Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana (i.e. the North-West Province). Xhosa is spread over five provinces; English over four; Zulu, North Sotho, South Sotho and Tswana over three; Tsonga over two; and Swazi, Venda and Ndebele have concentrations of speakers in only one province.



Map 1 Dominant language distribution (source: Language Atlas of South Africa, 1990:55)

Table 2 shows the proportional distribution of the eleven dominant home languages which are officially recognized in the 1996 Constitution of South Africa, according to the 1991 census data and across the present nine provinces.

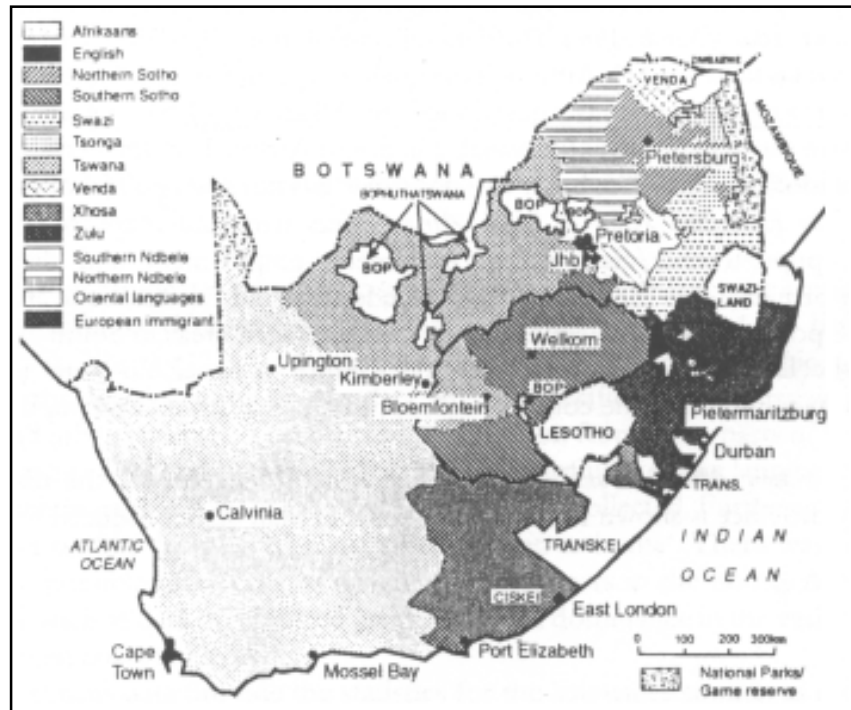
	Northern Province	North West	Gauteng	Mpumalanga	Northern Cape	Free State	KwaZulu-Natal	Eastern Cape	Western Cape
isiZulu	-	-	21.2	40.2	-	9.4	91.1	-	-
Afrikaans	10.6	-	29.4	13.5	95.9	14.2	-	25.9	99.4
Sesotho sa L.	53.4	-	22.3	22.3	-	-	-	-	-
English	-	-	2.8	-	-	-	4.5	-	0.3
isiXhosa	-	-	6.3	-	1.5	2.1	4.4	74.1	0.3
Sesotho	-	-	5.4	-	-	65.0	-	-	-
Xitsonga	5.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Setswana	8.9	100.0	12.7	0.9	2.6	9.3	-	-	-
siSwati	-	-	-	22.2	-	-	-	-	-
isiNdebele	-	-	-	1.8	-	-	-	-	-
Tshivenda	21.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 2 Proportional distribution of dominant home languages across all provinces, according to the 1991 census data (source: Van der Merwe and Van Niekerk, 1994:10)

isiZulu is concentrated in KwaZulu-Natal, Afrikaans in the Western and Northern Cape, Sesotho sa Leboa and Xitsonga in the Northern Province, Xhosa in the Eastern Cape, Sesotho in the Free State, Setswana and Tshivenda in the North West, siSwati and isiNdebele in Mpumalanga, and English in the metropolitan areas of KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng.

The 1991 statistics indicate that there is still a marked regional dominance of African languages in spatially distinct non-metropolitan cores. There tends to be a gradual decrease in the concentration of the various dominant languages as one moves away from these core areas of high concentration with a marked directional bias towards Gauteng – but note also the patterns for KwaZulu-Natal. There are, therefore, geographically overlapping speech communities and even these are qualified by the existence of sizeable and significant minority speech-communities (such as the speakers of Indian languages in KwaZulu-Natal); this is so even in rural areas where homogeneity is often assumed.

English and the non-defined 'other' languages tend to concentrate in the metropolitan areas, but note again for KwaZulu-Natal the sizeable German communities in Northern Natal (Braunschweig, Lüneburg) and the Midlands (Harburg, Hermannsburg). A current overwhelming characteristic is the high degree of language-mixing spatially within the metropolitan areas, being composed as they are of a variety of speech communities, many of whose members are at least bilingual and frequently multilingual.



Map 2 Relative language distribution (source: Language Atlas of South Africa, 1990:57)

Language distribution calculated in terms of the extent to which the occurrence per district of a particular language exceeds the national average, is known as 'relative language distribution'. The value of relative distribution maps lies in the fact that they show up the areas where 'minority languages' (those that do not occur as dominant languages in any district) are concentrated.

A comparison between Map 1 showing the dominance distribution for the South African languages and Map 2 showing relative distribution, shows up three additional language groups on the relative distribution map (Map 2): European immigrant languages, Oriental languages and Northern

Ndebele. The European immigrant languages are concentrated in the areas of Benoni, Germiston, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Randburg. The 'Oriental' (predominantly Indian) languages show up as a concentration on the coast of KwaZulu-Natal (Durban, Inanda, Lower Tugela, Port Shepstone and Umzinto), towards the Natal Midlands (Camperdown, Pietermaritzburg and Pinetown), and also in Dannhauser and Glencoe in Northern Natal. These statistics especially are dubious, as many Indians, who are in fact first-language speakers of English and who have no proficiency in an Indian language, still view an Indian language as their 'mother tongue' or their 'first language'. Northern Ndebele is concentrated in the Northern Transvaal around Cullinan, Potgietersrus, Warmbaths and Waterberg.

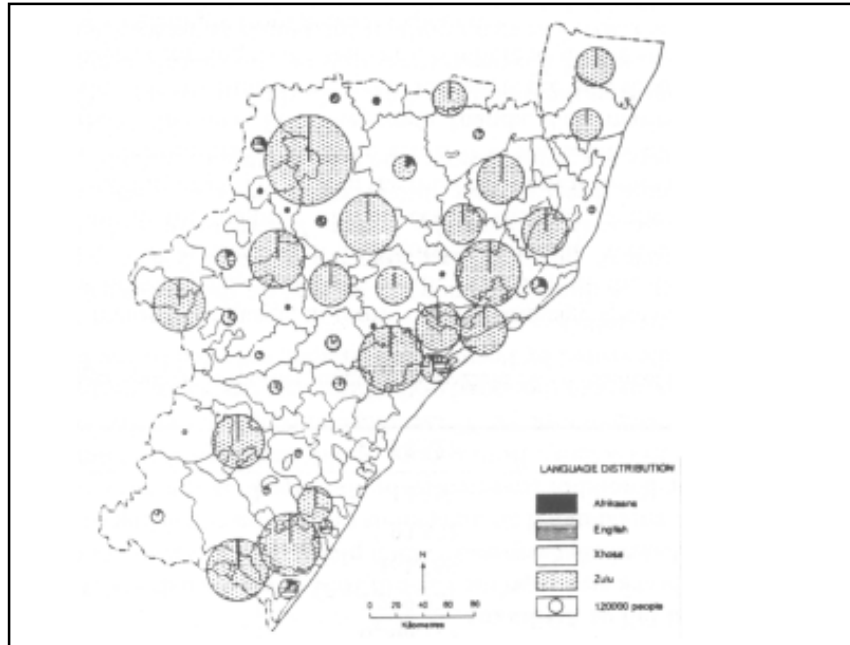
There is a great need for relative language distribution maps that reflect the results of consecutive language surveys so that the change in language distribution patterns over a period of time can be monitored.

1.2.3 Distribution of languages in KwaZulu-Natal

The first mapping of data on education in South Africa was presented by Krige *et al* (1994) in *The Education Atlas of South Africa*. The data reflected in their maps derive from the general population census held in 1991. Although the quality of gathered data for this last census of the apartheid era has been seriously questioned (see Maartens, 1998), this remains the most comprehensive set of data currently available in South Africa. The first census of the post-apartheid era took place in 1996, but most of the data has not been published yet at the time of writing. *The Education Atlas of South Africa* offers data and maps on demographic distribution, pupil/teacher/class ratios, enrolment, employment and distribution of languages by province. On the whole, it is concluded that the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal are the poorest and most educationally disadvantaged areas in South Africa. At the same time the Department of Education and Culture in KwaZulu-Natal is the largest education administration in the country, with approximately 2.8 million pupils and 80,000 teachers.

In *The Education Atlas of South Africa* (Krige *et al*, 1994:146–147) the distribution of languages by province is shown for KwaZulu-Natal in Map 62, reproduced here as Map 3.

A reading of Map 3 indicates that the most widely spoken home language among the almost 8 million inhabitants of KwaZulu-Natal is Zulu (80%), followed by English (16%), Afrikaans (2%), Xhosa (1%), and other languages (1%). Little information, however, is available on the precise status of this data and on specifications for particular language groups. Rapid urbanisation and widespread immigration from other parts of Africa are only two of the many social and political factors that have influenced the language scene in this province in the years that have passed since the data was collected. Furthermore, the census collected data on 'the



Map 3 Distribution of languages most often spoken at home in KwaZulu-Natal (source: Krige *et al*, 1994:147)

language(s) most often spoken at home'. There was no allowance made for the possible influences of different interlocutors in the home. A host of other relevant data, such as data on reported proficiency and dominance in the various languages, has never been collected at all.

The 1991 census data provide the statistics for the languages spoken as mother tongues in this province, as presented in Table 3.

Language	Numbers	Proportions
Zulu	6,308,719	80%
English	1,279,927	16%
Afrikaans	151,759	2%
Xhosa	93,552	1%
Other	12,157	1%
Total	7,955,527	100%

Table 3 Languages spoken as mother tongue in KwaZulu-Natal (source: Krige *et al*, 1994:146)

It is clear that the majority language, in terms of first-language speaker numbers, is Zulu. Statistically, it is the only language spoken as mother tongue in all the districts of the former KwaZulu homeland and in areas such as Ngotsha, Bergville, Weenen and Babanango. English-speakers are in the majority only in certain districts in the Newcastle and the Durban-Pietermaritzburg areas. They are in the minority in most other areas. English tends to dominate in the metropolitan and urban areas. It is spoken by more than half of the population in Durban, Pinetown, Port Shepstone, Inanda, Pietermaritzburg and Umzinto. Chatsworth, a predominantly Indian area near Durban, is the only district where English is the sole first-language according to the statistics, but here again the statistics are suspect because they differ so glaringly from general experience.

Statistically speaking, Afrikaans constitutes a minority language in the north-west of the province (Newcastle) and in the Richards Bay area. Xhosa dominates in the Mount Currie area in the south, adjacent to the Xhosa-speaking core in the Eastern Cape. A minority of North Sotho (11,372) and South Sotho (16,230) speakers also live in this area.

Other minority languages abound in KwaZulu-Natal. 46% of all speakers of the Indian vernacular languages in South Africa live in this province. The official figures are as follows: Hindi 4,893; Tamil 4,225; Urdu 2,958; Gujarati 2,690; Telegu 560; and 4,600 speakers of other Indian languages. The European languages are represented by 5721 German speakers, 1,883 Portuguese, 1,426 French, 992 Italian, 839 Greek and 775 Dutch. Other African languages such as North Sotho (2,965), Swazi (2,584), Tsonga (2,162) and Tswana (1,034) are also spoken by significant minority groups. No statistics are available for one potentially very influential group: the illegal immigrants from countries to the north of South Africa, notably Mozambique. It is estimated that approximately three million speakers of non-South African languages reside in the informal settlements of KwaZulu-Natal. It is also not known to what extent migration from the rural areas to the south of KwaZulu-Natal (especially from the Transkei) has an impact on the demolinguistic scene of the region.

To end this section on a rather quaint note: apparently some knowledge of Latin is still quite widespread among older Africans in this area because of the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. However, because no comprehensive language survey has ever been carried out, no figures are available.

1.3 Status of languages

1.3.1 The rise and fall of Afrikaans

When Jan van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape in 1652 to erect a halfway-station for the ships of the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) plying

the trade route between Europe and Southeast Asia, he encountered an indigenous population consisting of two main groups: the Khoekhoen or Khoikhoi (referred to by the Dutch as the Hottentots) and the San (referred to as the Boesmans). Both groups spoke languages that sounded to the Dutch settlers like 'the clucking of turkeys'. These indigenous people were by no means unfamiliar with European faces, or with the sound of the European languages for that matter; the Cape had been sporadically visited by Portuguese seafarers, followed by the French, Dutch and English, since the late 1400s.

In the early years, no direct influence was exerted on the languages of the indigenous peoples by the Dutch. A policy of 'free association' was followed, with the Khoikhoi, especially, intermingling freely with the Dutch. Where trade and later a missionary-consciousness required direct contact, interpreters were used. These were mainly drawn from the indigenous people who had over the years acquired a certain knowledge of either English or Dutch.

In 1657, five years after the founding of the 'refreshment station' at the Cape, the VOC started settling the so-called *Vryburgers* (Free Burghers) on farms along the banks of the Liesbeek river in the Cape. The main body of the Dutch at the Cape in those early years spoke Hollands, the Dutch dialect from the vicinity of Amsterdam, but other Dutch dialects were also common, as were various German dialects. Farmers required labourers and in 1658 the first slaves started arriving at the Cape from present-day Angola, Madagascar, Bengal and Guinea. Ten years later, these slaves (as well as political exiles and convicts for whom the Cape had become a convenient VOC dumping-ground) were coming mainly from South-East Asia. From the beginning the *lingua franca* among these people was Portuguese and Malay-Portuguese. Determined to prevent these languages from becoming prevalent at the Cape, the VOC decreed in 1658 that the slaves should learn Dutch. This decree constituted the first written language policy in South Africa. Dutch was also the medium of instruction in the earliest mission schools for slave children. The slaves as well as the Khoikhoi, who entered the employ of the white settlers as childminders, stockherders and farm-labourers, had to communicate with each other as well as with their employers. Within the first fifty years at the Cape most inhabitants of the Cape colony spoke as a *lingua franca* an early form of what became Afrikaans.

For most of the next century, Dutch (or Hollands) and Afrikaans-Hollands co-existed as high and low varieties, respectively. Among the non-white section of the population, use of the high variety was limited mainly to church-usage and to the written word. At mission-stations such as Genadendal in the Baviaanskloof, Afrikaans-Hollands early on became the language of communication. At the end of the 18th century,

Afrikaans-Hollands had established itself to such an extent, that most of the slaves and Khoikhoi were part of an Afrikaans-Hollands language community. One could, thus, even then legitimately speak of Dutch and Afrikaans-Hollands as separate but cognate languages. The three groups primarily responsible for the formation of Afrikaans, i.e., the early Dutch settlers from 1652, the indigenous Khoikhoi and the enslaved peoples of African and Asian provenance from 1658, were quite distinct during the first decades of the Cape Colony. By the end of the VOC era in 1795, these boundaries had been eroded (cf. Elphick and Shell, 1989). Descendants of these groups had come to learn and use a common vernacular that was unique to Southern Africa. How this new language came into being exactly has been heavily disputed for more than a century. For a discussion of the genesis of Afrikaans, we refer to Roberge (1995), Den Besten (1989) and Raidt (1984).

Soon after the English had arrived in the Cape in 1795, Anglicisation policy started to spread (see next section and Botha, 1984, for a discussion of the status of Afrikaans vs. English in the 19th century). As a result of the *Groot Trek* between 1834 and 1840 and the formation of two *Boer* Republics (Transvaal and Orange Free State), Dutch (i.e., not Afrikaans!) in these two states became the language of state and school in the early 1870s.

