#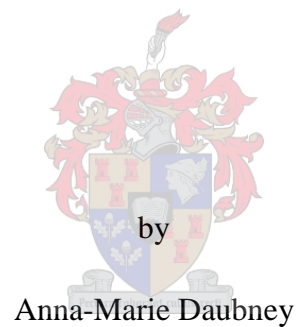 Language biographies and language repertoires: changes in language identity of indigenous African language speakers in a town in the Northern Cape

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MPhil in Intercultural Communication

(General Linguistics)

by

Anna-Marie Daubney

at

Stellenbosch University

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Supervisor: Dr. M. Oostendorp

Co-supervisor: Prof. Christine Anthonissen

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree. I further declare that all sources cited or otherwise referred to are acknowledged in the comprehensive list of references.

15 October 2013

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I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr Marcelyn Oostendorp, and my co-supervisor, Prof Christine Anthonissen for their leadership, patience and perseverance. Their insight into my stumbling efforts got me back on track and guided me through the dark days.

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Not forgetting the friendly people of Hopetown: thanks guys, it is always fun talking to you!

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the language shift from isiXhosa to Afrikaans in a group of indigenous African language speakers in a rural Northern Cape community. It plots the process that took place over three generations and focuses on the language identity of some members of this community as portrayed by their language biographies and linguistic repertoires. This phenomenon was researched after preliminary enquiries into linguistic identities and bilingualism in the Hopetown area revealed that although most inhabitants use Afrikaans as L1 at home, at school and in public, a considerable number did not present the anticipated monolingual Afrikaans with minimal L2-English repertoires. People from indigenous ethnic groups like the Xhosa were also found to be speaking Afrikaans as home language rather than isiXhosa.

The thesis gives a description and explanation of how a process of language shift from isiXhosa to Afrikaans took place. The findings suggest that a number of Xhosas started to migrate from the Eastern Cape to the Hopetown area in the Northern Cape during the 1960s when employment opportunities in the State's water and irrigation development scheme became available. The Afrikaans-speaking employers expected their workforce to speak Afrikaans and in the interest of economic survival, the disenfranchised workers learned to speak Afrikaans.

In addition to the employment situation, the accommodation situation was unusual in that Hopetown's township was seen as a Coloured area. In the time when the Group Areas Act dictated that ethnic segregation had to be enforced, the influx of Xhosa and other ethnic groups was not expected. When it happened, it was either overlooked or remained unnoticed. The Xhosa workers, with their families, had to blend in with the Coloured population in order not to attract attention.

The research follows the language shift based on information gained from questionnaires and by means of narrative analysis. Case studies of selected respondents reveal how the individuals gradually settled into a new language identity without complete loss of their traditional ties to language and cultural practices. A small story analysis sheds light on how selected members of the community experienced the shift and how they perceive their roles in the process. This thesis ultimately shows the contribution that language biographies can make to sociolinguistic research.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die taalverskuiwing van isiXhosa na Afrikaans in 'n inheemse groep Afrikataalsprekers in 'n plattelandse Noord-Kaapse gemeenskap. Dit volg die proses wat oor drie generasies plaasgevind het en fokus op die taalidentiteit van enkele lede van dié gemeenskap soos uitgebeeld in hulle taalbiografieë en taal repertoires. Hierdie verskynsel is nagevors nadat voorlopige navrae in verband met talige identiteit en tweetaligheid in die Hopetown-omgewing daarop gedui het dat alhoewel die meeste inwoners Afrikaans tuis, by die skool en in die openbaar as eerstetaal gebruik, 'n aansienlike getal nie die verwagte profiel van 'n eentalige Afrikaanse gemeenskap met minimale tweedetaal-Engels vertoon het nie. Mense van inheemse etniese afkoms soos die Xhosa het ook laat blyk dat hulle Afrikaans eerder as isiXhosa as huistaal gebruik.

Die tesis gee 'n beskrywing en verduideliking van hoe 'n proses van taalverskuiwing van isiXhosa na Afrikaans plaasgevind het. Volgens die bevindinge het 'n groeiende getal Xhosas in die 1960s uit die Oos-Kaap na die Hopetown-omgewing in die Noord-Kaap begin migreer toe werksgeleenthede in die Staat se water- en besproeiingskema beskikbaar gekom het. Die Afrikaanssprekende werkgewers het van hulle werkers verwag om Afrikaans te praat. In die belang van ekonomiese oorlewing het die werkers wat daar geen burgerregte gehad het nie, Afrikaans geleer.

Bykomend tot die werksituasie was die behuisingsituasie in die Hopetown nedersettings ongewoon daarin dat dit as Kleurlinggebied geklassifiseer is maar ook mense van ander etniese herkoms gehuisves het. In die tyd toe die Groepsgebiedewet bepaal het dat etniese segregasie toegepas moes word, is daar geen voorsiening gemaak vir die instroming van Xhosa en ander etniese groepe nie. Toe dit gebeur het, is dit óf oor die hoof gesien, óf dit het ongemerk gebeur. Die Xhosa werkers, met hulle gesinne, moes inskakel by die Kleurlinggemeenskap ten einde nie die aandag van die gesaghebbers of hulleself te vestig nie.

Die navorsing volg die taalverskuiwing op basis van inligting uit vraelyste en met behulp van narratiewe analise. Gevallestudies van uitgesoekte respondente wys hoe die individue geleidelik 'n nuwe taalidentiteit aangeneem het sonder totale verlies van hulle tradisionele bande met taal en kulturele gebruike. 'n Klein storie analise werp lig op hoe geselekteerde lede van die gemeenskap die verskuiwing ervaar het en wat hulle siening is van hulle rolle in die proses. Hierdie tesis werp ten slotte lig op die bydrae wat taalbiografie tot sosiolinguistiese navorsing kan maak.

Contents

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

South Africa is currently well-known as a multicultural and multilingual country. The national language policy that was introduced in 1994 with 11 official languages of equal status aimed to redress linguistic inequalities by being more inclusive and recognising the variety of language communities that co-exist in virtually all public domains. In the last two decades there has been an increasing movement towards tolerance, understanding, acceptance and celebration of multiculturalism in this country where previously the official solution was thought to be found in segregation.

The Northern Cape is a region where, according to census data, the first language (L1) of the majority of the speakers is Afrikaans (68%). Census figures of 2001[1] indicate Afrikaans as the dominant language, and Setswana as the second most widely distributed language, at 21%. Although census data provides key information about language demographics and language use across time (Deumert 2010), it relies on the responses of the subjects. The given first language is thus not necessarily the language that the respondents use most often at home, but rather the language that they feel obliged to enter. Additionally, it does not give any information about language histories of people[2]. This study will qualitatively investigate the kind of information to which regular census data gives only limited clues. It will interpret a small sample of questionnaires which give profiles of the linguistic repertoires of one Northern Cape community and it will analyse the narratives regarding language identity of a group of first language speakers of Afrikaans, who testify to a change in the family language in the past 50 years. These are narratives focusing on the language repertoires of four inhabitants in a rural town who have reported a family history of shift from isiXhosa as first language and family language to Afrikaans as first language and family language of the next generation. In the language profile of this region, isiXhosa does not feature as a significant

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[1] The more recent census of 2011 did not record language identities of respondents in a similar way, thus how the distribution of languages may have changed is not easily measured. Interregional migration patterns show relatively low movement of the population of this region as compared to other parts of the country. (http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022013.pdf) This suggests a stable distribution of the languages of the region as well.

[2] Deumert's (2010) study provides a historical perspective through the analysis of census data across time. However, this kind of data can focus on specific language communities, neighbourhoods or areas, but cannot provide language histories of individuals.

community language at all. Thus at the beginning of the new millennium, about seven years after the new dispensation in the government of the country had been introduced, Afrikaans and Setswana accounted for the first languages of 89% of the population in this region. That a significant number of migrant workers of Xhosa descent had found work, established their families and integrated into one such community during the preceding 40-odd years, is hardly to be read off census information.

This study will provide an analysis of the language biographies of 15 informants, and specifically focuses on the narratives of four of the informants who testified to the loss of an African language as their language of identity. Explanations for this shift and the reasoning behind it will be included and form part of this study. Participants in this study have several things in common. Their first language is Afrikaans and they have a limited range of languages in their linguistic repertoires. They know very little of the prevailing national language policies, have little use for any additional languages and expect newcomers to speak Afrikaans. They happily teach foreigners to communicate in basic Afrikaans; for example, this research disclosed that several Bangladeshi and Somalian traders had settled there in the last five years, and that, at the time the study was conducted, they already communicated in various degrees of competence in Afrikaans. The respondents narrated their language biographies with enthusiasm and enjoyed telling relevant stories, frequently laughing along the way. Many of them had experienced a significant language shift from isiXhosa to Afrikaans. Linguistic phenomena related to migration, language contact and language shift have been studied from various perspectives so that a large bank of relevant literature exists. The patterns recognised in this thesis seem in certain regards to be unique or at least underreported. These patterns started to develop in the third quarter of the 20th century, and by the time the current language policies were instated in 1994, the language shift had been established and accepted as 'normal'.

My personal interest in the topic developed while I was taking health-related histories from clients of the health centre in Hopetown, Northern Cape, where I am employed. In the process I discovered that there is much more to be learnt from past events than mere health-related matters. For example, in giving their medical histories, clients revealed information about their social situation, their personal biographies, and their cultural heritage. I found it interesting that the language of choice was almost exclusively Afrikaans. If the first language was not Afrikaans, it was always a 'new' resident – someone who had grown up elsewhere and settled in the town relatively recently. Often the names of the Afrikaans speakers would

suggest that they were of Tswana, Sotho or Xhosa heritage. I discovered in my research that the dominance of Afrikaans in the rural Northern Cape had an important effect on cultural and in particular linguistic diversity. My focus in this study is particularly on those of Xhosa descent. Migration of Xhosas into the Northern Cape was apparently discouraged well into the 1990s, so that Xhosa L1 speakers who did find work and accommodation in the region often found ways of concealing their place of origin and cultural background. It transpired that clients of Xhosa descent, who had grown up in Hopetown, spoke Afrikaans and also reported it as their home language. This seems to be a specific Hopetown-based phenomenon and is certainly not found in surrounding towns in the district. People who travel to the health care facility from Petrusville (which is only 80km away) and are of Xhosa heritage, speak very little Afrikaans; preferring their first language, isiXhosa.

I found this unusual situation in Hopetown intriguing and decided to research the apparent loss of African heritage in a small, otherwise ordinary town in the Northern Cape. Initial research pointed me in the direction of 'language and identity', and I was pleasantly surprised to discover that this was indeed a research area where recent theoretic developments would be helpful in understanding the linguistic history of the community and in recognising the very human aspects of identity. In the next section I discuss the theoretical orientation that this thesis will take in more detail.