In 1906, the Transvaal and the Free State were given self-rule and limited rights were returned to Dutch in the Cape Colony. In preparation for the formation of a South African Union, a Union Convention was held in Durban in 1908. Language issues were very much at the centre of negotiations, and the main concern was to reconcile the conflicting interests of the two white groups in relation to English and Dutch/Afrikaans. The language concerns of the indigenous majority of people were given no consideration whatsoever. On 31 May 1910, the *Act of Union* was signed. Article 137 of the constitution gave Dutch co-equal status with English as an official language of the Union. According to the constitution, the two languages had judicial equality and would thus have equal freedom, rights and privileges under the law. In fulfilment of the letter of the law, bilingualism necessarily became an educational principle. And so it was that the political myth arose that South Africa is a bilingual country.

The stipulation of Dutch, and not Afrikaans, in the constitution gave rise to a great deal of conflict. Many parties insisted that 'Dutch' referred to Afrikaans as well. In the Free State the *Education Act* immediately required that all children learn Afrikaans as well as English. This met with a great deal of resistance from the English, who found it demeaning that their children should learn a 'corrupt form of Dutch'. In the Transvaal, all Afrikaans children were required to learn English, but in an effort to pacify the English electorate, it was decided that English children would only be

required to learn Dutch if their parents had no objection. In 1925, Act 137 of the constitution was amended to state explicitly that the reference to 'Dutch' also included Afrikaans.

Almost by default, the language tradition established in the African mission schools in the 19th century continued in the black schools. This meant that in the Cape and in Natal, as well as in the two former *Boer* Republics, the use of English as the medium of instruction from a very early age in a black child's school life was taken for granted. Mother tongue instruction was never considered to be an option for the black child. In Natal, the black child's mother tongue was catered for by making the study of Zulu compulsory as a school subject for all 'native' children, whether or not their mother tongue was Zulu.

Between 1924 and 1933, Afrikaner nationalism was on the increase. The practice of teaching Afrikaans as a school subject had become firmly established in the Transvaal and Free State. Afrikaans was optional in the Cape and in Natal very little Afrikaans was taught. By 1932, Afrikaans/English relations had deteriorated badly. The English accused the government of using Afrikaans as a political weapon against them. The main gripe of the English was that the requirement of bilingualism in the civil service advantaged the Afrikaners because they were generally much more bilingual than the English. Thousands of anti-Afrikaans letters appeared in the English press. A major crisis was averted by the political coalition between Generals Hertzog and Smuts in 1933. They formed a United Party government, thereby temporarily neutralizing the unbridled Afrikaner nationalism of Malan's followers. This did not prevent the latter from continuing the process of setting up, on a limited scale, Afrikaans as a symbol of exclusivity and separateness, especially in the Transvaal and Free State. General Hertzog was a great proponent of the so-called 'two-stream policy': the two language groups, English and Afrikaans, should develop separately, each with their own language, way of life and traditions. Eventually, under General Smuts, the pendulum swung back to English as the language of choice and, thus, of power and Afrikaners had to fight to retain their Afrikaans-medium schools. By 1938, the great majority of black schools in the country offered mother tongue education up to the fifth year of schooling, after which English became the medium of instruction. The fact that both English and Afrikaans were compulsory in white schools, at all levels of schooling, reveals the extent to which the continued struggle for the recognition of Afrikaans had been won.

In 1948, Malan's National Party came to power. A *Volkskongres* was held at which a policy of Christian National Education was adopted and Afrikaans returned to its 'rightful position' in white education, i.e. alongside English as a compulsory subject up to Senior Certificate level. The medium of instruction could be either English or Afrikaans, depending on the

mother tongue of the child. Article 15 in the 1948 education policy document dealt with African education as follows:

... Any system of teaching and education of natives must be based on these same principles [trusteeship, no equality, separation] ... must be grounded in the life- and world-view of the whites, most especially those of the Boer nation as the senior white trustees of the native ... [who] must be led to an independent acceptance of the Christian and national principles in our teaching ... The mother tongue must be the basis of native education and teaching but... the two official languages must be taught as subjects because they are official languages and ... the keys to the cultural loans that are necessary to [his own] cultural progress. (As translated in Rose and Tunmer, 1975:127–128)

As can be deduced from this statement, Article 15 constituted the introduction of the principle of mother tongue education – the implementation of which was to become such a bone of contention in the apartheid era. Ironically, of course, this principle has strong pedagogical foundations:

On educational grounds we recommend that the use of the mother tongue be extended to as late a stage in education as possible. In particular, pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother tongue, because they understand it best. (UNESCO, 1968:691)

Unfortunately, the function of the mother tongue education principle in black education was seen in the apartheid years as denying black children access to English as the language of prestige, as the *lingua franca* of South Africa and as an international language of wider communication. It was, of course, also true that the emphasis on mother tongue education was used by the government to ‘divide and rule’. Alexander (1997:82) points out that even where it was possible in linguistic and political terms to allow the varieties of a particular language cluster or sub-group, such as the *Nguni* group, to converge into a more embracing standard written form, they were systematically kept separate.

The Eiselen Commission on Native Education, appointed in 1949, recommended that mother tongue instruction should be extended to the full eight years of primary school in the face of African opposition. Alexander (1989:21) explains this opposition by pointing out that with its emphasis on vernacular instruction this language policy was perceived to promote separateness and inferiority. When English and Afrikaans were made compulsory subjects at all black schools and Teacher Training Colleges, special crash courses in Afrikaans had to be run for many Cape and Natal teachers. Both languages were to be introduced in the first year of schooling, both were compulsory subjects at senior school level. At this level

English and Afrikaans were to be used equally as medium of instruction. These recommendations eventually became law with the passing of the *Bantu Education Act* in 1953.

Opposition to the use of African languages as medium of instruction beyond the fourth school year (Grade 4) and the dual-medium policy at secondary school level, was especially strong among African teachers in the Cape. In the Eastern Cape and on the Witwatersrand, the schools under the Department of Bantu Education were boycotted and attempts were made to set up alternative community school systems. Throughout the 60s and into the 70s, School Boards, the Advisory Board for Bantu Education and the African Teachers Association of South Africa tried to get the Department to reconsider its language policy. Faced with a hard-line government, the Department could not do much more than grant widespread exemptions from the dual-medium policy at senior school level. Notwithstanding this 'concession', it remained a requirement that both English and Afrikaans had to be passed at matriculation level for certification and entry into tertiary education.

On 31 May 1961, South Africa became a republic under the leadership of Verwoerd. The *Republic of South Africa Act* guaranteed judicial equality for English and, now for the first time, Afrikaans, by name. In the subsequent *Afrikanerisation* of South African society, the rights of the African languages were once again completely disregarded. Alexander (1997:83) points out that the 'Milnerist policies' of the Verwoerd era did not result in the kind of resistance and cultural movement for the development of the African languages that characterized Afrikaans in the Milner era. Rather, the resistance took the form of opposing Afrikaans in favour of English. Where Afrikaans became the 'language of oppression', English became the 'language of liberation'. Alexander ascribes this development to the Anglo-centrism of the political and cultural leadership of the oppressed people for reasons connected with the class aspirations of that leadership.

A standard publication on the structure and status of Afrikaans in South Africa is Botha (1984); it covers different levels of linguistic analysis and goes into the historical development of Afrikaans. The spread of Afrikaans throughout South Africa and its different regional varieties have been documented by, e.g., Van Rensburg (1997; 1984) and Ponelis (1998). These studies also report on the influences of English on the status of Afrikaans and on the process of standardization of Afrikaans. The influences of English can be found at all levels of the linguistic system. The process of standardization of Afrikaans has its starting-point in the official recognition of Afrikaans in the 1925 constitution. In the period between 1948 and 1994, the standardization process was strongly promoted as part of the Afrikaans nationalistic ideology. Steyn (1995) offers a detailed documentation of the struggle for the maintenance of the status of Afrikaans in the

transitional period of 1990–1994, as reflected in the Afrikaans press. This period came to an end in 1994, when Afrikaans and English were synchronized with nine African languages as the official languages of South Africa. The *Stigting vir Bemagtiging deur Afrikaans* (formerly *Stigting vir Afrikaans*) is an important actor in favour of a renewed status of Afrikaans within the new South Africa. For a discussion of educational opportunities for Afrikaans from this perspective, we refer to Schuring (1995). Webb (1992) and Van Rensburg (1997) give an overview of a variety of (post-)apartheid issues with respect to the sociolinguistic and educational status of Afrikaans. De Villiers (1998) does the same for Afrikaans as a first and second language in the geographical context of KwaZulu-Natal.

1.3.2 The rise of English

The English first arrived at the Cape in 1795, at the time of the 'First British Occupation'. By the time of the 'Second British Occupation' in 1806, a vehement Anglicisation policy was well under way. The language-centred British nationalism held that the colonized peoples were 'privileged' to sacrifice their languages and gain English. Afrikaans became stigmatized as 'kitchen Dutch'. Its use in state schools was prohibited, not only in the classroom but also on the playing-field. Lord Charles Somerset, governor at the Cape from 1814 to 1826, was responsible for what Reagan (1986) terms 'the earliest example of meaningful language planning in South Africa' when he tried to replace Dutch with English as the dominant official language of the colony. The *Oxford History of South Africa* says of this period:

That the British authorities saw the importance of language is apparent from the steps periodically taken to compel the public use of English. They applied pressure first in the schools; they extended it by proclamation in the courts from the late 1820s onwards; in 1853 they made English the exclusive language of Parliament; and by [1870] they appeared to be triumphing on all fronts.

By 1870, Dutch and Afrikaans had each acquired their own exclusive domains: the church and the home, respectively. Du Toit and Giliomee (1983) point out that the linguistic wrongs of this period contributed to the rise of Afrikaner nationalism and to the prominence given to Afrikaans as the preferred language within this movement, especially from the latter part of the 19th century. It is against this background that the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (GRA) was formed in 1875; a move which eventually resulted in Afrikaans, rather than Dutch, being recognised as the mother tongue of the Afrikaner. It is worth noting that in the years before 1870 there was little resistance to the Anglicisation process among Afrikaans-speakers, except for a few notable, individual cases. The Rev. Van der

Lingen of Paarl, for example, refused to allow *Die Paarlse Gimnasium* to become an English-medium school, mainly because the children still had to be confirmed in Dutch. In Genadendal, the mission training college's choice of closure over teaching through the medium of English constitutes another example of an isolated pocket of resistance.

As far as the indigenous African languages were concerned, British colonial policy was one of tolerating basic schooling in the relevant indigenous languages for the very small percentage of black children who actually went to (mainly mission) schools and of promoting English-medium instruction in a classically Anglo-centric curriculum for the tiny mission elite. Alexander (1989:20) points out that the result was that English language and English cultural traits acquired an economic and social value for the colonised people themselves that was treasured above all else, while their own languages and many of their cultural traits were devalued and often despised. A typical colonised mind became one of the most potent weapons of colonial policy. In fairness to the missionaries, it should be pointed out that most of the indigenous languages owe their written forms to the untiring work of dedicated clerics who felt the need to translate the Bible into the indigenous languages of South Africa.

In the mean time, the area of South Africa today known as KwaZulu-Natal was in the throes of socio-economic changes which radically influenced the present-day language scene. Between 1820 and 1850, two remarkable *trek* movements, known as the *Mfecane* and the *Groot Trek*, respectively, changed the face of the interior of this area. The *Mfecane* preceded the *Groot Trek* by a number of years and its causes are rather difficult to establish. But it is certain that the socio-economic and ecological crisis caused by the great drought in this area in the second-half of the 18th century played a major role in destabilizing the Nguni community of Natal. It most certainly had a great influence on the groupings in the interior. Change started north of the Thukela among the northern Nguni tribes during the second half of the 18th century and eventually affected the area from the Cape Eastern Border to Central and East Africa.

By the end of the 18th century, the northern Natal area was dominated by loose confederations of chiefs – a situation that caused a great deal of squabbling and discontent and resulted in the displacement of peoples. Dingiswayo became the chief of the Mthethwa and started building up a formidable army, mainly with the intention of confronting Zwide, chief of the Ndwandwe, whom it was felt, was becoming too powerful. Shaka, the great Zulu warrior, was trained in the army of Dingiswayo. When he became chief of the Zulus in 1816, this started a reign of terror in the area that resulted in the *Mfecane* – a great movement of persecuted peoples out of the area towards the north, the south and into the interior of southern Africa. By 1819, Shaka was in control of the mightiest Kingdom in south-

east Africa: from the Pongola river in the north to the Thukela in the south and from the sea in the east to the Buffels River in the west. Not surprisingly, Zulu became the dominant language. In 1828 Shaka was assassinated by his two half-brothers Dingaan and Mahlangane.

The second migration, the *Groot Trek*, took place on a much smaller scale. Between 1834 and 1840, 15,000 Afrikaners left the Cape Colony in revolt against English dominance in the Eastern Cape and the failure of the English colonial government in the Cape to protect them against cattle raids by the indigenous Xhosa people across the Cape borders. In October 1837, the *Voortrekker* leader Piet Retief moved into Natal to negotiate with both Dingaan and the English living at Port Natal (present-day Durban) for land to settle on. When Dingaan wiped out the Retief party on 6 February 1838, the English at Port Natal felt honour-bound to go to Retief's aid. The British reinforcements that were sent in were given instructions to annex the harbour of Port Natal. The Afrikaners who followed Retief into the area declared the Republic of Natalia in 1840. However, this republic was never recognised by the British and in May 1842 the British annexed the whole area, an area that is even today jokingly referred to as the last British outpost. Sugar plantations became the major colonial undertaking, and in 1860 the first Indian indentured labourers were brought in to work on these plantations. By 1880, 12,823 Indians had settled in Natal, adding their languages and their distinctive culture to the South African scene (see Chapter 3.4).

Two Boer Republics were formed in the interior of South Africa in the early 1870s. In these, Dutch became the language of state and school. Tension began mounting between those who favoured Dutch and those who favoured Afrikaans. Ironically, it was the British efforts between 1870 and 1899 to secure the mineral rights in these two republics which gave rise to strong anti-English sentiments among the republicans and thus awakened *Afrikaner* nationalism.

In 1882, Dutch was once again recognized as an official language of the Cape Parliament alongside English. Then in 1899, the First Anglo-Boer War broke out; a war that the British won eventually in 1902. Immediately, the language of government and education in the two former Boer Republics became English. Simultaneously, Dutch language rights in the Cape Colony were suspended. It is from this period that pronouncements such as the following come: Lord Chamberlain's 'Any aspirations for a separate Dutch identity... are absurd and ridiculous' and Lord Milner's 'It is perfectly well-known to be a fundamental principle of the educational policy of the government that the medium of instruction is, as a general rule, to be English, the principle of the equality of the two languages has been consistently rejected by us from the first'. *Afrikaner* resistance to the cultural-imperialist policies of Lord Milner led directly to the Afrikaans language

movements at the turn of the century. In the *Act of Unions* of 1910, Afrikaans was not even mentioned. Dutch was given equal status with English, and Afrikaans was derided as 'kitchen Dutch' and as a 'low' dialect of Dutch. The British form of government, the British national anthem, the British language, the British judicial system and the British monetary system were all imposed on South Africa.

In 1925, English and Afrikaans were recognized as the two official languages of the Republic of South Africa. This recognition came to a formal end in the 1996 South African Constitution which recognized eleven official languages. The paradoxical consequence of this recognition is that the status of English is even more on the rise than it was ever before, for both internal and external reasons. In a nationwide climate where large investments in multilingual policies are seen as unfeasible or even undesirable, the status of English is determined according to the Roman rule of *divide et impera*. The rising status of English is even more promoted by processes of globalization, in which also South Africa is becoming more and more involved. English is daily coming closer to being *the* language of governance and mass media. On the national television channels, any clips not in English are run with English subtitles.