1.2 Theoretical point of departure

The rural, relatively remote community in and around Hopetown became part of the greater Tembelihle Municipality in 1994. It has a history of limited migration and the fact that formerly 'disallowed' newcomers were allowed here under the previous regime has gone largely undocumented and unrecognised. It is evident that the township was limited to Coloureds[3] only under the apartheid regime and that the migrating ethnic minorities were able to blend in unofficially. Disadvantage and poverty unified the community, and the language contact brought about by this unity set the scene for the language shift that subsequently took place. Taking the context of Hopetown into account, this thesis will view identity as fluid and multifaceted (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012). Increasingly, identity

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[3] The socially constructed nature of race is acknowledged in this thesis. In South Africa, the apartheid categories such as Coloured and African Black are however still frequently used, especially for equity and redress purposes. The author acknowledges the contested nature of these categories and the continued use of these terms is for clarity. No disrespect is intended. In agreement with Anthonissen (2013: 28) this thesis will use the term "Coloured" with a capital letter and without quotation marks.

is viewed as socially constructed and dynamic (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012), and is studied by investigating how people discursively construct themselves and others. This is also the approach that this thesis will take. In particular the notions of 'language biography' (Busch 2010), 'language repertoire' (Blommaert & Backus 2011), and language shift as an outcome of language contact will be used to investigate questions related to linguistic identity. As identity is viewed as partly discursively constructed, language biographies will be used to gain information about the language repertoires that people have developed in response to language contact. This study is interested in how language contact has shaped linguistic identity.

The notion of 'language and migration' is another prominent concept in this thesis. Kerswill (2006:1) contends that migration always has "profound sociolinguistic consequences" except if a homogenous group of people move to an area where they are isolated and not in contact with other languages or varieties. I found in the Hopetown area a minority group of Xhosa-speakers who migrated, probably for better life chances in terms of employment opportunities. They were thus a relatively vulnerable group who, according to group areas and work reservation legislation (at least until 1986 when the legislation was dropped), were not supposed to be living and working in the Northern Cape. This group came into contact (necessarily also into 'language contact') with Afrikaans L1 speakers. Regardless of ethnic/racial classification, in the 1960s and 1970s Afrikaans was virtually the only language used in public domains and as home language by the established residents of Hopetown. Research on language contact phenomena postulates that there might be various outcomes of such social contact: one often-investigated phenomenon is the patterns of code-switching that emerge; another is the more and less subtle forms of language change that occur where one language has an effect on the grammatical form of the other (Nettle and Romaine 2000). This does not appear to have happened in the different Hopetown communities – or, if it did happen, it has not been particularly noticeable, and has definitely not endured. Rather, this community seems to have undergone a process where isiXhosa as L1 was eventually replaced by Afrikaans. This phenomenon is known in the literature as 'language shift' (Fishman 1989). In the broader South African history, language shift is not uncommon. In the 17th and 18th centuries the French Huguenots in the Franschoek area shifted from French to Dutch; in the process contributing only a small number of French words to the Dutch (and eventually Afrikaans) language. Deumert (2010: 31) states that language shift in South Africa is typically not a post-1994 occurrence, but that due to restrictive legislation in the apartheid

regime, "significant processes of shift" took place. For example, African language speakers could gain social currency and material advantages such as better living conditions by "passing for Coloureds", and therefore stood to gain if they shifted their home language to English or Afrikaans.

The shift from one language to another is closely related to shifts in culture, and the speed at which it takes place gives some indication of the urgency to conform to the prevailing language and culture. In the Hopetown area, the shift from isiXhosa as home language and language of identity, to Afrikaans as home language and language of identity, happened relatively swiftly. In a country where civil rights were restricted, it was important for the disadvantaged groups to fit in. In the Hopetown region where there was no segregation in terms of different townships, the migrating Xhosa had no choice but to blend in with the existing Coloured population. Learning Afrikaans was the gateway to economic survival. Another contributing factor was the fact that the local disenfranchised Coloured population did not oppose the process and job opportunities were freely available to Afrikaans-speaking labourers on the Orange River Water Project and the burgeoning irrigation farms.

As can be seen from the contextual information provided, the concepts of 'language shift' and 'language contact' both form a substantial part of the theoretical framework. These concepts will be used in order to investigate the following research questions.

1.3   Research questions

The shift from isiXhosa to Afrikaans seems to be an under-recognised geographical phenomenon in the Hopetown area. This research seeks to uncover possible factors that contributed to this shift. The following research questions will be investigated in the study:

  i) What are the linguistic repertoires of selected residents in Hopetown?
  ii) Which social and historical factors shaped their current linguistic repertoires?
  iii) What kinds of social information do participants inadvertently disclose when narrating their language biographies?

1.4   Research aims

This thesis aims to investigate social and historical circumstances that lead to the loss of cultural heritage, in particular the loss of such a strong marker of culture as language. It refers to the loss

of isiXhosa as a family language in the multi-cultural township of Hopetown in the course of two, or at most three generations. In particular the thesis will aim to:

i) Survey the linguistic repertoires of selected residents in Hopetown.

ii) Investigate the factors that shaped their current linguistic repertoires.

iii) Analyse their narratives in order to gain a deeper understanding of these factors.

1.5   Research methodology

The research will make use of a mixed-method approach in data collection and analysis (Cresswell & Clark 2007). The data collection tools include surveys and interviews. This will also be supplemented by my observations, as I am a resident of the community in which the research took place. The survey was used to ascertain the extent of the phenomenon of shift from isiXhosa to Afrikaans as home language. A smaller, random selection was made to interview participants while they completed questionnaires. This data will highlight the cultural, educational and linguistic features of the larger community. From the interviews, four particularly interesting respondents were selected for case studies. From these four individuals language biographies were elicited using suggestions put forward by Busch (2010). The four individuals were selected to include members of three generations who were able to recall either their own historic migrations or those of their parents or grandparents.