McDermott (1998) examines the issue of how English became so powerful, despite being the home language of less than 10% of the South African population, and what the implications of the power of English are for the other South African languages and their users who comprise the overwhelming majority in South Africa. The answers to these questions are sought in Eurocentric/Western myths about the value of English, supported by vocal and moneyed proponents who are able to successfully disseminate the idea of English as the key to self-empowerment, upward mobility, sophistication and learnedness. Processes of learning languages other than the home language show an intriguingly asymmetrical pattern. Many black Africans are in fact multilingual. They are often able to understand and speak at least one of the other major South African languages, besides being able to understand and speak English and/or Afrikaans. Black Africans continue to learn South African (White) English (commonly referred to as SAE) or South African Black English (commonly referred to as SABE) as a second language, or they use Fanakalo, a continuum of varieties which range from Zulu to SA(B)E. Information on Fanakalo is offered by Mesthrie (1989), Adendorff (1995), and Brown (1995). For a discussion of SAE and SABE characteristics, we refer to Lass (1995) and Buthelezi (1995), respectively. Few British or any other whites have ever learnt any of the indigenous African languages. The effect of this asymmetry on the black African self-image has been profound. According to McDermott (1998), it is a commonly expressed attitude and belief among certain sectors of the South African educational arena that access to English is fundamental to

African self-empowerment and that those who lack competence in English are 'linguistically' deprived. Such attitudes contribute to the colonial myth that non-English languages are inadequate tools in a modern and internationally oriented world. The rise of English in South Africa has ultimately confirmed the paradoxical *status quo* that monolingual L1 speakers of English are seen by many South Africans as civilized and multilingual L2 speakers of English as deprived.

1.3.3 The status of African languages

In Table 6, Chapter 2.1, we have given an overview of home language distribution in South Africa, according to the 1991 population census data. This overview includes nine indigenous African languages. Taken together, (isi)Zulu and (isi)Xhosa are the home languages of about 40% of South Africans. They have their major regional base in KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape, respectively. Five other African languages are mainly spoken in the Northern Province and/or Mpumalanga, i.e., Sesotho sa Leboa (previously Northern Sotho), Xitsonga, siSwati, Tshivenda and isiNdebele. The main regions for Sesotho (previously Southern Sotho) and Setswana are the Free State and the North-West Province, respectively. For a detailed description of the geographical concentration of these nine African languages, we refer to the *Language Atlas of South Africa*, published by Van der Merwe and Van Niekerk (1994). All in all, these nine languages are spoken at home by about 75% of the entire South African population.

In spite of their spread, the available sociolinguistic knowledge about the African languages of South Africa is astonishingly meagre, compared to what is known about South African (White) English (SAE), South African Black English (SABE) and Afrikaans. The term *Bantu* as an overarching concept for these African languages was invented by Bleek (1862), who described Xhosa as a member of the *Bâ-ntu* family of languages. The term was invented as a family name for African languages that had noun-class systems. Over time, *Bantu* has become restricted in application to the languages spoken largely in sub-equatorial Africa. Most of the work on Bantu languages is based on typological classifications and genetic relationships (cf. Guthrie, 1948, revised 1967–71; Bailey, 1995a). Louw and Finlayson (1990) focus on Southern Bantu origins as represented by Xhosa and Setswana, whereas Harries (1995) deals with the historical origins of Xitsonga. The validity of Guthrie's classifications has been questioned, and much historical linguistic research remains to be done. The orthographies of Bantu languages betray the work and preferences of the missionaries who invented them for the learning and reading of the Bible. There is no dialect continuum among the South African

Bantu languages. Bailey (1995b) offers a tentative classification of these languages. Information on Sotho is presented by Poulos and Louwrens (1994) and Msimang (1994), on Xhosa by Pahl (1989) and Nyamende (1994), and on Venda by Poulos (1990). Vesely (2000) carried out an empirical study on the impact of English on Xhosa-speaking Grade 10 students in Cape Town.

As yet, the status of the nine constitutionally recognized African languages of South Africa is limited. Standardization and orthographic reform have largely failed to succeed or even appear. Few newspapers, journals and other publications are available in any of the African languages. Their main function is oral, i.e., as languages of daily communication and, by extension of this function, as radio and tv language. Other functions are only weakly developed or not at all.

Ironically, it was a construct of the apartheid policy, the homelands, that opened the door for black people to evade the English/Afrikaans language requirements. When the Transkei became an independent homeland in 1963, Xhosa became the medium of instruction in Transkei schools for the first four school years, after which English became the only medium of instruction. Within the next ten years, all the independent homelands, except Venda and Qua-Qua, had followed suit.

The opposition to the language policy in black schools inside South Africa that began with the *Bantu Education Act* in 1953, finally came to a head in 1975. In 1972, the Bantu Education Advisory Board reported to the Department of Education on an investigation that it had carried out into the issue of medium of instruction. The Board recommended that the initial six years (up to Grade 6) of instruction should be through the medium of the mother tongue and that thereafter instruction should be through the medium of either English or Afrikaans. The government, however, decided to maintain the policy of dual-medium instruction, but from Grade 7 upwards. This meant that the public examination at the end of Grade 7 had to be written in English and Afrikaans instead of in the mother tongue. When it became clear in 1975 that this policy was to be rigorously enforced, protest erupted. The boycotts, strikes and violence that started in higher primary schools (Grades 5–7) lasted throughout 1975 and spread to secondary schools in May 1976. It took the now infamous Soweto uprising on 16 June 1976, for the Ministry to capitulate to the demand for a single medium of instruction. Within two years, 96% of African pupils were receiving their secondary schooling through the medium of English. The *Bantu Education Act* of 1979 finally reduced mother tongue instruction to the first four years of schooling only, to be followed by instruction through the medium of English.

The *De Lange Report* (1981) to the Department of Education and Training (DET) (the erstwhile 'Department of Bantu Education') stressed the need for flexibility in language-medium legislation. In 1982, the DET implemented the *De Lange Report* recommendation that the concerned parties should be left to choose among either:

- the vernacular as medium of instruction during an introductory stage, to be followed by either English or Afrikaans; or
- English or Afrikaans as medium of instruction from the very beginning of schooling; or
- mother tongue instruction during the entire school career.

Since 1991, parents have a right of say in the medium of instruction from the first school year. In practice, an African language is commonly chosen in Grades 1–4, followed by English. Apart from this, one African language, English, and Afrikaans are compulsory subjects for all children until Grade 9, and after that two of these three languages.

Schuring (1995) discusses a range of problems with respect to the use of African languages as official languages, including the negative attitude of both white and black people towards these languages as a result of the dominant status of English, and the above mentioned lack of standardization and codification of African languages. On the other hand, a number of factors may lead to an increase in their status. First of all, there is an emerging new self-awareness amongst black people with respect to their languages and cultures in the post-apartheid era. A similar phenomenon can be observed – and has been observed – in other African countries with a colonial past.

A forefront function in status growth should be attributed to Zulu, which has the largest number of home language speakers of all languages in South Africa. Zulu has gained recognition as an official language at the national level as well as in the province of KwaZulu-Natal (cf. Zungu, 1998). In fact, *KwaZulu* means 'home of the Zulus'. Traditionally, the Zulu language enjoyed a high status and played a central role during the Shakan and pre-Shakan kingdom. King Shaka in particular was very conscious of the need for a standardized ('pure') variety of Zulu. However, because the language clause in the 1996 Constitution is not accompanied by strategic planning and implementation procedures, English remains dominant, and Zulu is gradually being replaced by English in the corporate world as well as in upper and lower-middle class Zulu families (cf. Kellas, 1994). Moreover, there is a lack or rejection of standardized Zulu texts for educational purposes among both teachers and children. Finally, there are few whites who are prepared or succeed to learn Zulu as an efficient medium of intercultural communication.

In 1994, most elementary schools in KwaZulu-Natal introduced English-medium instruction in Grade 3. A few schools introduced second language medium of instruction even as early as pre-school and Grade 1 for children whose parents could afford to pay extra fees. At present, approximately 30% of parents send their children to English-medium schools in KwaZulu-Natal, opting for the language with the greatest power and prestige. African children who go to Zulu-medium schools commonly have too little exposure to English to come to grips with it, and most of their Zulu teachers have only limited proficiency in English themselves. As a result, there is a widespread practice of continuous code-switching between English and Zulu at school, at the cost of gaining proficiency in either of the two languages (cf. Zungu, 1998).

We may conclude that in spite of the official status of Zulu and in spite of its large number of speakers, much remains to be done in promoting its actual status as a language of learning and the learned. As yet, Zulu remains primarily a language of oral communication amongst black families in KwaZulu-Natal, and even there it is losing ground to English. Such conclusions hold to an even stronger degree for most of the other African languages, spoken and officially recognized in other parts of the country.

1.3.4 The emergence and decline of Indian languages

Indian languages have existed in large numbers with relatively few speakers each, chiefly in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, since 1860 (cf. Bhana and Pachai, 1984). General information on their emergence and present status in South Africa can be found in Reddi (1999), Prabhakaran (1998), Mesthrie (1995b) and a special volume of the *Journal of the Indological Society of Southern Africa* (vol. 5, December 1996). Information on Bhojpuri-Hindi is offered by Mesthrie (1991; 1995b), on Tamil by Murugan (1994) and Kuppusamy (1993), on Gujarati by Desai (1992), on Urdu by Aziz (1988), and on Telegu by Prabhakaran (1991; 1992a; 1992b; 1996; 1998).

The emergence of Indian languages in South Africa was ultimately a consequence of the abolition of slavery in the European colonies. The British-administered Indian government permitted the recruitment of labourers in a variety of colonial countries, including South Africa. Just over 150,000 workers came to Natal on indentured contracts between 1860 and 1911. From 1875 onwards, smaller numbers of merchandising Indians arrived. Initially, they lacked knowledge of English and Zulu, and had no common Indian language to interact. The medium of instruction for their children at school was English and/or Afrikaans. If at all, Indian languages were only taught at self-run private vernacular schools, often attached to mosques, using Gujarati and in some cases Urdu as a medium of instruc-

tion. Indian languages received no official support from the colonial governments. English and Afrikaans were the languages of schooling of Indian children, the latter being even more alien for them than the former. Table 4 depicts the decline of speakers of Indian languages according to five successive censuses.

	1951	1960	1970	1980	1991
Tamil	120,181	141,977	153,645	24,720	4,103
Hindi	89,145	126,067	126,067	25,900	4,969
Gujarati	39,495	53,910	46,039	25,120	7,456
Urdu	13,842	35,789	-	13,280	3,760
Telugu	25,077	34,483	30,690	4,000	638
Other	26,090	2,053	71,070	-	-

Table 4 Decline of speakers of Indian languages in South Africa from 1951–1991
(source: Mesthrie, 1995b:120)

Over time, Indian languages in KwaZulu-Natal have shifted from communicative to symbolic functions for cultural and religious purposes. Prabhakaran (1998) discusses the reasons for the superseding of Indian languages by English in terms of sociolinguistic, socio-economic and political factors.

When the Indians first arrived in Natal as indentured workers in 1860, English was already firmly established because Natal had been annexed as a British colony in 1843 and English had been declared its official language. The exposure of Indians to colonial English was a pattern that was well-known to the Indian immigrants in Natal from their Indian homeland. Also in Natal they were confronted with English-speaking whites as their employers and so started to learn English (cf. Mesthrie, 1992). Due to their low socio-economic status, their first concern was simply to survive rather than to propagate their own language and culture. Most of them were illiterate and came from small rural villages in India where non-standard varieties of Indian languages were spoken. These varieties were commonly labelled by themselves as 'kitchen' languages and as 'coolie' languages by other South Africans. Since none of the five main Indian languages in South Africa was mutually intelligible to the whole Indian community, none could serve as a neutral *lingua franca*. Also for this reason, the Indians chose English as a common language for communication. This also became the practice of linguistically mixed Indian marriages, both in interaction

between partners, and between parents and children. Knowledge of English became imperative for upward socio-economic mobility, and few Indians resisted the shift to English at home. Their children, who had become bilingual in their families, started to raise their own children as monolingual English speakers on a massive scale.

After the Second World War, the international political context also contributed to the erosion of Indian languages in South Africa. India became one of the strongest opponents of apartheid. Due to the ban on Indian trade with South Africa, both the arrival of new immigrants, priests and teachers, and the import of all kinds of language materials, which were common before 1945, ceased almost immediately. Moreover, the *Group Area Acts* of 1950 and 1957 dismantled the earlier established Indian settlements. The Indians were forced to vacate the areas which they had developed over the previous ninety years, and it took them at least another twenty years to recreate in the new 'Indian areas' part of the sociocultural infrastructure and joint family system they had had in their former residences. In particular the forced breakdown of the latter led to an accelerated intergenerational shift to English among the Indian community.

Nevertheless, in spite of all of these factors, in many elementary schools Indian languages have been taught as subjects since 1984, and part-time vernacular schools still exist. Table 5 reflects the increase in numbers of pupils studying an Indian language in South African state schools from 1984–1992.

Year	Hindi	Tamil	Telegu	Urdu	Gujarati
1984	2,575	4,042	74	290	86
1985	6,197	9,140	148	466	174
1986	9,025	13,210	234	575	232
1987	10,912	15,846	266	661	274
1988	11,416	16,792	325	421	155
1989	12,040	17,795	261	623	196
1990	12,231	17,490	310	603	160
1991	11,632	14,461	296	436	157
1992	14,044	17,287	1,146	917	245

Table 5 Increase of Indian language students in South African state schools from 1984–1992
(source: Students statistics, Ex-House of Delegates, 1992)

The teaching of Indian languages was no easy enterprise during this period, due to a lack of professional teachers, learning materials and language supervisors. There was also considerable apathy among parents, teachers and students who perceived this new government support as a symbol of apartheid. Many Indian language classes were discontinued in the post-apartheid era, resulting in a drastic drop in the numbers of students taking Indian classes. Many Indian parents allowed their children to take Zulu instead of Indian languages as a subject. The language clause in the 1996 Constitution does not include Indian languages as official languages of South Africa, and only calls for their promotion and respect (Reddi, 1999).

Even this rhetoric remains, however, in contradiction with actual practice. Indian languages are not listed as central school subjects, and they are grouped as marginal choices together with various extra-curricular subjects. It remains to be seen if and to what extent a revival of interest in their ethnocultural roots among Indian South African youngsters may stop or reverse the documented pattern of drastic language shift towards English. Today, there are very few Indian-only monolingual Indians and very many English-only monolingual Indians. It is remarkable to note that the opposite pattern is more or less reflected in the Zulu community in KwaZulu-Natal with respect to the status of Zulu *vs* English.

1.4 Conclusions

The many factors reflecting negatively on the accuracy of the language statistics available in South Africa at present make the reading of trends almost impossible. It is to be hoped that the census that was conducted in October 1996 will provide data that is more useful in all respects. In general, Krige *et al* (1994:8) identify three trends:

- 1) there appears to be a natural expansion of all the languages outwards from their core areas – the 1980/1991 statistics show a growth in the number of speakers for all of the languages spoken in South Africa;
- 2) there is a noted urban attraction – people are leaving the rural areas in ever-increasing numbers in search of jobs, schooling, medical services etc.; and
- 3) in the metropolitan areas there appears to be a remarkable tolerance of linguistic diversity.

Without the necessary empirical investigation, however, the status of these remarks remains entirely impressionistic. In particular, the metropolitan stratification of languages and the nature of the interaction between languages in contact has prompted an urgent need to investigate these issues. What cannot be disputed, however, is the strongly dominant role

that English plays in present-day South Africa, despite the fact that in terms of home language speakers it is very much a minority language. In government, in the media and in education, English is by far the most influential medium of communication in the country.

Against this background, the greater metropolitan area of Durban in KwaZulu-Natal offers a context *par excellence* for the empirical investigation of multilingualism at home and at school in South Africa. First of all, the whole spectrum of English, Afrikaans, African languages and Indian languages as discussed in this chapter plays a role in this multicultural area, and probably more so than anywhere else in South Africa. Secondly and according to many of the individuals involved, Durban has the status of having been the last British outpost in South Africa. Undoubtedly, African languages, Indian languages and Afrikaans are in strong competition with English in this area. Thirdly, the University of Natal at Durban and the University of Tilburg in the Netherlands have an agreement of cooperation in this domain of research, and have been working together (see, e.g., Extra and Maartens, 1998) for a number of years through the Department of Afrikaans and Nederlands at the University of Natal and through Babylon, Center for Studies of Multilingualism in the Multicultural Society, at Tilburg University.