The data will be analysed by means of thematic analysis which will identify recurrent and prominent themes (Miles and Huberman 1984; Pavlenko 2007) and will be supplemented by narrative analysis, specifically the so-called 'small story approach' followed by Bamberg (1997). 'Small stories' can be defined as narrations "of ongoing, past, future or hypothetical events" (Ryan 2008: 4). They can include continuations of interrupted narrations or even refusals to continue narrations. This approach acknowledges the fact that ordinary, everyday narratives can be rather lengthy if allowed to continue, and that shorter, focused narratives can shed light on the subjective interaction that takes place concurrently with the more structured, planned narrative. Because of the apparent irrelevance and unimportance of small stories, they can be overlooked in narrative inquiry. To recognise important details demands intelligent discernment on the part of the discourse analyst to ensure that defining nuances are not disregarded.

The 'small story' approach will be combined with a focus on the language shift phenomenon. The use of such mixed methods in analysis will allow me to identify some of the factors that

made for this unusual linguistic situation, as well as giving additional information about how various constituting factors played out in the language change and language shift of a Xhosa migrant community.

1.6   Structure of the study

The thesis is divided into six chapters.

In Chapter Two the relevant literature regarding language biographies, linguistic repertoires, language and identity, and language contact and shift will be discussed in order to situate the study within current sociolinguistic theory.

Chapter Three will provide an exposition of the methodology used with special reference to the tripartite survey structure. The data collection instruments and selection process for the surveys will be discussed. Additionally, this chapter will discuss the analytical tools used and will discuss the particular form of narrative analysis that was used in this thesis.

In Chapter Four the results of the data will be presented. The results of the street block survey and questionnaire will be presented in table format, while further information will be provided in a more discursive format. The results of the interviews and case studies will be presented in discursive format.

Chapter Five will present the analysis. Firstly, the thematic analysis will be presented by identifying recurrent and prominent themes. The key concepts discussed in Chapter 3 will be discussed in view of the themes identified. Secondly, the discussion of the small story analysis will be presented.

In Chapter Six, the thesis will be concluded and discussed in view of the original research questions. The contribution that this thesis makes to current sociolinguistic research will be explicated and, lastly, recommendations for future studies will be made.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will give an overview of the literature that has informed the study and assisted in establishing a suitable theoretical framework for analysing data of the kind I have come across. Specific interrelated themes within sociolinguistic research will receive dedicated attention. This chapter takes language contact as a starting point, asking what happens sociolinguistically when people have to migrate to a new area and come into contact with different language groups. The chapter will therefore be organised by first looking at language contact and its possible outcomes. The chapter will then turn its attention to language shift as a possible outcome of language contact. Language biography as a source of information about possible language contact phenomena will then be addressed. Lastly, we look at issues that often emerge out of language biographies, namely linguistic repertoires and language and identity. This chapter will also assist in situating the current study within the larger field of related scholarly work.

2.1 Language shift as outcome of language contact

The dedicated study of language contact is believed to have been started in all earnest in the 1940s, with scholars such as Werner Leopold, Einar Haugen, William Mackey and Uriel Weinreich being prominent in the initial phases of the research (Haugen 1978: 1). These early studies focused primarily on language contact within the individual as opposed to the community, with particular attention paid to issues such as linguistic borrowing and linguistic interference (Haugen 1978: 3). With the efforts of sociolinguists such as Joshua Fishman and Dell Hymes, language contact phenomena also began to be studied from the point of view of sociolinguists (Haugen 1978: 9). One of the earliest definitions of language contact reflects the original focus of the field on individuals as opposed to communities. Weinreich (1953: 1) defined language contact as the alternate use of a language by the same person. More recently, definitions of language contact have become broader and more inclusive. Thomason (2001: 1) states that "in the simplest definition, language contact is the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time". However, this simple definition is problematic for various reasons. Thomason (2001: 1-2) points out that in order for language contact

phenomena to be more than trivial, some people in the contact situation have to use more than one language. The very notion of language itself can also be problematic in trying to define language contact. The boundaries between different languages and dialects are often fuzzy (Thomason 2001: 3). Lastly, the simple definition is also problematic since two languages need to be in the same place (or time) to be in contact, e.g. as is the case with the pervasiveness of English in the mass media (Thomason 2001: 3).

Various outcomes result from language contact. Thomason (2001: 10) divides results of language contact into three common processes: contact-induced language change, extreme language mixture and language death. Thomason (2001: 12) further discusses the language death outcome and states that "one common outcome is the disappearance of one of the languages." This happens when speakers shift to another language and in more extreme cases where all the speakers of a language die. Nettle and Romaine (2000: 73) define language shift as a process that happens when "people are forced to change their speech habits by a change in circumstances". Such a shift can only be possible if there is a significant degree of language contact. According to Nettle and Romaine (2000: 53), people can only acquire additional languages when they "have an opportunity to do so". Many studies have been conducted in communities that, for various reasons, came into contact with neighbouring, migrating and often conquering communities.

Nettle and Romaine (2000: 65-66) discuss the contact factors leading to language shift. Often conflict or economic factors are found to be fundamental causes in language shift, but it can also happen where contact is the consequence of cross-cultural social relationships or educational choices. Where the academic standards of institutions with a different language of instruction are perceived to be superior, people can choose to forgo mother tongue instruction in favour of foreign or second language instruction. Other factors that influence language use include political, religious, travel, media and gender choices. This is not a clear-cut matter of one leading to the other. The authors remind us that speech communities are made up from the sum total of every individual in every community. It is a complex process in which "contact with other languages does not affect everyone in a group to the same degree" (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 53). They describe three types of language shift: the death of the language community by means of natural catastrophe or genocide; a forced shift, for example when a majority group restricts and eliminates a minority language by legislation; and the third type, a voluntary shift. A voluntary shift can be gradual, taking place over decades or longer. It depends on contact between the peripheral speakers of two or more

language communities. The demarcation between forced and voluntary language shift is not necessarily clear. Nettle and Romaine (2000: 93) "recognize a considerable grey area between forced and voluntary shift which is probably larger than either of the categories themselves". Fishman (1989: 206) specifically links language shift to economics and states that "what begins as the language of social and economic mobility ends, within three generations or so, as the language of the crib as well". He thus emphasizes that very often a language that was used for practical or economic purposes filters through to other domains and replaces the L1 within three generations.

Another relevant matter, along with language contact, is language choice. Decker and Grummitt (2012) found that the variety of languages that come into contact can be used as a matter of choice. It has to be established who chooses and what affects the choices. The choices can be deliberate (thus also negotiated – either officially or informally) or there could be a kind of 'free choice' where either the dominant language just gets used without any resistance from the minority group, or people use different languages at different times in different domains – a choice for multilingualism, allowing co-existence of different languages and varieties.

Gumperz (1968), in his work on speech communities, discusses the different outcomes of speech communities coming into contact. Gumperz (1968: 66) used the term "speech community" to include the characteristic interaction that human groups engage in "by means of a shared body of verbal signs". These groups of humans can be distinguished from each other because the "shared body of verbal signs"' differs significantly from group to group. The merging of two or more speech communities can lead to a broad base where they coexist and show gradual signs of linguistic overlap and lesser degrees of assimilation over time. In more extreme cases, hybrid forms of language like creoles and pidgins are created. This typically happens in large centres where labourers of many diverse backgrounds congregate and work together. This does, however, not happen when one part of the speech community is dominant. Gumperz (1968: 383) puts it this way: "cross-cultural influence may also give rise to language shift, the abandonment of one native tongue in favour of another. This phenomenon most frequently occurs when two groups merge, as in tribal absorption, or when minority groups take on the culture of the surrounding majority." It has been documented more frequently that minority groups lose their culture in favour of the surrounding majority, especially when they are economically dependent on the dominant group. A well-documented case of language shift can be found in Nova Scotia, Canada. In the 17th and 18th centuries

large numbers of Gaelic-speaking migrants from the British Isles settled in Nova Scotia. In 1901 it was established that Gaelic speakers made up more than 75% of the local population in large parts of eastern Nova Scotia. The number has declined to the point where currently less than 500 Gaelic speakers can be found. The remaining speakers are mostly older people in small isolated groups scattered over the predominantly English-speaking area (Dunbar 2008: 2). Dunbar (2008: 2) concedes that the reasons for this language shift remain largely unknown and are the subject of on-going research.

In modern-day South Africa, language shift is a fairly common phenomenon and many linguistic studies have been done to research the reasons, the process, and the consequences of such shift. Dyers (2008: 54) defines "language shift" as the process that "takes place when the younger members of a minority speech community no longer speak the language of their parents, but speak a dominant majority language instead". Her research took place in a predominantly Coloured community where Afrikaans as first language is under threat from a language shift towards English. Negative attitudes towards Afrikaans as the language of the socially disadvantaged community were found to cause a partial shift towards English, especially as language of instruction.

Another research project on language shift in the South African context was undertaken by Anthonissen and George (2003) and Anthonissen (2009). This study traced the more gradual shift from Afrikaans to English over three generations in a few Western Cape Coloured communities. The study reported on language shift that was, for the most part, a deliberate effort on the part of parents to enable their children to advance socially and improve their economic circumstances outside of the constricting confines of the township. Anthonissen (2009: 70) found that "fluency in English is perceived to be an advantage, an asset that will improve social mobility and employment opportunities".

De Klerk's (2000a, 2000b) interest in language shift is primarily in isiXhosa-speaking communities and their shift to English. De Klerk (2000b), using a survey study that includes both questionnaires and interviews, found similarly to Anthonissen (2009) that parents made the conscious decisions to educate their children in English rather than isiXhosa to give them more life chances. It seems that although "these parents recognize the intrinsic value of Xhosa in meeting the immediate communicative needs of local speakers, they also see its potential to restrict them in wider linguistic contexts, limiting their comprehensibility and

their opportunities to participate in the global village on an equal intellectual and economic footing with speakers of English" (De Klerk 2000b: 107).

In an MA-study Anthonie (2009) investigated the status of Afrikaans in the rural community of Beaufort West which could be historically identified as monolingual, and where since the 1994 change to democratic government, profiles of bilingualism markedly increased. This is one of a very small number of studies on the linguistic repertoires of traditionally vernacular Afrikaans rural communities and how they are changing in response to a changed political context. Although the value of English for social mobility is recognised among Beaufort West inhabitants, this study indicated that as a community language in areas removed from the big urban centres, Afrikaans is still well established and not under threat of language shift.

Nicholas (2009) investigated the Hopi communities in Arizona, USA and found that the youth who were being raised within the Hopi culture were undergoing a language shift from Hopi to English. One of the subjects in the course of the research says, "I live Hopi, I just don't speak it". This statement provides insight into a process which allows a culture to continue in spite of a language shift. English-medium education was found to be the main contributor towards "the rapid language shift" (Nicholas 2009: 323). The Hopi community is able to combine the aspects of identity and culture in relation to this shift. Sociolinguistic surveys have been a commonly used way of investigating language shift. However, recently more qualitative methods such as language biographies have been used in line with the so-called "narrative turn" in humanities research (Peterson & Langellier 2006).