2 Durban Language Survey

From 1996–1999, a joint research project was initiated and carried out by the Department of Afrikaans and Nederlands at Natal University in Durban and by Babylon, Center for Studies on Multilingualism in the Multicultural Society at Tilburg University in the Netherlands, in order to collect kernel data on those languages with which primary school children in the greater Durban metropolitan area come into contact at home and at school. In 1996 and in 1998 more than 10,000 children participated in a large-scale survey. In Section 2.1 the aims, method, and sample of the survey are presented. Section 2.2 offers a description of the languages used at home and at school, and the languages children would like to learn. Section 2.3 specifies language profiles of the 10 most frequently mentioned home languages in terms of five dimensions, i.e., language repertoire, language proficiency, language choice, language dominance, and language preference. Derived from these 10 language profiles, Section 2.4 offers a crosslinguistic comparison which reveals the relative position of each of these languages. Conclusions about the outcomes are presented in Section 2.5.

2.1 Aims, method, and sample

The rationale for gathering kernel data on languages at home and at school derives from three perspectives:

- 1) *Demographic perspective*: data on home language use play a crucial role in the definition and identification of multicultural (school) population groups;
- 2) *Sociolinguistic perspective*: data on home language use offer valuable insights into the distribution and vitality of home languages across cultures, and can thus raise the awareness of multilingualism;
- 3) *Educational perspective*: data on home language use are indispensable tools for the formulation of educational language policies, both in terms of languages to be used as medium of instruction and in terms of languages to be taught as subject at school; this is especially relevant in an area as densely populated with children of school-going age and as educationally disadvantaged as KwaZulu-Natal.

The findings should raise the awareness of teachers, school principals, and education authorities about multilingualism, and should be considered as a prerequisite for language planning and educational policies. Moreover, the collected data offer interesting possibilities for comparative research, given the availability of similar evidence in other multicultural contexts (see Broeder and Extra, 1999). Language surveys that were previously carried out in the Netherlands (Broeder and Extra, 1995; 1999) served as model of experience for the Durban language survey. The surveys have been inspired by language-

related questions in large-scale or nation-wide surveys that have been carried out in, among others, Australia (Clyne, 1991; Kipp *et al*, 1995), Canada (De Vries and Vallee, 1980), England (Linguistic Minorities Project, 1983), and Sweden (Statistiska Centralbyran, 1992). Our focus is on the methodology and outcomes of the language survey conducted at Durban primary schools. Other reports on this survey are found in Dellevoet (1997), Thwala (1996), and Dlamini (1996). For a discussion of the initial data base of the language survey we refer to Broeder, Extra, and Maartens (1998).

The greater Durban metropolitan area used to be divided into nine school districts. Table 6 shows the ethnic distribution of primary schools in these districts as an inheritance from the previous regime during the apartheid years when black, Indian, white and coloured children were required to attend separate schools.

Districts	Black	Indian	White	Coloured	Total
Chatsworth	–	60	–	–	60
Durban	14	76	103	22	215
Inanda	30	100	2	3	135
Ndwedwe	141	–	–	–	141
Ntuzuma	82	–	–	–	82
Pinetown	25	11	38	2	76
Umbumbulu	142	–	–	–	142
Umlazi	97	–	–	–	97
Umvoti	33	2	3	–	38
Total schools	564	249	146	27	986

Table 6 Reported ethnic distribution of primary schools in the Durban metropolitan area
(compiled on the basis of data supplied in Krige *et al*, 1994: Appendix 2, Figure 29)

Table 6 shows that the schools in five of the nine districts were predominantly black, whereas two districts were predominantly Indian and white, respectively. Since 1994 this situation has slowly started to change because under the present democratic rule all government schools are open to all ethnic groups. The pattern of change has mostly been that of black children moving into previously Indian and white schools with better facilities and higher prestige. To date, however, relatively few schools are fully integrated and most still reflect the past to a lesser or greater extent in a predominance of

a particular ethnic group among the pupils. This was important to the survey because of the close correlation between ethnicity and home language use.

In the 1996 Durban Language Survey 6,753 children from 53 schools participated. Durban and Pinetown represent two ethnically mixed districts in the sample, while Chatsworth and Umlazi represent a predominantly Indian and black district respectively. This may mean that black children are underrepresented in the 1996 sample. In order to have a larger and more representative sample for the Greater Durban Metropolitan Area, a second survey was carried out in 1998 among schools in those areas which were not covered in the 1996 survey. In the 1998 Durban Language Survey 3,831 children from 43 new schools participated. The total research population in the 1996 and 1998 surveys together is 10,584 children. Table 7 gives an overview of the sample distribution over various districts in 1996 and 1998. More detailed information on the school districts is presented in Appendix 2.

District	1996		1998		Total	
	schools	children	schools	children	schools	children
North Durban						
Merebank	16	1,986	2	309	18	2,295
Kwamashu	2	247	3	236	5	483
Ndwedwe	-	-	2	101	2	101
Inanda	-	-	1	29	1	29
Maphumulo	-	-	4	235	4	235
Phoenix	-	-	6	535	6	535
South Durban						
Umbumbulu	4	383	11	1,095	15	1,478
Umzali	5	703	5	465	10	1,168
Chatsworth	15	1,871	4	586	19	2,457
Pinetown	11	1,563	2	182	13	1,745
Camperdown	-	-	3	58	3	58
Total	53	6,753	43	3,831	96	10,584

Table 7 Sample distribution of the Durban Language Survey

The survey was conducted among children in Grade 1 and children in Grade 7 at all the schools. The Grade 1s were selected because they would provide a picture of the languages at the disposal of children entering the schools and the languages that confront them in the school situation. The Grade 7s, in the last year of primary schooling, were selected to provide for any shift occurring in the languages known to the children between the first and last year of primary schooling. Where there were less than 75 children in Grade 1 or in Grade 7, interviewers were instructed to make up the balance from children in other grades.

With the experience of large-scale home language surveys amongst primary school children in the Netherlands (cf. Broeder and Extra, 1999) as a point of departure, a questionnaire was developed and adapted to the South African context. The questionnaire consisted of 19 carefully selected and tried-out questions and was designed in three languages, i.e., English, Zulu, and Afrikaans. Two versions of the questionnaire were available optionally, i.e., on one side the English version and on the other side either the Zulu version or the Afrikaans version. The English version of the 1996 survey is fully presented in Appendix 3.

First some background information was asked of each pupil in terms of district, school, grade, (sur)name, sex, birth date and birth country of the pupil and of his/her father and mother. Secondly, a home language profile was elicited through the following dimensions and operationalized questions:

- Language repertoire: *What languages are used in your home?* (multiple options)
- Language proficiency: *For each language, can you understand/speak/read/write this language?*
- Language choice: *For each language, do you speak this language with your mother/father/older brother(s) or sister(s)/younger brother(s) or sister(s)/other people?*
- Language dominance: *What language do you speak best?*
- Language preference: *What language do you like to speak most?*

In addition, a school language profile was elicited through the following questions:

- Language exposure: *In what language(s) does your teacher speak to you?
In what language(s) would you like your teacher to speak to you?*
- Language instruction: *What language(s) do you learn at school?
What language(s) would you like to learn at school?*

With the political sensitivity of racial issues in the South African context, it was not possible to include a question on ethnicity in the questionnaire to ensure representativity. Prefinal English, Zulu and Afrikaans versions of the

questionnaire were tested at four pilot schools in August 1996. After permission for the data collection was requested from the target schools, the final questionnaire was administered in September 1996 by student teachers of Edgewood Teachers' Training College, who were doing practical work in these schools at the time. As mentioned before, the focus of the survey was on children in both the lowest and highest grades. The student teachers attended a training session where explicit and detailed information on the project was given. They were instructed to conduct a short interview with the youngest children in the survey. Each interview took place in a quiet place out of class. The student teachers filled out each questionnaire in writing by noting the answers that the children provided orally. The same questionnaire was then given to the oldest pupils to fill out in class, with the student teacher present to offer clarification and help where needed. In the 1998 language survey the procedure of data collection was similar. The questionnaire was administered by the teachers themselves or by students and teachers from Natal University.

On the basis of the collected data, a total sample of 10,584 children could be considered for data capture and analysis. Table 8 gives the distribution of grades of the research population in the Durban Language Survey in 1996 and 1998.

	1996	1998	Total
Grades 1/2	2,835	2,137	4,972
Grades 3/4	181	66	247
Grades 5/6	600	212	812
Grades 7	3,137	1,416	4,553
Total	6,753	3,831	10,584

Table 8 Distribution of grades of the research population in the Durban Language Survey in 1996 and 1998

There were 5,211 boys and 5,274 girls (no information on gender was available for the remaining 99 pupils). Table 9 gives an overview of the countries of birth, as reported by the children as well as those of their parents.

Continent	Country of birth	Pupil	Mother	Father
Africa	South Africa	9,944	9,161	9,190
	Zimbabwe	21	97	130
	Namibia	5	3	3
	Zambia	3	19	13
	Swaziland	3	17	10

	Kenya	3	8	9
	Mozambique	2	5	3
	Uganda	2	1	5
	Mauritius	1	6	9
	Tanzania	1	1	2
	Lesotho	-	5	4
	Malawi	-	1	2
Europe	Great Britain	34	151	152
	Ireland	4	14	10
	Italy	3	12	5
	Portugal	2	16	12
	Romania	2	2	2
	Spain	2	1	-
	Germany	2	4	4
	Greece	1	3	1
	Netherlands	1	12	7
	Czech Republic/Slovakia	1	1	2
	Madeira	-	2	2
	France	-	1	2
Asia	India	4	14	11
	Taiwan	3	4	4
	Korea	2	2	2
	Pakistan	1	2	4
America	USA	3	2	4
	Canada	2	4	4
	Argentina	1	2	1
Pacific	Australia	5	6	6
	New Zealand	3	3	1
	Seychelles	-	3	-
Single references		6	17	13
Unknown		515	964	955
Total		10,584	10,584	10,584

Table 9 Overview of birth countries of pupils and parents

Relatively many children did not report their own country of birth; and even more did not name their parents' country of birth. Of those who answered the question, 94% reported being born in South Africa, with 87% of their mothers and 87% of their fathers also being South Africans by birth. Only a few children reported that they were born elsewhere in Africa, nearly half of these from Zimbabwe. From here a sizeable number of white families came to settle in Durban after the independence of that country in 1980. That is why some more parents also hail from Zimbabwe. There is no sign in the data of illegal immigrant families from other African countries to the north of KwaZulu-Natal that are reported to be living mainly in the informal settlement areas in and around Durban. Either these children have not been absorbed into the schools, or they did not report their country of birth and that of their parents accurately. The presence of the Indian population of KwaZulu-Natal is disclosed by the presence of a very small number of children born in India, with a relatively larger percentage of parents born there. Most of the South African Indian population, however, are already fourth generation South Africans. Of the children and parents born in Europe, by far the greatest number hail from Great Britain, reflecting the colonial heritage of urban KwaZulu-Natal.

2.2 Inventory of languages

2.2.1 Home languages

Table 10 contains an inventory of the home languages mentioned and the number of times that a specific language was reported by a child (*What languages are used in your home?*). The detailed language inventories by Grimes (1996) and Giacalone Ramat and Ramat (1998) were used in coding and classifying the reported languages. Appendix 4 gives a short description of the main reported languages.

Continental origin	Language 1	Language 2	Language 3	Total
<i>African origin</i>				
Zulu	4,471	518	400	5,389
Xhosa	31	101	153	285
Sotho	11	42	73	126
(si)Swati	1	5	18	24
Shangaan (Tsonga)	-	1	2	3
Tsonga (Shangaan)	-	1	1	2
Venda	-	-	1	1
Kiswahili	-	1	-	1

Luo	-	-	1	1
Tswana	1	-	-	1
<i>Asian and Middle East origin</i>				
Tamil	5	291	53	349
Hindi	6	258	30	294
Urdu	8	106	27	141
Arabic	1	34	22	57
Gujarati	2	42	11	55
Telegu	1	13	6	20
Chinese	5	2	-	7
Korean	2	-	-	2
Japanese	-	1	-	1
Burmese	-	-	1	1
Lebanese	-	1	-	1
Hebrew	-	1	-	1
<i>European origin</i>				
English	5,651	2,883	83	8,617
Afrikaans	342	856	436	1,634
Portuguese	9	18	7	34
French	-	15	6	21
German	3	12	4	19
Italian	2	7	3	12
Spanish	-	8	2	10
Greek	-	6	2	8
Dutch	2	4	-	6
Gaelic (Scottish)	-	2	1	3
Slovakian	1	2	-	3
Polish	2	-	-	2
Romanian	1	1	-	2
Sign language	1	2	-	3
Unknown	1	7	10	17

Table 10 Distribution of home languages in the total sample of children

From this data it can be deduced that a broad spectrum of home language varieties is spoken in Durban, with 28 languages mentioned more than once. This means that a teacher confronted with a fully integrated Grade 1 class, can in fact be facing a group of children with a large variety of home languages at their disposal. In reality, however, the situation is usually more manageable: eight languages were mentioned as language 1, 2 or 3 more than 100 times, i.e., English, Zulu, and Afrikaans that top the list, with Tamil, Hindi, Xhosa, Urdu, and Sotho following far behind. There was a distinct order in home language combinations. English and Zulu were most frequently mentioned as language 1, and Afrikaans, Xhosa, Tamil and Hindi were most frequently mentioned as language 2 or language 3.

Table 11 gives an overview of the language combinations that have been reported. A distinction is made between monolingual, bilingual and multilingual home language contexts. Only those language combinations that occur in 1% or more of the mentioned conditions have been included in Table 11.

Condition	Languages	Absolute figures	Percentages
Monolingual	English	3,456	33
	Zulu	1,723	17
	Afrikaans	84	1
	Other languages	8	-
Bilingual	English + Zulu	2,410	23
	English + Afrikaans	667	6
	English + Tamil	246	2
	English + Hindi	211	2
	English + Urdu	78	1
	Zulu + Xhosa	69	1
	Other combinations	205	2
Multilingual	English + Afrikaans + Zulu	693	7
	English + Zulu + Xhosa	185	2
	English + Zulu + Sotho	82	1
	Other combinations	354	3
Total		10,471	100

Table 11 Combinations of languages used at home for the total sample of children (n=10,584)

Monolingual home language contexts almost exclusively occur for English and Zulu only. More than half of the total sample of children (5,271 children) report such a monolingual home context. For 3,456 children (33%) the only home language is English. For 1,723 children (17%) the only home language is Zulu. For a small sample of only 84 children (1%) the only home language that is used at home is Afrikaans.

A bilingual home language context is reported by more than 35% of the children. The most frequently mentioned bilingual home context is English/Zulu (2,410 children, 23%) and English/Afrikaans (667 children, 6%). Also Asian languages occur relatively often in bilingual home language contexts: English/Hindi (211 children, 2%) and English/Tamil (246 children, 2%)

The most frequently mentioned multilingual home language context concerns the combination of English, Afrikaans, and Zulu (693 children, 7%). In addition, English and Zulu are reported as home languages in combination with Xhosa by 185 children (2%) and in combination with Sotho by 82 children (1%).

2.2.2 School languages

At school the picture changes somewhat. Table 12 gives an overview of the languages used by the teachers at school and the languages in which the children would prefer to be addressed by the teachers.

Language variety	Used by teachers	Preferred by children
English	9,810	6,941
Zulu	3,681	1,451
Afrikaans	2,484	753
Tamil	105	23
Hindi	94	27
Urdu	24	10
Arabic	22	14
Xhosa	3	59
Telegu	3	2
Siswati (Swazi)	3	6
French	2	73
Sepedi	2	-

Language variety	Used by teachers	Preferred by children
Italian	-	12
German	-	12
Spanish	-	12
Chinese	-	6
Portuguese	-	6
Dutch	-	3
Gujarati	-	3
Single references	1	15

Table 12 Overview of used and preferred languages

The children indicate a preference for 19 languages that were mentioned twice or more. Teachers are reported to choose from 12 languages in their teaching more than once. The strongest match between use and preference emerges for English, while it is much lower for Zulu, Afrikaans, Tamil, and Hindi. The fact that these languages emerge, is not surprising. According to government policy in the later apartheid years, children in white schools in KwaZulu-Natal received their instruction through the medium of either English or Afrikaans, and children in black schools through the medium of Zulu for the first three years and thereafter through the medium of mainly English. Instruction in Indian schools was through the medium of English (see Maartens, 1998, and also Prabhakaran, 1998 for further explication). There are strong indications in the data that the preferences of the children can be related to their first home language, or at least a home language.

Table 13 contains data on the actual versus the preferred learning of languages by the children.

Continental origin	Actually learnt	Would like to learn	Continental origin	Actually learnt	Would like to learn
<i>African origin</i>			<i>European origin</i>		
Zulu*	6,038	3,837	English	9,987	5,504
Afrikaans*	5,287	2,323	French	7	1,781
Sotho*	10	333	German	3	370
Xhosa*	8	268	Spanish	2	374
Swazi/Siswati*	-	33	Italian	1	362
Tswana*	-	18	Czech	1	30

Venda*	-	23	Latin	-	133
Sepedi*	-	16	Portuguese	-	74
Ndebele*	-	4	Greek	-	63
Kiswahili	-	3	Dutch	-	61
Shangaan/Tsonga*	-	9	Russian	-	25
Luo	-	2	Gaelic (Scottish)	-	14
			Swedish	-	11
			Irish	-	10
<i>Asian origin</i>			Danish	-	8
Tamil	294	281	Polish	-	5
Hindi	237	274	Welsh	-	5
Arabic	59	110	Romanian	-	3
Urdu	52	79	Norwegian	-	2
Gujarati	3	18	Hungarian	-	2
Chinese	-	118	Croatian	-	2
Japanese	-	55	<i>Other</i>		
Telegu	-	16	Sign Language	-	11
Hebrew	-	14	Creole	-	5
Korean	-	3	Jamaican	-	4
			Single references	5	8

Table 13 Languages that the children actually learnt and would like to learn (*South African languages)

A similar picture to the one presented in Table 12 emerges in Table 13. In total 48 languages were mentioned twice or more as languages that the children would like to learn. 52% of the total sample of 10,584 pupils would like to learn English, indicating the high status of this language. A surprising 22% of the total sample would like to learn Afrikaans, in spite of the fact that the language has no high profile as a language of use in KwaZulu-Natal and carries a heavy political burden. Of this total sample, 43% wish to learn either Zulu or one of the other African languages. 32% of the children express the wish to learn French or another European language. A relatively high number (133) wish to learn Latin, while 11 show a social awareness in wanting to learn Sign

language. The languages being offered to the children in no way meet this demand. They refer to only 13 languages actually being learnt by two or more children. English, Zulu, Afrikaans, and Indian languages seem to be quite widely available, judging by the numbers of children who report to be actually learning those languages. However, Sotho, Xhosa, Hindi, French, Spanish, German, or Italian are rarely taught at primary schools, although mentioned relatively often as languages that children would like to learn. It seems that children in general are offered English, Afrikaans, and a limited choice of African languages at school. The possibility that some children interpreted 'languages you would like to learn' as including 'languages you are learning', while others interpreted the former as excluding the latter, will have to be investigated and clarified in follow-up studies.

2.3 Language profiles

Derived from the data presented in Table 10, language profiles are presented for the 10 most frequently mentioned home languages. Table 14 is an overview of these 10 focus languages, in decreasing order of frequency.

Ranking	Focus language	Referred to as home language
1	English	8,617
2	Zulu	5,389
3	Afrikaans	1,634
4	Tamil	349
5	Hindi	294
6	Xhosa	285
7	Urdu	141
8	Sotho	126
9	Arabic	57
10	Gujarati	55

Table 14 Top-10 of languages referred to as home language

Three of the focus languages in Table 14 have an African origin (Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho), five languages have an Asian/Middle East origin (Tamil, Hindi, Urdu, Arabic, Gujarati), and two languages have a European origin (English, Afrikaans). For each of these 10 focus languages, a language profile was specified in terms of five dimensions, i.e., language repertoire,

language proficiency, language choice, language dominance, and language preference. The tabulated information on language repertoire contained higher absolute and proportional values than the total number of children under consideration due to the mentioning of multiple languages at home (see also Table 11).

2.3.1 English

Language repertoire

A total of 8,617 children reported that English was used at home. An overview of reported co-occurring languages at home in this sample is given in Table 15.

English only	3,456	40%
English + Zulu	3,518	40%
English + Afrikaans	1,529	18%
English + Tamil	349	4%
English + Hindi	294	3%
English + Xhosa	199	2%
English + Urdu	141	1%
English + Sotho	88	–
English + Arabic	57	–
English + Gujarati	54	–
English + Portuguese	33	–
English + other language(s)	151	2%

Table 15 Reported language repertoire for the English language group

English was used exclusively in the homes of 3,456 children (40%). In addition, Zulu (3,518 times, 40%) and Afrikaans (1,529 times, 18%) were often reported as home languages next to or in addition to English.

Language proficiency

Table 16 gives the reported proficiency for the four language skills in English. A relatively high number of children reported that they could understand (8,106 children, 98%) and speak (7,971 children, 96%) English. In addition, a large number of children claimed reading proficiency (7,740 children, 94%) and writing proficiency (7,681 children, 94%) in English.

Understanding	8,106	98%
Speaking	7,971	96%
Reading	7,740	94%
Writing	7,681	94%

Table 16 Reported English proficiency for the English language group

Language choice

The pattern of language choice between family members and others is presented in Table 17. Most children said they *always/often* opted for English (72%–75%). No noticeable differences emerged between the parents as interlocutors on the one hand and the language most commonly chosen in interaction with older/younger brothers/sisters on the other hand.

Mother	5,884	75%
Father	5,557	75%
Older brother/sister	4,374	73%
Younger brother/sister	3,776	72%
Other people	1,549	73%

Table 17 Reported choice of English (*always/often*) for the English language group

Language dominance and language preference

Within the sample of 8,617 children who reported that English was used at home, 65% (5,598 children) stated that English was also the language they spoke best, while for 76% (6,533 children) English was the most preferred language.

2.3.2 Zulu

Language repertoire

The Zulu language profile applied to 5,389 children. For 32% (1723 children) in this group Zulu was the only language used at home. Again it can be noted that English, next to Zulu, held a prominent position as a home language: English was reported 3,526 times (65%). A number of children reported Afrikaans, Xhosa, Sotho and Tamil as home languages in addition to Zulu (see Table 18).

Zulu only	1,723	32%
Zulu + English	3,526	65%
Zulu + Afrikaans	714	13%
Zulu + Xhosa	265	5%
Zulu + Sotho	110	2%
Zulu + Tamil	30	1%
Zulu + other language(s)	105	2%

Table 18 Reported language repertoire for the Zulu language group

Language proficiency

As Table 19 makes clear, almost all of the children in the Zulu language group reported that they could understand (5,039 children, 95%) and speak (5,025 children, 95%) Zulu. With respect to literacy, the percentages were lower: 76% (3,969 children) reported reading proficiency and 75% (3,898 children) writing proficiency.

Understanding	5,039	95%
Speaking	5,025	95%
Reading	3,969	76%
Writing	3,898	75%

Table 19 Reported Zulu proficiency for the Zulu language group

Language choice

Most of the children who reported that Zulu was used at home *always/often* spoke Zulu with their mother (4,191 children, 83%) and father (3,778 children, 81%). Relatively more children reported choosing Zulu in interaction with older brothers and sisters (3,775 children, 85%) and with younger brothers and sisters (3,477 children, 84%). A remarkably high number of children reported using Zulu *always/often* with other people (2,153 children, 92%).

Mother	4,191	83%
Father	3,778	81%
Older brother/sister	3,775	85%
Younger brother/sister	3,477	84%
Other people	2,153	92%

Table 20 Reported choice of Zulu (*always/often*) for the Zulu language group

Language dominance and language preference

A large number of children reported that their dominant language was Zulu (3,834 children, 71%). In relation this number, Zulu was the most preferred language for fewer children (2,103 children, 39%).

2.3.3 Afrikaans

Language repertoire

1,634 children reported that Afrikaans was used at home. An overview of the reported language repertoire for the Afrikaans language group is given in Table 21.

Afrikaans only	84	5%
Afrikaans + English	1,530	94%
Afrikaans + Zulu	712	44%
Afrikaans + Tamil	55	3%
Afrikaans + Hindi	42	3%
Afrikaans + Urdu	20	1%
Afrikaans + other language(s)	52	2%

Table 21 Reported language repertoire for the Afrikaans language group

Afrikaans clearly does not have a strong position. Just 84 children (5%) reported that Afrikaans was the only language used at home (see Table 21). Within this group, English (1,530 times, 94%) and/or Zulu (712 times, 44%) were also used in addition to Afrikaans.

Language proficiency

The language proficiency profile (see Table 22) illustrates that Afrikaans could be understood by 75% (1,181 children) and spoken by 69% (1,073 children) of the children within the Afrikaans language group. Remarkably, reading and writing proficiency in Afrikaans were reported by even more children (1,225 children, 79%) (see Section 2.4 for a discussion of these outcomes).

Understanding	1,181	75%
Speaking	1,073	69%
Reading	1,225	79%
Writing	1,225	79%

Table 22 Reported Afrikaans proficiency for the Afrikaans language group

Language choice

Approximately one third of the children reported Afrikaans as the language *always/often* chosen in interaction with parents (468 children, 33% with mother, and 424 children, 32% with father), compared with the language *always/often* chosen in interaction with older (300 children, 26%) and younger (248 children, 27%) brothers/sisters. Only 10 children (6%) used Afrikaans *always/often* with other people (see Table 23).

Mother	468	33%
Father	424	32%
Older brother/sister	300	28%
Younger brother/sister	248	27%
Other people	10	6%

Table 23 Reported choice of Afrikaans (*always/often*) for the Afrikaans language group

Language dominance and language preference

For the children in the Afrikaans language group, Afrikaans was the dominant language for 308 children (19%) and the most preferred language for 331 children (20%).

2.3.4 Tamil

Language repertoire

349 children reported that Tamil was used at home. An overview of the language varieties used in co-occurrence with Tamil is given in Table 24. Tamil was never mentioned as the only home language. All 349 children stated that English was also used at home in addition to Tamil.

Afrikaans was mentioned 55 times (16%) while Zulu was mentioned 30 times (9%).

Tamil only	-	-
Tamil + English	349	100%
Tamil + Afrikaans	55	16%
Tamil + Zulu	30	9%
Tamil + Hindi	8	3%
Tamil + Telegu	5	1%
Tamil + other language(s)	4	1%

Table 24 Reported language repertoire for the Tamil language group

Language proficiency

Approximately half of the children who reported that Tamil was used at home indicated that they could understand (177 children, 53%), speak (155 children, 46%) and write (147 children, 44%) Tamil. Relatively fewer children indicated that they could read Tamil (111 children, 33%) (see Table 25).

Understanding	177	53%
Speaking	155	46%
Reading	111	33%
Writing	147	44%

Table 25 Reported Tamil proficiency for the Tamil language group

Language choice

Although a substantial number of children reported oral language skills in Tamil, in most families Tamil was not the most important language for interaction with family members and others (see Table 26). Only 22 children (7%) *always/often* spoke Tamil with their mother, 18 children (6%) with their father, 21 children (9%) with older brothers/sisters, 10 children (5%) with younger brothers/sisters, and only 4 children (4%) with other people.

Mother	22	7%
Father	18	6%
Older brother/sister	21	9%
Younger brother/sister	10	5%
Other people	4	4%

Table 26 Reported choice of Tamil (*always/often*) for the Tamil language group

Language dominance and language preference

Only a small number of children claimed that Tamil was their best language (10 children, 3%). Given this outcome, a remarkably higher number of children (36 children, 10%) claimed that the language they liked to speak most was Tamil.

2.3.5 Hindi

Language repertoire

A total of 294 children reported that Hindi was used at home. An overview of the language varieties that co-occurred in this group of children is given in Table 27. In the families of all 294 children, Hindi always co-occurred with English at home. In addition, Afrikaans was reported as a home language by 42 children (14%) and Zulu by 29 children (10%).

Hindi only	-	-
Hindi + English	294	100%
Hindi + Afrikaans	42	14%
Hindi + Zulu	29	10%
Hindi + Tamil	8	3%
Hindi + other language(s)	4	1%

Table 27 Reported language repertoire for the Hindi language group

Language proficiency

Table 28 presents the results for the four language skills. A relatively large number of children reported that they could understand (189 children, 67%) and speak (160 children, 57%) Hindi. Reading and writing skills were reported by smaller numbers of children (99 children, 35% reading and 115 children, 41% writing).

Understanding	189	67%
Speaking	160	57%
Reading	99	35%
Writing	115	41%

Table 28 Reported Hindi proficiency for the Hindi language group

Language choice

With respect to language choice, the findings for Hindi were similar to what we reported for Tamil (compare Tables 26 and 29). Although a substantial number of children reported oral language proficiency skills in Hindi, in most families Hindi was not the most important language for interaction with family members and others. Only 12 children (5%) *always/often* spoke Hindi with their mother, 16 children (6%) with their father, 11 children (6%) with older brothers/sisters, 11 children (6%) with younger brothers/sisters, and 6 children (6%) with other people.

Mother	12	5%
Father	16	6%
Older brother/sister	11	6%
Younger brother/sister	11	6%
Other people	6	6%

Table 29 Reported choice of Hindi (*always/often*) for the Hindi language group

Language dominance and language preference

Only 2 (1%) of the 294 children who reported that Hindi was used at home stated that the language they spoke best was Hindi. The number of children who said that Hindi was the language they liked to speak most was substantially higher (36 children, 12%).

2.3.6 Xhosa

Language repertoire

A total of 285 children reported that Xhosa was used at home. Within this sample, only 4 children (1%) reported that Xhosa was the only language that was used at home. The language varieties that co-occur with Xhosa are presented in Table 30. In addition to English (199 children, 70%), Zulu (266 children, 93%) was mentioned quite often as a co-occurring language used at home.

Xhosa only	4	1%
Xhosa + Zulu	266	93%
Xhosa + English	199	70%
Xhosa + Sotho	13	5%
Xhosa + Afrikaans	6	2%
Xhosa + Swazi	1	0%
Xhosa + other language(s)	-	-

Table 30 Reported language repertoire for the Xhosa language group

Language proficiency

As Table 31 illustrates, most children who reported that Xhosa was used at home, indicated that they could understand (242 children, 91%) Xhosa. Fewer children indicated that they could speak (192 children, 72%), read (134 children, 51%) and write (108 children, 42%) Xhosa.

Understanding	242	91%
Speaking	192	72%
Reading	134	51%
Writing	108	42%

Table 31 Reported Xhosa proficiency for the Xhosa language group

Language choice

A relatively small number of children claimed that Xhosa was *always/often* chosen as the language of interaction, varying from 47 children

(23%) with their father to 75 children (39%) with their older brothers/sisters (see Table 32).

Mother	85	36%
Father	47	23%
Older brother/sister	75	39%
Younger brother/sister	53	31%
Other people	9	32%

Table 32 Reported choice of Xhosa (*always/often*) for the Xhosa language group

Language dominance and language preference

32 children (11%) of the Xhosa sample of 285 children stated that their best language was Xhosa (2 children, 12%). The most preferred language was Xhosa, as stated by 32 children (11%).

2.3.7 Urdu

Language repertoire

A total of 141 children reported that Urdu was used at home. An overview of the language varieties used in co-occurrence with Urdu is given in Table 33. None of the children reported Urdu as the only language used at home. All 141 children stated that English was also used at home in addition to Urdu. A number of children mentioned that Arabic (20 children, 14%) and Afrikaans (20 children, 14%) co-occurred with Urdu as a home language.

Urdu only	–	–
Urdu + English	141	100%
Urdu + Arabic	20	14%
Urdu + Afrikaans	20	14%
Urdu + Zulu	12	9%
Urdu + Gujarati	7	5%
Urdu + other language(s)	3	2%

Table 33 Reported language repertoire for the Urdu language group

Language proficiency

A large number of children indicated oral language proficiency skills in Urdu: 111 children (82%) reported that they were able to understand Urdu, and 94 children (69%) reported that they were able to speak Urdu. 102 children (77%) report reading skills in Urdu, and 92 children (70%) reported writing skills in Urdu (see Table 34).

Understanding	111	82%
Speaking	94	69%
Reading	102	77%
Writing	92	70%

Table 34 Reported Urdu proficiency for the Urdu language group

Language choice

Given the relatively large number of children who reported language proficiency in Urdu, the language choice profile of these children was remarkable. Table 35 illustrates that only a few of the children reported that Urdu was *always/often* spoken with family members, varying from 6% (5 children) with younger brothers/sisters to 15% (20 children) with the mother.