2.2   Language biographies

As with all forms of narrative inquiry, different approaches to language biographies exist and various definitions are offered. Nekvapil (2003: 1) defines language biographies as a biographical account in which the narrator makes the language, or rather languages, the topic of his or her narrative – in particular the issue of how the language was acquired and how it was (and still may be) used. This definition is used by Nekvapil (2003) in a study of a group of Germans who stayed on in Czechoslovakia (now known as the Czech Republic) after World War II. In this paper, Nekvapil (2003) demonstrates how language biographies help us to understand interesting and important aspects of language in society. He discovered repetitive patterns that he understood to be a typical language biography of the group of

Czech Germans. He noted that the interviewees had enough of a shared history to provide evidence of typical characteristics. At the same time, he acknowledges the "diversity and uniqueness of individual language biographies" (p. 15) He further states that there is much to learn from the similarities as well as the idiosyncrasies found in the biographies of different individuals. Meyerhoff (2005: 598) similarly remarks that "individual and group histories are built in establishing a shared repertoire".

In the process of developing a language biography, the subject is necessarily interacting with another person or persons, either in writing (or otherwise visually representing) the biography for an imagined or real reader, or in oral narration. The language biography thus becomes a shared experience. This leads Nekvapil (2003: 2) to say "a language is not merely a private matter: the individual learns it from someone (inside and outside the family)". Therefore, he finds that language biographies naturally include biographical aspects of the narrator as well as of other people, so that individual recalls can give clues to family language biographies or, to a varying extent, community language biographies in which aspects of language situations of a particular community become clear.

Busch (2010: 5) defines language biographies somewhat differently from Nekvapil (2003) as the "personal stories of language" and "life course narratives". While conceding that personal language biographies have been regarded as subjective and therefore unreliable accounts of language learning, she argues that these approaches provide essential insight and understanding in the field of multilingualism and linguistic diversity (p. 5). She gives an account of the interactive nature of life biographies in general in which "a relevant 'other' is always co-constitutive in a particular text, i.e. the narrator develops a narrative – written or spoken – always with a (potential) reader/recipient in mind". She discovered more advantages of language biographies. In her study with two Linguistics students they found that the practice of recording their language biographies "made them more aware of their proper language practices" and discovered how they could apply the biographical approach in their work as educators (Busch 2012: 16). Her first example is Aziza Jardine's Kaaps-speaking experience of the District Six community in Cape Town. Jardine's account is all the more interesting because she combines it with narratives from family, friends and colleagues. It transpired that Jardine, in developing her language biography, became more aware of her own linguistic abilities and developed useful skills as a language expert. Another participant in Busch's (2010) study, Angelika Tjoutuku, focussed more on the language-identity link. Her account of the struggle to learn Afrikaans gives insight into a difficult period in Southern

African history. She describes the humiliating experience of being subjected to ridicule because of her Otjiherero heritage. Busch (2010: 9) found the recounting of humiliating experiences associated with language loss to be a recurrent theme in her research on language biographies. She states "although the biographic approach relies on individual case studies, it is not primarily interested in the uniqueness of a particular life story but rather in the social dimensions of language practices that it helps to reveal" (p. 29). Further, Busch (2010: 24) found several general or repetitive patterns. Subjects remembered the acquisition of reading and writing skills as traumatic experiences. The use of African languages was discouraged and basic classroom requisites like books and pencils were often unavailable. The skills that they had acquired informally – outside of formal school – were belittled. Another characteristic identified by Busch (2010: 15) is the fact that the narrative is based on memory rather than actual reality. This is not a problem, as might be expected, because the narrator has the advantage of hindsight and brings his/her experience into contemporary perspective.

Verschik (2002: 47) found parallel themes when she did research on Yiddish-speaking Estonians. She investigated the Yiddish-speaking community in Estonia and analysed their complex language biographies. She agrees that they should not be used for sociolinguistic stereotyping but they "shed light on invisible details that would otherwise have been lost" (p. 47). She adds to the debate by questioning the value of census statistics because they do not give an accurate account of the multilingual individual. Census data, for example, requires respondents to indicate the usually spoken language; Verschik (2002: 43) argues that "it is not clear how often a language has to be spoken in order to count as [the] usually spoken language". A benefit of using language biographies together with surveys is the insight that can be gained about individual linguistic repertoires.

2.3   Linguistic repertoires

One of the earliest mentions of language/verbal repertoire can be found in Gumperz' work. Gumperz (1964: 137) defines verbal repertoires as "the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction". He further expands on this concept by stating that it can reflect contextual and social differences in speech (p. 137). Building on this concept, Fishman (1969: 152) states that an individual's linguistic repertoire can "reflect and disclose the sociolinguistic norms of the speech networks and the speech community of which he is a part". Early work on verbal repertoires emphasized that they are

both an individual and societal phenomenon and used the term "linguistic forms" rather than "languages". Language repertoire has however been used in a more narrow sense as well. For example, Detaramani & Lock (2003: 253), investigating language repertoire and shift in two communities in Hong Kong, used "language repertoire" to refer to "the range of languages spoken by members of the communities". Recently, linguistic repertoire is often conceptualised within the context of multilingualism (Blommaert & Backus 2011; Coetzee-Van Rooy 2012).

Working in the South African context, Coetzee-Van Rooy (2012: 89) defines language repertoire as "as the range of languages known from which multilingual people draw the resources they need to communicate in multilingual societies." This study was done in the multilingual urban society of the early 21st century and the repertoire expansion in this setting appears to be crucial for adjusting towards improved life quality in general. In investigating the language expansion among African language students in the urban Vaal Triangle, she found that the ability to communicate on many levels was achieved without loss of traditional or home languages (Coetzee-Van Rooy 2012: 114). The acquisition of English was not accompanied by the loss of their first languages. Participants in her study also appeared to increase their language repertoires with the addition of regionally dominant languages, in this case Afrikaans and Southern Sotho, "probably because these are dominant and therefore useful languages in the region. It benefits people in the region to know Southern Sotho, because it is a language used widely in the community. It benefits people to learn Afrikaans, because in this region, many businesses and work opportunities are potentially available if one could use Afrikaans" (Coetzee-Van Rooy 2012: 112).