Mother	20	15%
Father	13	11%
Older brother/sister	11	11%
Younger brother/sister	5	6%
Other people	-	-

Table 35 Reported choice of Urdu (*always/often*) for the Urdu language group

Language dominance and language preference

Whereas only 7 children (5%) claimed that Urdu was their best language, a substantial number of children (32 children, 23%) claimed that Urdu was their most preferred language.

2.3.8 Sotho

Language repertoire

A total of 126 children reported that Sotho was used at home. Sotho was exclusively used as a home language in only one family. In addition to Sotho, most of the children reported that Zulu (110 times, 87%), English (88 times, 70%) and/or Xhosa (13 times, 10%) co-occurred at home (see Table 36).

Sotho only	1	-
Sotho + Zulu	110	87%
Sotho + English	88	70%
Sotho + Xhosa	13	10%
Sotho + Afrikaans	3	2%
Sotho + Tswana	1	-

Table 36 Reported language repertoire for the Sotho language group

Language proficiency

A fair number of the children who reported that Sotho was used at home indicated that they understood (94 children, 79%) and spoke (78 children, 67%) Sotho. The figures were considerably lower for reading (39 children, 35%) and writing (36 children, 33%) proficiency.

Understanding	94	79%
Speaking	78	67%
Reading	39	35%
Writing	36	33%

Table 37 Reported Sotho proficiency for the Sotho language group

Language choice

As Table 38 illustrates, approximately one quarter of the children who reported that Sotho was used at home *always/often* used Sotho in interaction with family members. In this respect, there was again no noticeable difference between the language the children chose to speak with their parents (28 children, 28% with the mother, and 20 children, 26% with the father), and with brothers/sisters (20 children, 27%/28%). Sotho was used less often in interaction with other people (3 children, 10%).

Mother	28	28%
Father	20	26%
Older brother/sister	20	27%
Younger brother/sister	20	28%
Other people	3	10%

Table 38 Reported choice of Sotho (*always/often*) for the Sotho language group

Language dominance and language preference

13 children (11%) indicated that they were dominant in Sotho, whereas 20 children (17%) indicated that their most preferred language was Sotho.

2.3.9 Arabic

Language repertoire

A total of 57 children indicated that Arabic was used at home. Table 39 provides an overview of the home language varieties for this group. Arabic always co-occurred with English at home. Furthermore, Urdu (20 children, 35%), Afrikaans (6 children, 11%) and Gujarati (5 children, 9%) were reported as languages used at home in co-occurrence with Arabic.

Arabic only	-	-
Arabic + English	57	100%
Arabic + Urdu	20	35%
Arabic + Afrikaans	6	11%
Arabic + Gujarati	5	9%
Arabic + Zulu	3	5%
Arabic + Hindi	1	-

Table 39 Reported language repertoire for the Arabic language group

Language proficiency

Table 40 contains the results for the four language skills. A relatively large number of children reported that they could understand (29 children, 83%) and speak (37 children, 66%) Arabic. Reading and writing skills were also claimed by a considerable number of children (41 children, 72% for reading and 37 children, 66% for writing).

Understanding	29	83%
Speaking	37	66%
Reading	41	72%
Writing	37	66%

Table 40 Reported Arabic proficiency for the Arabic language group

Language choice

Although a substantial number of children reported oral language proficiency in Arabic, in most families Arabic was not the most important language for interaction with family members and others (see Table 41).

Mother	5	10%
Father	6	12%
Older brother/sister	3	8%
Younger brother/sister	2	12%
Other people	-	-

Table 41 Reported choice of Arabic (*always/often*) for the Arabic language group

Only 5 children (10%) *always/often* spoke Arabic with their mother, 6 children (12%) with their father, 3 children (8%) with older brothers/sisters, and 2 children (12%) with younger brothers/sisters.

Language dominance and language preference

There was only one child who claimed to be dominant in Arabic. With respect to language preference a positive attitude towards Arabic was expressed by 12 children (21%).

2.3.10 Gujarati

Language repertoire

A total of 55 children reported that Gujarati was used at home. All 55 children indicated that this language co-occurred with English. Next or in addition to Gujarati, Urdu, Zulu, Arabic, Afrikaans, and Hindi were stated as home languages (see Table 42).

Gujarati only	-	-
Gujarati + English	55	100%
Gujarati + Urdu	7	13%
Gujarati + Zulu	5	9%
Gujarati + Arabic	5	9%
Gujarati + Afrikaans	4	7%
Gujarati + Hindi	3	6%

Table 42 Reported language repertoire for the Gujarati language group

Language proficiency

Most of the children understood Gujarati (45 children, 82%). A smaller number of children also spoke Gujarati (34 children, 62%). The number of children who reported that they could read (15 children, 28%) and write Gujarati (13 children, 24%) was remarkably lower.

Understanding	45	82%
Speaking	34	62%
Reading	15	28%
Writing	13	24%

Table 43 Reported Gujarati proficiency for the Gujarati language group

Language choice

In most families, Gujarati was not the most important language for interaction with family members and others (see Table 44): only 9 children (17%) *always/often* spoke Gujarati with their mother, 7 children (13%) with their father, 4 children (11%) with older brothers/sisters, 1 child (3%) with younger brothers/sisters.

Mother	9	17%
Father	7	13%
Older brother/sister	4	11%
Younger brother/sister	1	3%
Other people	-	-

Table 44 Reported choice of Gujarati (*always/often*) for the Gujarati language group

Language dominance and language preference

Two children (4%) indicated that the language they spoke best was Gujarati, whereas 8 children (15%) indicated that the language they liked to speak most was Gujarati.

2.4 Crosslinguistic comparison

Derived from the 10 language profiles under consideration, a crosslinguistic comparison was carried out which revealed the relative position of each focus language. Table 45 specifies the major competitors of the focus languages in the homes of the children, and the relative proportion in which they were named by the subjects.

Focus language	First major competitor		Second major competitor	
English	Zulu	40%	Afrikaans	18%
Zulu	English	65%	Afrikaans	13%
Afrikaans	English	94%	Zulu	44%
Tamil	English	100%	Afrikaans	16%
Hindi	English	100%	Afrikaans	14%
Xhosa	Zulu	93%	English	70%
Urdu	English	100%	Afrikaans/Arabic	14%
Sotho	Zulu	87%	English	70%
Arabic	English	100%	Urdu	35%
Gujarati	English	100%	Urdu	13%

Table 45 Major competitors of focus languages at home and relative proportion in which they were mentioned

Table 45 clearly shows the overwhelming dominance of English as the language of competition in many of the homes of the children. For all

languages other than English, English was the first (7 cases) or second (2 cases) major competitor. The first competitor of the African focus languages Xhosa and Sotho was in both cases Zulu.

Table 46 offers a comparison of all language profiles on the basis of the following four dimensions and operationalizations:

- language proficiency: the degree to which the language is *understood* by the children;
- language choice: the degree to which the language is *often/always* used with the *mother*;
- language dominance: the degree to which the language is *spoken best* by the children;
- language preference: the degree to which the language is *most liked* by the children.

In the final column of Table 46, these four language profile dimensions are combined in terms of a (decreasing) language vitality index, based on the average value of the percentaged scores for each of the four dimensions. The resulting language vitality index is obviously arbitrary in the sense that the *chosen* dimensions with the *chosen* operationalizations are *equally* weighted.

Language group	Number of children	Language proficiency	Language choice	Language dominance	Language preference	Language vitality
English	8,617	98	75	65	76	78.5
Zulu	5,389	95	83	71	39	72.0
Xhosa	285	91	36	11	11	37.3
Afrikaans	1,634	75	33	19	20	36.8
Sotho	126	79	28	11	17	33.8
Urdu	141	82	15	5	23	31.3
Gujarati	55	82	17	4	15	29.5
Arabic	57	83	10	2	21	29.0
Hindi	294	67	5	1	12	21.3
Tamil	349	53	7	3	10	18.3

Table 46 Language vitality index per language, derived from four language profile dimensions (in %)

Table 46 illustrates that there is a strong variation in the vitality of the different languages. The strongest vitality can be found for English and Zulu, the weakest vitality for the Asian languages.

Language proficiency

Table 47 shows the relative number of children (in %) who reported that they could understand, speak, read or write the language under consideration.

Language	Understanding	Speaking	Reading	Writing
English	98	96	94	94
Zulu	95	95	76	75
Xhosa	91	72	51	42
Afrikaans	75	69	79	79
Sotho	79	67	35	33
Urdu	82	69	77	70
Gujarati	82	62	28	24
Arabic	83	66	72	66
Hindi	67	57	35	41
Tamil	53	46	33	44

Table 47 Reported language proficiency (in %)

For all languages, a relatively large number of children claimed oral proficiency skills. Only for Afrikaans was proficiency in reading and writing reported to be higher than oral skills. Higher reading skills than speaking skills were also reported for Urdu and Arabic. A possible explanation for the remarkable outcomes with respect to Afrikaans lies in the apartheid context in which Afrikaans in black schools had to be taught by black teachers whose oral language proficiency was also limited. Lacking contact with mother-tongue speakers of Afrikaans or contact with Afrikaans in the community, these teachers relied (and still rely) heavily on written materials and book knowledge. This may have resulted in the types of language proficiency that the children reported.

Language choice

The comparative pattern of language choice in interaction with family members and other people is presented in Table 48.

Language	Mother	Father	Older brother/sister	Younger brother/sister	Other people
English	75	75	73	72	73
Zulu	83	81	85	84	92
Xhosa	36	23	39	31	32
Afrikaans	33	32	28	27	6
Sotho	28	26	27	28	10
Urdu	15	11	11	5	-
Gujarati	17	13	11	3	-
Arabic	10	12	8	12	-
Hindi	5	6	6	6	6
Tamil	7	6	9	5	4

Table 48 Reported language choice by children in interaction with family members and other people (in %)

The typical pattern of language choice implies that the mother is the gatekeeper of language maintenance. Shift of choice towards the concurrent language, in the Durban context most commonly English, Afrikaans or Zulu, was expected to run increasingly via younger and older siblings, respectively. However, Table 48 clearly shows that this typical pattern did *not* surface in the present study. Generally speaking, a rather stable pattern of language choice with family members can be noted for all languages in that there were only minor differences in addressing different types of interlocutors. Urdu, Arabic, and Tamil were never used with people outside the family.

Language dominance and language preference

In Table 49, the dimensions of language dominance and language preference are featured for the 10 languages discussed in this chapter. Those children who opted for more than one language as their best/most preferred language were not considered in the outcomes of the analysis presented in Table 49.

Dominant Best language	Preferred language										
	English	Zulu	Xhosa	Afrikaans	Sotho	Urdu	Gujarati	Arabic	Hindi	Tamil	Total
English	5,133	123	4	103	-	13	5	10	33	31	5,455
Zulu	1,168	1,914	6	13	11	-	-	-	-	-	3,112
Xhosa	14	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33
Afrikaans	80	3	-	207	-	-	-	-	-	-	290
Sotho	1	2	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	10
Urdu	1	-	-	-	-	13	-	-	-	-	14
Gujarati	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Arabic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Hindi	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
Tamil	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	9
Total	6,402	2,042	29	323	18	26	7	11	34	36	8,928

Table 49 Reported language dominance and language preference

As expected, a prominent position was held by English in the Durban language survey. With respect to the 10 languages focussed on in this chapter, 5,455 out of 8,928 children (61%) indicated that English was their best language. A good second position was held by Zulu, which was reported to be the best language of 3,112 children (35%). Afrikaans was reported to be the best language of 323 children (3%).

Furthermore, the language preference of the children reflected the order in which English was the most preferred language of 5,455 children (61%), Zulu the most preferred language of 3,112 children (35%), and Afrikaans the most preferred language of 290 children (3%).

Most of the children reported that the language they spoke best was also the language they liked to speak most. Nevertheless, for a relatively high number of children, a mismatch between the best and most preferred language was noted. 80 children (1%) reported that their best language was Afrikaans and 1,168 children (13%) report that their best language was Zulu, whereas the language they liked to speak most was English. In contrast, 103 children expressed a preference for Afrikaans (1%) and 123 children (1%) expressed a preference for Zulu, whereas their best language was English.

2.5 Conclusions

Whereas national census data on (home) language use are commonly based on single questions in this particular domain, the Durban Language Survey is based on multiple questions on languages at home and at school. In this way the survey provides a rich data base. Its major outcomes have been presented in this chapter. The findings reported on in this chapter point to interesting patterns of language variation. The multitude of languages that the children bring to the classroom as well as the bi-/multilingual home environment of many children will come as a surprise to educational planners who have not made provision for this in the educational system. It should be explored whether the language resources that children bring into the classroom could not be utilized more effectively in the educational development of the child. The desire to be instructed in the first home language and simultaneously the desire to learn other languages should be noted by all involved in educational circles in South Africa. The position of Afrikaans as a minority language in the home should be compared with the position of other home languages in the same environment. The indications of possible language shift must be explored in greater detail. The outcomes of the 1996 and 1998 language surveys have the potential to provide a large body of knowledge on language and the primary school child in KwaZulu-Natal. Such knowledge is indispensable as a basis for strategic educational planning in this large and educationally underdeveloped area.

3 A new beginning?

This final chapter is meant as an epilogue to the previous two main chapters. Section 3.1 takes up the political context of multilingualism and language planning in the years of lingering apartheid. Section 3.2 deals with multilingualism in rhetoric and in practice, in particular in the context of education.

3.1 A period of negotiation

The years after 1990 represent a period of political negotiation at the time apartheid came to an end after a period of almost half a century (1948–1994). We refer to Hartshorne (1995) and Webb (1995) for a background perspective on this transitional period and earlier periods. Various matters had to be debated, among others: the political and constitutional rights of the various African languages as opposed to Afrikaans and English; the need for a *lingua franca*; the choice of the languages to be used as medium of instruction and as subjects at school; and the role of English as a linking language. The ANC position on these and related issues was spelt out in documents such as the *Freedom Charter*, the *Constitutional Guidelines* and the *Proceedings of the ANC Language Workshop*, which had been held in Harare. Heugh (1995:340) states that all these documents seem to reflect the dilemma of most of Africa since the 1960s: on the one hand the reality of language needs (such as the need for a ‘language of national unity’) that are met by English, and on the other hand, the need to free the majority of inhabitants from the languages that were part of earlier imperialist political systems by developing the African languages. The latter need, in particular, has been stressed by organisations such as the *National Language Project*. The major contribution from the non-governmental education sector, came from the *National Education Policy Investigation* (NEPI) committee in 1992. It spelt out the language options and their implications without choosing a specific ‘solution’. Heugh (1995:340) points out that both the ANC and NEPI have taken a *laissez-faire* position: making a policy decision but ignoring the necessity of formulating attendant planning strategies through which to implement the policy decision. Such a mismatch between goal and strategy is already leading to the potential subversion of an essentially integrationist policy by assimilationist pressure from the dominant language, in this case English.

The Nationalist government position in the period before the installation of a democratic government was not clear, except that there was considerable concern about maintaining the position of Afrikaans. In November 1991, from government education circles came the voice of the *Curriculum Model*

for Education in South Africa (CUMSA) which proposed that in general not more than two languages should be compulsory, one of which should be the medium of instruction. CUMSA specifically recommended that only one should be compulsory in Grades 1 and 2, but that in Grades 5–7, English or Afrikaans and the regionally dominant African language should be compulsory. The Department of Education, on the other hand, wanted the parents in primary schools to choose from among the options broadly outlined in the *De Lange Report* (1981) (see Chapter 1.3.3).

In 1994, the so-called 'Government of National Unity' (the first-ever democratically elected South African government) came into power. The 1993 *Interim Constitution* contained the following language clauses (Clause 3):

- 1) Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, SeSotho sa Leboa, SeSotho, siSwati, Xitsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiXhosa and isiZulu shall be the official South African languages at national level, and conditions shall be created for their development and for the promotion of their equal use and enjoyment.
- 2) Rights relating to language and the status of languages existing at the commencement of this Constitution shall not be diminished, and provision shall be made by an Act of Parliament for rights relating to language and the status of languages existing only at regional level, to be extended nationally.

These two clauses are of course contradictory in practice and cannot be implemented simultaneously. It is, therefore, not surprising that the second clause was not included in the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* which was adopted by the Constitutional Assembly on 8 May 1996 and amended on 11 October 1996. It is important to note that the term 'official language' in the 1996 Constitution has a completely different meaning from that of the term as it was used in the 1961 Constitution. Steyn (1992:206) cites a range of interpretations of the meaning of the term 'official status' as it is applied to language. Fasold (1984:74), for example, considers that a true official language fulfils all or some of the following uses:

- as language of communication for government officials in carrying out their duties at national level;
- as written communication between and internal to government agencies at national level;
- for the keeping of government records at national level;
- for the original formulation of laws and regulations that concern the nation as a whole;
- for forms such as tax forms.

Fishman (1971:288) mentions the same uses, but adds to these the use of the language in the schools and courts of the country. The official languages Afrikaans and English of the 1961 Constitution met all the above criteria. Of the eleven languages listed as official in the 1996 Constitution, however, only English meets the criteria at present.

Cooper (1989:100) distinguishes among three types of official languages: statutory, working and symbolic official languages. A *statutory* official language is a language that the government has specified as official or declared as appropriate by law. A *working* official language is used by a government for its daily activities whereas a *symbolic* official language is the language which a government uses as the medium for symbolic purposes. During the period of the 1961 Constitutional dispensation, English and Afrikaans were both statutory and working official languages. Afrikaans also functioned as a symbolic official language. The languages designated as official in terms of the 1996 Constitution, while they are constitutionally recognized, have no *judicial* status; have, except for English, very limited use as *working* official languages; and have no *symbolic* role. As a matter of fact, their inclusion in the constitution seems to be the only symbolic act with which they can be associated.

In the final report of the constitutional *Language Plan Task Group* (LANGTAG, 1996), a national language plan for South Africa was outlined. The extensive report deals with a wide range of issues, such as language equity, language development, literacy, heritage languages and the role of language in economy, education and public services. The language-in-education proposals seek to provide an appropriate balance between the maintenance of cohesion on the one hand and the acceptance of diversity in South Africa on the other. According to LANGTAG (1996:124–125), language policy in education should:

- a) facilitate access to meaningful education for all South African students;
- b) promote multilingualism;
- c) promote the use of students' primary languages as languages of learning and teaching in the context of an additive multilingual paradigm and with due regard to the wishes and attitudes of parents, teachers and students;
- d) encourage the acquisition by all South African students of at least two but preferably three South African languages, even if at different levels of proficiency, by means of a variety of additive bi- or multilingual strategies; it is strongly recommended that where the student's L1 is either Afrikaans or English, an African language should be the additional language;

- e) observe and sustain the legal equality of status of all South African languages;
- f) promote the linguistic development and modernisation of the African languages as well as their equality of social status;
- g) promote respect for linguistic diversity in the context of a nation-building strategy by supporting the teaching and learning of all other languages required by learners or used by communities in South Africa, including languages used for religious purposes, languages which are important for international trade and communication, and Sign Language;
- h) help to equip South African students with the language skills needed to participate meaningfully in the political economy of South Africa;
- i) harmonise with the intentions of the proposed National Qualifications Framework (NQF) by:
 - facilitating the integration of education, training and adult basic education;
 - using language and communication skills to promote core competencies such as problem solving and critical thinking.

In order to achieve these goals, a wide variety of research and development activities has been proposed in terms of language statistics, language attitudes, resources for teacher training, curriculum and assessment, language policy documentation, and classroom practice investigations.

3.2 Multilingualism in rhetoric and practice

What looks beautiful on paper in these and many other recommendations is, however, not easy to realize in practice. Major obstacles in South Africa are the lack of necessary financial means for implementing these recommendations and the prevailing reluctant attitudes towards accepting and promoting multilingualism. Heugh (2000) discusses a number of popular myths against bilingual and multilingual education in South Africa and proposes an equal number of alternatives. Plüddemann (1999) refers to the fact that only 16% of all books published in 1991 were in one of the nine official African languages of South Africa, as opposed to almost 50% of the titles being in English. Not without reason, the *Pan South African Language Board* (PANSALB, 1999), established by the government to monitor the implementation of the constitutional provisions by all organs of state, concluded that there is a need to educate people about their rights and to improve the system of monitoring and attending to issues of

language rights violations. PANSALB (2000) released a summary of the major findings of a survey amongst 2,160 South Africans of 16 years and older, drawn from a variety of rural and urban social strata. The fieldwork took the form of personal interviews by experienced interviewers in the languages of choice of the respondents. In this section, some of the major outcomes are presented. Table 50 is a comparative proportional overview of the outcomes of this survey on the distribution of the main languages at home or spoken to members of the immediate family, as they emerged from the respondents, compared to the outcomes of the 1991 census data on the main languages at home in South Africa, as discussed in Chapter 1.2.1 (see Table 1, last column) and compared to the latest 1996 census data on the same subject.

Home language	1991 Census	1996 Census	PANSALB survey	Largest mismatch
Afrikaans + English	not available	not available	0.9	pm
Afrikaans	15.1	16.5	14.4	2.1
English	9.0	8.7	8.6	0.4
Sesotho	6.4	6.8	7.7	1.3
Setswana	9.2	9.5	8.2	1.3
Sepedi	not available	7.7	9.2	1.5
siSwati	2.5	3.3	2.5	0.8
isiNdebele	1.3	1.2	1.5	0.3
isiXhosa	17.6	16.3	17.9	1.6
isiZulu	22.1	23.8	22.9	1.7
Tshivenda	1.8	1.8	2.2	0.4
Xitsonga	3.8	3.2	4.4	1.2
European/Oriental	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.3

Table 50 Comparative overview of survey data on the main home languages of South Africa (in %)

Table 50 shows some fluctuation between the outcomes of these surveys, in particular in the case of Afrikaans. According to PANSALB (2000), people are at least bilingual in some 36% of South African homes. In the PANSALB survey, one question addressed the issue of the home language vs. the primary language of tuition. The outcomes are presented in Table 51.

Focus language	Home language	Primary language of tuition	Mismatch
Afrikaans	17	16	1
English	9	80	71
SeSotho	7	1	6
Setswana	10	2	8
Sepedi	8	-	8
siSwati	3	-	3
isiNdebele	1	-	1
isiXhosa	16	2	14
isiZulu	24	6	18
Tshivenda	2	-	2
Xitsonga	3	1	2

Table 51 Mismatch between languages at home and at school (in %)

The results presented in Table 51 show both the amount and degree of the mismatch between the languages at home and at school, as reported by South Africans of 16 years and older. Compared to the eleven home languages, only three languages occurred as more or less substantial primary languages of tuition, i.e., English, Afrikaans, and Zulu. Table 51 also demonstrates again the dominance of English at school in contrast to its relatively low status at home.

Table 52 gives the outcomes of the PANSALB survey on language learning attitudes.

Statements	Percentage
Mother tongue instruction (and the good teaching of another official language) should be available	37
Learners should have the opportunity to learn both their mother tongue and English equally well	42
Learners should learn through both English and their mother tongue	39
It is more important that learners should learn in English than in other languages	12

Table 52 Attitudes to language learning

The outcomes clearly show the mismatch between the respondents' attitudes and the actual practices in education. Table 53 shows the answers given by non-native speakers of English to the following question: *These days most ministers in government, councillors in municipalities and officials make statements or speeches in English. Do you understand what they are saying?*

Understanding	Percentage
Fully	22
As much as I need to	27
Often do not understand	30
Seldom understand	19
Other answers	2

Table 53 Understanding by non-native speakers of English of speeches and statements in English (in %)

These and other outcomes, on such issues as understanding radio and television programs, illustrate the fallacy of assuming that English smoothly functions as the *lingua franca* for intercultural communication in South Africa. Alexander (2000; 2001) points out that most black South Africans' lack of confidence in the value of African languages is a symptom of the apartheid syndrome. They have come to believe that they have to learn English to overcome their 'deficit'. The resultant loss of self-esteem and of a dignifying self-image is referred to as fatal. In spite of affirmative action programmes, African languages are either not used as languages of teaching at all, or only during the first three or four years of initial schooling, and are then dropped. Hardly any materials in African languages exist beyond that point, or are of poor quality. Moreover, as soon as English becomes the predominant language in the classroom, most teachers are not proficient enough to use it adequately as a medium of instruction. The result is that black children's literacy in their own language and in English at the end of elementary schooling is often poorly developed. Alexander suggests more firmly established planning steps in order to realize the ambitions of the constitution, such as nation-wide language awareness campaigns, regional and local action programmes to enhance the value, visibility and status of the African languages, compulsory knowledge and use of African languages in public jobs, better teacher training programmes, and initiatives to encourage the creation of texts and literature in the African languages. For a discussion of these and other suggestions in the domain of multilingual education, see Heugh *et al* (1995), and Plüddemann *et al* (2000).

It should be clear that the new beginning is very much a matter of blind navigation. The dominant position of English is rapidly becoming entrenched. The unfortunate result is that the majority of people (approximately 80%) do not have the command of English needed to succeed in higher education or to compete on an equal footing for the prestigious and higher paid jobs. Alexander (1997:86) points out that no nation ever thrived or reached great heights of economic and cultural development if the vast majority of its people were compelled to communicate in a second or even third language. The indigenous languages, and in many areas this now includes Afrikaans, have little value in the market place if not combined with proficiency in English. As a result of the official language policies over the years, most African people attach little value to their mother tongue and believe it to be deficient or impoverished in a way that makes it unsuitable for use in a modern society. This situation is not helped in any way by the prestige that English enjoys among the new black elite or the recent tendency among major institutions to adopt (ostensibly for economic reasons) an English-only policy.

As yet, the paradoxical outcome of the 1996 constitutional recognition of eleven official languages is that English has risen to an even higher status than during apartheid, at the cost of all of the other languages in South Africa. As is clear from the official documentation, the will to do 'the right thing' for the most part seems to be there. For that reason, if for no other, it is important to emphasise the very real mismatch between the multilingual policy of official documentation and the actual language practice in government, education and business. Only if the leadership is seen to take pride in all of South Africa's languages; only if the schools value every child's mother tongue as an unique asset, and offer multilingual options; and only if the people are rewarded for their knowledge of a variety of languages in terms of jobs and status can language practice in South Africa eventually reflect language policy.

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Appendix 1

Recommended measures of the Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG, 1996)

Short-term measures

1. Initiate language awareness campaigns to sensitise people to the importance of language in society and to persuade them to the view that equity is an essential component of democracy in a multilingual society. Create programmes and projects to ensure that all citizens understand what their constitutional rights in respect of language are. Conduct language attitude surveys on a systematic basis in order to maximise the effectiveness of campaigns.
2. Develop, publish and disseminate a Language Code of Conduct for the Public Service to end the frequent abuse of power through language practices.
3. Enjoin the political, economic and cultural leadership to use the African and other marginalised languages on important and prestigious occasions. Formulate guidelines for all public servants to use languages other than English on a regular basis in national, provincial and local Government forums.
4. Put pressure (legislative and otherwise) on the State and privately owned media to give equitable time and space to all official languages and to use Sign Language and other languages where appropriate.
5. Use incentives to encourage employers and employees in both the private and public sectors to learn additional languages, especially those which would help to improve efficiency and productivity in the workplace.
6. Promote the use of languages other than English and Afrikaans in new domains and in higher-status functions, for example at universities and technikons.
7. Commission and/or support research units involved in the development and elaboration of the African languages along the lines advocated in Chapter 2.
8. Review all language curricula at educational and training institutions with a view to making syllabuses relevant, inspiring and articulated with the career paths of the learners. This is particularly important in the case of training courses for interpreters and translators.
9. Create new databases and audit existing databases via PANSALB, the HSRC, the DACST, CBOs, NGOs and other organs on all relevant language-related matters so that research and administration can be

facilitated and streamlined and efficiency enhanced. Establish as a priority mechanisms for access to such databases for the proper coordination of functions relating to language matters in South Africa.

10. Establish, or support the establishment of, pilot projects in all areas where such projects are essential before the relevant department or provider can implement on a large scale. For instance, pilot studies or projects on teaching methods in multilingual classrooms and the most feasible multilingual educational options under different circumstances are essential before large-scale educational planning can take place. Wherever possible, establish partnerships between Government and NGOs for these and other purposes connected with the promotion and implementation of the National Language Plan.
11. Expand State and State-supported provision of adult basic education and training. Implement innovative strategies to overcome the funding crisis that is threatening this sector.
12. Regulate the use of the official languages in the Public Service along the lines advocated in Chapter 6.
13. Transform the State Language Services and the National Terminology Services into a National Language Service within DACST in order to co-ordinate and monitor all language facilitation activities in the Public Service and to render such services as may be required. Establish a national telephone interpreting service, including TTY and telephonic relay services for the Deaf, as soon as it is feasible.
14. Propose the appointment of a person or group of persons in each central Government department, charged specifically with attending to the language issues of that particular department and with liaising with other departments and with PANSALB and other relevant language bodies.
15. Prioritise language needs and ensure that adequate funding is available for the promotion of the Government's language policy.

Long-term measures

1. Establish appropriate and accurate demographic statistics, language maps, language surveys, etc. for South Africa. These should be updated at regular intervals.
2. In consultation with the communities concerned, work out strategies for improving the status of marginalised languages, including South African Sign Language (SASL), Heritage languages and AAC systems.
3. Establish a solid, nation-wide infrastructure of language services involving adequate numbers of well-trained translators, interpreters, terminologists, terminographers, etc., as well as specialist dictionaries,

glossaries and other essential materials, telephonic and other electronic facilities for verbal communication and a language industry orientated to trade and other interactions with the African continent.

4. Eradicate illiteracy by giving maximum support for well-planned literacy campaigns and ongoing basic education projects, particularly in the African languages and SASL, which have as their focus the improvement of literacy acquisition methods.
5. Use extra-linguistic strategies and policies to enhance the status of the African languages, such as rewarding employees for their multilingual skills and – where it is justifiable – insisting on proficiency in an African language as a criterion for employment.
6. Negotiate a more equitable dispensation for languages other than English with the public broadcaster.
7. Establish feasible time-frames for the development and use of marginalised and disadvantaged languages in high-status functions. For example, we should be able to stipulate that by the year 2010, it must be possible for a Matric student to offer his or her exam in any of the South African languages. Each sector and each domain should be enjoined to establish such (realistic) targets.
8. Establish a process consisting of diverse events by means of which the problems connected with the hegemony of English, the dangers of language chauvinism and the benefits of multilingualism can be highlighted and embedded in the consciousness of all South Africans.