Recent research on language repertoires has been done mainly in urban areas where multilingual skills are, on the one hand, a means of survival and on the other, the natural by-product of migration and recent technological advances in communication. Blommaert & Backus (2011: 4) in their study on linguistic repertoires describe the processes in which multiple repertoires have culminated in a global 'superdiversity'. The two main contemporary processes that contribute towards this superdiverse linguistic community developed coincidentally. One was migration; Blommaert & Backus (2011) concentrates on the post-Cold War mainly East European movements, whereas in Coetzee-Van Rooy's (2012) study the same movement was happening in post-apartheid South Africa. The second process was the evolution of the Internet and mobile phones. Blommaert & Backus (2011: 4) describe it as "something that happened in the same period, and which dramatically changed the nature of

social and cultural life in large parts of the world, deeply affecting the ways we all think, act and communicate".

Blommaert & Backus (2011: 9) further point out that linguistic repertoires are not fixed acquisitions that remain static throughout life. They expand in relation to each person's biographical development and in the same trend can diminish and fade through disuse (p. 9). They found that the increased migratory patterns in Europe also contribute to the dynamic nature of linguistic repertoires. The premise that communities are stable units had to make way for the developing dynamic nature of communities in the superdiverse era. As a result of increased contact with an ever-widening range of communities, the language repertoire of the individual is in a constant process of adaptation throughout and in relation to the stages of life. They state that "repertoires in a super-diverse world are records of mobility: of movement of people, language resources, social arenas, technologies of learning and learning environments" (p. 22).

There seem to be two properties of globalisation. In one, people recognise their differences and a degree of merging takes place. On the other hand, people value the background of their minority cultural heritage and maintain a degree of loyalty. In the process there is, as noted by Blommaert & Backus (2011: 23), a degree of inevitability. The individual expands his repertoires "in order to operate within the norms and expectations that govern social life" (p. 23). It is evident that the individual develops repertoires in response to the external social powers that prescribe the realms of normality. It is, in short, the individual's striving to 'fit in'.

2.4   Language and identity

According to Edwards (2009), language-identity issues are of little importance for majority language L1 speakers in a monolingual society. They take it for granted and seldom think about it. It is the minority groups in these societies that are often marginalised and even under threat of extinction. Edwards (2009: 255) further argues that one of the implications of the role that language-identity issues plays for minority speakers is that "a link will often exist between bilingualism and a heightened awareness of, and concern for, identity." De Fina (2012: 155) stresses the difficulty in defining identity. She argues that definitions of identity will differ according to the theoretical assumptions underlying the definition. De Fina's

(2012: 155) lengthy and rather clumsy definition of identity paints a picture of a concept that virtually defies definition. She says:

> Identity can be seen and defined as a property of the individual or as something that emerges through social interaction; it can be regarded as residing in the mind or in concrete social behaviour; or it can be anchored to the individual or to the group. Furthermore, identity can be conceived of as existing independently of and above the concrete contexts in which it is manifested or as totally determined by them. Finally, it can be regarded as substantially personal or as relational. (p. 155)

She documents how the focus has moved from basing identity on psychological concepts to the more "recent view in which identity is seen as a process firmly grounded in interaction" (p.155). This confirms the findings of Busch (2010), Edwards (2009) and others that interaction with others is a fundamental premise in linguistic identity construction.

Two of these more recent approaches to identity which put interaction in focus are discussed by De Fina (2012). One such approach is viewing identity as a social construct. In this approach "[i]dentity is viewed as "something that does not belong to individuals but rather emerges in interaction and within concrete social practices and is achieved through discursive and communicative work" (p. 158). Related to this is an approach that views identity as a relational phenomenon. In this approach, language is seen as the main instrument of social interaction and the act of speaking involves dialogue between speakers and listeners. The way people "manage themselves in social situations" and present themselves "is at the core of social interaction" (p. 159).

2.4.1   Identities as social categories

One defining principle of identity involves membership of groups. Tajfel (2012) cited in De Fina (2012: 171) describes identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership". Group membership seems to be fundamental to identity: it includes categorisation in groups of age, gender, ethnicity and many other social entities. De Fina (2012: 171) finds categorisation "an extremely significant mechanism, not only in storytelling, but also in discourse in general, as it lays bare the basic assumptions and stereotypical views that members of a group hold with respect to themselves

and others". In the past, classification systems were at risk of contributing to stereotyping. Recent scholars, however, "have argued that analysts should not assume the relevance of political or social identity categories for a particular interaction unless such relevance is manifested by the participants themselves" (De Fina 2012: 173).

2.4.2   Identities as semiotic resources: indexicality

The categorisation of people based on culture and language is the basis of speech communities where the use of particular vernaculars, accents and styles are essential characteristics. This combination of categorisation and linguistic style – "this process of pairing of utterances with extra-linguistic categories" – is known as the concept of indexicality (De Fina 2012: 176). The word was coined by Silverstein "on the idea that symbols (not only linguistic ones) 'index', or point to something that is external to them" (De Fina 2012: 176). De Fina (2012: 177) gives a lengthy example based on African-American culture to illustrate how "the use of AAVE (African-American Vernacular) and aggression are indexically produced via a widespread ideology of masculinity in which African-American males are constructed as physically overbearing and violent". However, the same African-American stereotyping is counteracted by the way in which many of the white high school boys could embrace and identify with positive aspects of the African American culture. One important point made is that "identities can be complex and multi-layered and can combine competing ideologies (e.g. the view of black people as physically abusive and cool at the same time)" (De Fina 2012: 178).