Appendix 2

School districts of Greater Metropolitan Durban

North Durban	1996 Survey		1998 Survey		Total	
	schools	children	schools	children	schools	children
Merebank						
Umgeni South	5	723	-	-	5	723
Brighton Beach	4	493	-	-	4	493
Wentworth	3	262	-	-	3	262
Durban Central	4	508	1	202	5	710
Umgeni North	-	-	1	107	1	107
Kwamashu						
Newlands East	2	247	-	-	2	247
Ntsuma	-	-	1	108	1	108
Malandela	-	-	2	128	2	128
Ndwedwe						
Ndwedwe West	-	-	2	101	2	101
Inanda						
Inanda North	-	-	1	29	1	29
Maphumulo						
Nyamazane	-	-	4	235	4	235
Phoenix						
Verulam	-	-	3	376	3	376
Phoenix North	-	-	2	109	2	109
Phoenix Central	-	-	1	50	1	50

South Durban	1996 Survey		1998 Survey		Total	
	schools	children	schools	children	schools	children
Umbumbulu						
Amanzimtoti	4	383	-	-	4	383
Imfume	-	-	2	130	2	130
Umbumbulu Central	-	-	3	247	3	247
Umbumbulu West	-	-	2	128	2	128
Ulovo	-	-	1	189	1	189
Folweni	-	-	3	401	3	401
Umlazi						
Umlazi West	1	132	-	-	1	132
Mafa	2	299	-	-	2	299
Isipingo	2	272	2	103	4	375
Maphundu	-	-	3	362	3	362
Chatsworth						
Westville	8	943	1	103	9	1,046
Chatsworth East	2	290	2	333	4	623
Chatsworth West	5	638	1	150	6	788
Pinetown						
Molweni	5	745	1	121	6	866
Kwasanti	4	513	-	-	4	513
Kwadabeka	2	305	1	61	3	366
Camperdown						
Table Mountain	-	-	3	58	3	58
Total	53	6,753	43	3,831	96	10,584

Appendix 3

Durban Language Survey Questionnaire

BASIC DATA (<i>circle, or fill in</i>)	
1. District	Chatsworth Durban Umbumbulu Inanda Ndwedwe Ntuzuma Pinetown Umlazi Umvoti
2. School	
3. Grade	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
4. Name	<i>(or code)</i>
5. Surname	
6. Sex	boy girl
7. Date of birth	
8. Country of birth	
9. Country of birth father	
10. Country of birth mother	

Additional comments

HOME LANGUAGE PROFILE (<i>circle, of fill in</i>)							
11. What languages are used in your home?							
		LANGUAGE 1		LANGUAGE 2		LANGUAGE 3	
<i>(Name the languages)</i>							
12. Can you							
understand this language?	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
speak this language?	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
read this language?	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
write this language?	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	
13. Do you speak this language:							
with your mother?	n.a.	always	often	always	often	always	often
		sometimes	never	sometimes	never	sometimes	never
with your father?	n.a.	always	often	always	often	always	often
		sometimes	never	sometimes	never	sometimes	never
with your older brother(s) or sisters?	n.a.	always	often	always	often	always	often
		sometimes	never	sometimes	never	sometimes	never
with your younger brother(s) or sisters?	n.a.	always	often	always	often	always	often
		sometimes	never	sometimes	never	sometimes	never
with other people?		always	often	always	often	always	often
		sometimes	never	sometimes	never	sometimes	never
14. What language do you speak best?		Language 1		Language 2		Language 3	
15. What language do you like to speak most?		Language 1		Language 2		Language 3	

SCHOOL LANGUAGE PROFILE (<i>name the languages</i>)
16. In what language(s) does your teacher speak to you?
17. In what language(s) would you <i>like</i> your teacher to speak to you?
18. What language(s) do you learn at school?
19. What language(s) would you <i>like</i> to learn at school?

Appendix 4

Short description of main reported languages

In Chapter 2.2, Table 10, an inventory of all reported home languages in the Durban Language Survey is presented. This Appendix contains a short description of the 20 most frequently reported languages (frequency greater than or equal to 5) as derived from Ethnologue (<http://www.ethnologue.com>).

1 Afrikaans

- Population: 6,200,000 in South Africa (Van Rensburg, 1991), of whom 1,000,000 are native bilinguals with English (Holm, 1989), 15.1% of the population (The Economist, 1995). 4,000,000 in South Africa use it as a second or third language (Holm, 1989). Population total all countries 6,381,000. Including second language users: 10,000,000 (WA, 1999).
- Classification: Indo-European, Germanic, West, Low Saxon-Low Franconian, Low Franconian.
- Comments: A variant of the Dutch spoken by the 17th century colonists, with lexical and syntactic borrowings from Malay, Bantu languages, Khoisan languages, Portuguese, and other European languages. Their ancestors were brought from Java 300 years ago. 150,000 Cape Malays speak Afrikaans; some also speak English.

2 Arabic, Standard

- Population: No estimate available.
- Alternate names: High Arabic, Al Fus-ha, Al Arabiya.
- Classification: Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Central, South, Arabic.
- Comments: Used for education, official purposes, written materials, and formal speeches. Classical Arabic is used for religion and ceremonial purposes, having archaic vocabulary. Modern Standard Arabic is a modernized variety of Classical Arabic. In most Arab countries only the well educated have adequate proficiency in Standard Arabic, while over 100,500,000 do not. National language. VSO. Not a mother tongue, but taught in schools.

3 Chinese, Mandarin

- Population:** 867,200,000 in mainland China (1999), 70% of the population, including 8,602,978 Hui (1990 census). Other estimates for Hui are 20,000,000 or more. 1,042,482,187 all Han in China (1990 census). Population total all countries 874,000,000 first language speakers, 1,052,000,000 including second language speakers (WA, 1999).
- Alternate names:** Mandarin, Guanhua, Beifang Fangyan, Northern Chinese, Guoyu, Standard Chinese, Putonghua.
- Classification:** Sino-Tibetan, Chinese.
- Comments:** Wenli is a literary form. Written Chinese is based on the Beijing dialect, but has been heavily influenced by other varieties of Northern Mandarin. Putonghua is the official form taught in schools. Hezhouhoua is spoken in the Linxia Hui Autonomous Prefecture and Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture of southern Gansu Province, and in neighbouring areas in Qinghai Province. The grammar is basically Altaic or Tibetan, while the vocabulary and phonology is basically Northwestern Mandarin, or a relexified variety of Tibetan. More investigation is needed. Putonghua is inherently intelligible with the Beijing dialect, and other Mandarin varieties in the northeast. Mandarin varieties in the Lower Plateau in Shaanxi are not readily intelligible with Putonghua. Mandarin varieties of Guilin and Kunming are inherently unintelligible to speakers of Putonghua. Taipei Mandarin and Beijing Mandarin are fully inherently intelligible to each other's speakers. The Hui are non-Turkic, non-Mongolian, Muslims who speak Mandarin as first language. Hui is a separate official nationality. The Hui correspond ethnically to 'Khoton', 'Hoton', or 'Qotong' in Mongolia, 20,000 Muslim Chinese in Taiwan, and the Hui in Thailand. Several hundred Chinese Jews in Kaifeng city, Henan Province are largely assimilated to the Han or Hui Chinese, and speak Mandarin. They are officially recognized. Investigation needed: intelligibility with varieties in Loess Plateau in Shaanxi, varieties in Guilin and Kunming. Official language. Dictionary. Grammar. SVO, SOV. If literate, they read Chinese. A few read Arabic. Chinese characters. Official language taught in all schools in Han China and Taiwan.

4 Dutch

Population: 13,400,000 in the Netherlands (WA, 1976). Population total all countries 20,000,000 or more (Kooij in Comrie, 1988).

Alternate names: Nederlands, Hollands.

Classification: Indo-European, Germanic, West, Low Saxon-Low Franconian, Low Franconian.

Comments: The name 'Dutch' is resented by some speakers. National language. Dictionary. Grammar. SOV.

5 English

Population: 55,000,000 first language speakers in United Kingdom (1984 estimate). Population total all countries 341,000,000 first language speakers (WA, 1999), 508,000,000 including second language speakers (WA, 1999).

Classification: Indo-European, Germanic, West, English.

Comments: 60% lexical similarity with German, 27% with French, 24% with Russian. National language. Dictionary. Grammar. SVO.

6 French

Population: 51,000,000 first language speakers in France. Population total all countries 77,000,000 first language speakers (WA, 1999), 128,000,000 including second language speakers (WA, 1999).

Alternate names: Français.

Classification: Indo-European, Italic, Romance, Italo-Western, Western, Gallo-Iberian, Gallo-Romance, Gallo-Rhaetian, Oil, French.

Comments: 89% lexical similarity with Italian, 80% with Sardinian, 78% with Rheto-Romance, 75% with Portuguese, Romanian, and Spanish, 29% with German, 27% with English. Investigation needed: intelligibility with Walloon, Picard Jèrrais. National language. Dictionary. Grammar. SVO.

7 German

Population: 75,300,000 in Germany (1990). Population total all countries 100,000,000 first language speakers (WA, 1999); 128,000,000 including second language speakers (WA, 1999).

Alternate names: Deutsch, Hochdeutsch, High German.

Classification: Indo-European, Germanic, West, High German, German, Middle German, East Middle German.
Comments: Major related language areas are Bavarian, Schwäbisch, Allemannisch, Mainfränkisch, Hessisch, Palatinian, Rheinfränkisch, Westfälisch, Saxonian, Thuringian, Brandenburgisch, and Low Saxon. Many varieties are not inherently intelligible with each other. Standard German is one High German variety, which developed from the chancery of Saxony, gaining acceptance as the written standard in the 16th and 17th centuries. High German refers to dialects and languages in the upper Rhine region. 60% lexical similarity with English, 29% with French. National language. Dictionary. Grammar. SVO.

8 Greek

Population: 9,859,850 in Greece, 98.5% of the population (1986). Population total all countries 12,000,000 (WA, 1999).
Alternate names: Ellinika, Grec, Graecae, Romaic, Neo-Hellenic.
Classification: Indo-European, Greek, Attic.
Comments: Katharevousa is an archaic literary dialect, Dimotiki is the spoken literary dialect and now the official dialect. The Saracatsan are nomadic shepherds of northern Greece. Greeks in Russia and Ukraine speak either Greek or Turkish and are called 'Urums'. The Karamanli were Orthodox Christian Turks who came from central Turkey. National language. Dictionary. Grammar. SVO.

9 Gujarati

Population: 45,479,000 in India (IMA, 1997). Population total all countries 46,100,000 or more.
Alternate names: Gujrathi, Gujerati, Gujerathi.
Classification: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Central zone, Gujarati.
Comments: Spoken as mother tongue by the Keer. National language. Grammar. Literacy rate in second language: 30% (1974). Gujarati script.

10 Hindi

Population: 180,000,000 in India (UBS, 1991), 363,839,000 or nearly 50% of the population including second language users in India (IMA, 1997). Population total all countries 366,000,000 first language speakers (WA, 1999), 487,000,000 including second language users (WA, 1999).
Alternate names: Khari Boli, Khadi Boli.

Classification: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Central zone, Western Hindi, Hindustani.

Comments: Formal vocabulary is borrowed from Sanskrit, de-Persianized, de-Arabicized. Literary Hindi, or Hindi-Urdu, has four varieties: Hindi (High Hindi, Nagari Hindi, Literary Hindi, Standard Hindi); Urdu; Dakhini; Rekhta. State language of Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Himachal Pradesh. Languages and dialects in the Western Hindi group are Hindustani, Haryanvi, Braj Bhasha, Kanauji, Bundeli; see separate entries. Spoken as mother tongue by the Saharia in Madhya Pradesh. Hindi, Hindustani, Urdu could be considered co-dialects, but have important sociolinguistic differences. National language. Grammar. SOV. Devanagari script.

11 Italian

Population: 55,000,000 mother tongue speakers, some of whom are native bilinguals of Italian and regional varieties, and some of whom may use Italian as second language. Population total all countries 62,000,000.

Alternate names: Italiano.

Classification: Indo-European, Italic, Romance, Italo-Western, Italo-Dalmatian.

Comments: Regional varieties coexist with the standard language; some are inherently unintelligible (Nida) to speakers of other varieties unless they have learned them. Aquilano, Molisano, and Pugliese are very different from the other Italian 'dialects'. Piemontese and Sicilian are distinct enough to be separate languages. Venetian and Lombard are also very different. Neapolitan is reported to be unintelligible to speakers of Standard Italian. Northern varieties are closer to French and Occitan than to standard or southern varieties. 89% lexical similarity with French, 87% with Catalan, 85% with Sardinian, 82% with Spanish, 78% with Rheto-Romance, 77% with Rumanian. Most Italians use varieties along a continuum from standard to regional to local according to what is appropriate. Possibly nearly half the population do not use Standard Italian as mother tongue. Only 2.5% of Italy's population could speak standard Italian when it became a unified nation in 1861. Investigation needed: intelligibility of Pugliese with Standard Italian. National language. Grammar. SVO.

12 Portuguese

Population: 10,000,000 in Portugal. Population total all countries 176,000,000 first language speakers (WA, 1999), 191,000,000 including second language speakers (WA, 1999).

Alternate names:Portuguêse.

Classification: Indo-European, Italic, Romance, Italo-Western, Western, Gallo-Iberian, Ibero-Romance, West Iberian, Portuguese-Galician.

Comments: Standard Portuguese of Portugal is based on Southern or Estremenho dialect (Lisbon and Coimbra). Official language. Dictionary. Grammar. SVO. Literacy rate in second language: 83% to 84%.

13a Sotho, Northern

Population: 3,840,000 in South Africa (The Economist, 1995). Population total both countries 3,851,000.

Alternate names:Pedi, Sepedi, Transvaal Sotho.

Classification: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central, S, Sotho-Tswana (S.30), Sotho, Northern.

Comments: Dialects Pai, Kutswe, and Pulana are more divergent and sometimes called 'Eastern Sotho'. Newspapers, radio programs.

13b Sotho, Southern

Population: 1,493,000 in Lesotho (Johnstone, 1993), 85% of the population. Population total all countries 4,197,000.

Alternate names:Suto, Suthu, Souto, Sesotho, siSutho.

Classification: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central, S, Sotho-Tswana (S.30), Sotho, Southern.

14 Spanish

Population: 28,173,600 in Spain, 72.8% of the population (1986). Population total all countries 322,200,000 to 358,000,000 first language users (WA, 1999 for the second figure), 417,000,000 including second language users (WA, 1999).

Alternate names:Español, Castellano, Castilian.

Classification: Indo-European, Italic, Romance, Italo-Western, Western, Gallo-Iberian, Ibero-Romance, West Iberian, Castilian.

Comments: Leonese has similarities to Asturian, and may be extinct. 89% lexical similarity with Portuguese, 85% with Catalan, 82% with Italian, 76% with Sardinian, 75% with French, 74% with Rheto-Romance, 71% with Romanian. Most mother tongue speakers of other languages in Spain use Spanish as second language. The Aragonese dialect of Spanish is different from the Aragonese language. Official language. Dictionary. Grammar. SVO.

15 Swati

Population: 650,000 in Swaziland (Johnstone, 1993), or 90% of the population. Population total all countries 1,670,000.

Alternate names: Swazi, isiSwazi, siSwati, Tekela, Tekeza.

Classification: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central, S, Nguni (S.40).

Comments: The people are highly educated. National language. Literacy rate in first language: High. Taught in all national schools.

16 Tamil

Population: 61,527,000 in India (IMA, 1997). Population total all countries 66,000,000 first language speakers; 74,000,000 including second language users (WA, 1999).

Alternate names: Tamalsan, Tambul, Tamili, Tamal, Damulian.

Classification: Dravidian, Southern, Tamil-Kannada, Tamil-Kodagu, Tamil-Malayalam, Tamil.

Comments: Kasuva is a jungle tribe dialect. Burgandi speakers are nomadic. Aiyar and Aiyangar are Brahmin dialects. National language. SOV. Tamil script.

17 Telugu

Population: 69,634,000 in India (IMA, 1997). Population total all countries 69,666,000 or more. Including second language speakers: 75,000,000 (WA, 1999).

Alternate names: Telegu, Andhra, Gentoo, Tailangi, Telangire, Telgi, Tengu, Terangi, Tolangan.

Classification: Dravidian, South-Central, Telugu.

Comments: Yanadi and Bagata are ethnic groups speaking Telugu as mother tongue. National language. SOV. Telugu script.

18 Urdu

- Population:** 10,719,000 mother tongue speakers in Pakistan (1993), 7.57% of the population. Population total all countries 60,290,000 or more. Including second language speakers: 104,000,000 (WA, 1999).
- Classification:** Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Central zone, Western Hindi, Hindustani.
- Comments:** Intelligible with Hindi, but has formal vocabulary borrowed from Arabic and Persian. The second or third language of most Pakistanis for whom it is not the mother tongue. National language. Grammar. Arabic script in Nastaliq style with several extra characters used.

19 Xhosa

- Population:** 6,858,000 in South Africa (1995), 17.5% of the population (The Economist, 1995). Population total all countries 6,876,000.
- Alternate names:** isiXhosa, Xosa, Koosa.
- Classification:** Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central, S, Nguni (S.40).
- Comments:** 15% of the vocabulary is estimated to be of Khoekhoe (Khoisan) origin. Many understand Zulu, Swati, Southern Sotho. Literacy rate in second language: Fair rate. Newspapers, radio programs.

20 Zulu

- Population:** 8,778,000 in South Africa (1995), 22.4% of the population (The Economist, 1995). Population total all countries 9,142,000.
- Alternate names:** isiZulu, Zunda.
- Classification:** Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central, S, Nguni (S.40).
- Comments:** Close to Swazi and Xhosa. Dictionary. Grammar. Literacy rate in second language: 70%. Newspapers, radio programs.