2.4.3   Identities-in-interaction and telling roles

The focus on identities-in-interaction within narrative analysis has gained extensive importance in recent years. It remains a complex area with many debatable points in theory as well as in praxis. The challenge is to merge the teller-audience co-construction associated with the interactional view with the more recent developments in identities-in-interaction. The roles that people play in discourse are subject to change in the course of discourse interaction depending on how they participate.

Different roles available to participants can be separated into three groups. De Fina (2012: 181) categorizes them as discourse (interactional) identities, situational identities and

transportable identities. Discourse identities include roles such as the adjacency pairs of questioner and answerer, interviewer and interviewee, etc. These roles may, and often do, shift from one to the other as the discourse interaction progresses. Situational identities "come into play in particular kinds of situations" (De Fina 2012: 181). The situation is one in which "the differential types and degrees of knowledge and skills regarding the activity" are present. Transportable identities are seen as being able to travel with individuals across situations. These transportable identities could potentially be relevant across time and different interactions.

By employing identity-focused narrative analysis, a better understanding can be achieved which sheds light on the fact that "portable identities such as racial or ethnic ones, are often invoked as part of strategic negotiation with the interlocutor, rather than as categories with absolute and fixed meanings" (De Fina 2012: 190).

Edwards (2009) also focuses attention on other ways in which identity categories might be given to a specific group through naming. The practise of renaming an African to European standards is a form of cultural denial and non-recognition of his/her identity. The phenomenon of giving European names to Africans of any age, in addition to their birth names, is well documented (Edwards 2009: 34). It was most prevalent in the colonial time – the 19th to 20th centuries – and virtually disappeared with the end of colonialism in the mid-20th century. It coincided with a general practice of not only renaming Africans, but also encouraging them to sacrifice their culture and language in favour of Europeanism.

2.4.4   The storied self: identities within biographical approaches

Another prominent view of identity is the biographical view that sees "narrative identity in the sense of the 'storied self'" (De Fina 2012: 161). By taking a biographical view of identity the possibility exists that the personal, lived experiences of the participants and a more objective account of events will be conflated. However, De Fina (2012: 161) proposes that one way of overcoming this challenge is to always view the narrative experience as co-constructed by the context and by the different participants.

One particular approach which makes prominent the co-constructed nature of narrative identity construction is positioning theory. The definition by Davies and Harré (quoted by De Fina 2012: 162) makes it clear: they define "positioning" as "the discursive process whereby

selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly-produced story lines." It encompasses roles, norms and intentions that are potentially dynamic and continuously developing. The conversations are the all-important interactional sites. De Fina points out that the assumption "that positions are independent, pre-discursive entities that exist out there ready to be taken off the shelf and to be reproduced and revealed in discursive action" creates problematic methodology (p. 163). Recent research on positioning sees speakers not as occupying fixed positions but rather as willing to "select, resist and revisit positions" (De Fina 2012: 163). Positioning theory is also what laid the foundation for Bamberg's (1997) small story analysis. This approach will be the method of narrative analysis used in this thesis. More information about this analytical tool is in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD OF RESEARCH

This chapter will discuss the particular approach taken in the data collection and data analysis of this thesis. Firstly, the situational context will be provided, and then the data collection instruments and the way in which participants were recruited will be discussed. Finally, thematic and small story analysis will be discussed, as these are the main analytical tools used.

3.1   Research context

Hopetown is a small rural settlement in the Northern Cape, 112 km from Kimberley, the administrative capital of the region, and within close proximity of the Gariep River (formerly known as the Orange River), South Africa's longest river carrying the largest volume of water of any Southern African river. The town was laid out in the 1850s when the old Cape Colony was extended to reach the Gariep River. The main industry has always been agriculture. Originally livestock farmers colonised the area, mainly with sheep. In the 1960s the Orange River Water Project was launched and irrigation farming became big business along with sheep farming. The discovery of diamonds in the district in the late 1860s, in particular the 'Eureka' and the 'Star of South Africa', brought a whole new dimension to the town. It experienced a boom period which ran its course and then reverted to a farming town. Agriculture remains the main source of employment. The population of 10 259 (Census 2011) is mostly Coloured at 73.1%. Other groups that make up the community are 18.8% Black African, 6.9% White and a small group of Asians/Indians and other minorities. The two main first languages spoken there are Afrikaans at 88.1% and isiXhosa at 7.2%.

For the purpose of this thesis the Hopetown Community Health Centre was selected as the central gathering point in the community. The Centre serves the greater Thembelihle Municipality of which Hopetown is the main component. Employees as well as clients of the Centre formed the pool for the initial interviews. Participants were narrowed down to those who had spent more than half of their life in Hopetown and randomly selected from that group. The 'narrowing down' was an easy process because it transpired that inhabitants had either spent most of their lives in Hopetown, or very little. Where possible, randomly selected participants were asked to nominate relatives of an older or younger generation who also fell

in the target group. This enabled the research to plot the language shift over the course of two or three generations. These nominated relatives were included as participants to give a wider angle on why and when and to which extent the shift occurred.

3.2   Data collection instruments

This thesis uses three main research instruments, namely survey questionnaires, interviews and case studies. A mixed-method approach was taken which, according to Sandelowski (2000: 255), allows a researcher to focus both on "stories" and on "numbers". Similarly, the survey and questionnaire-prompted interviews used in this thesis were undertaken in order to gain a representative impression of language repertoires and language biographies within the community in question. Then purposively selected cases (case studies) were done for elaborate and in-depth analysis.

3.2.1   Surveys

According to Holmes (1997: 20), surveys usually use "selected but relatively large samples". A survey provides the researcher with quantitative data that can be used to establish patterns and to make generalisations about "broad patterns of language use." While surveys are useful for these reasons, they have also often been criticised for being descriptive instead of analytical and for constraining the possibility of answers, which reduces the experiences of participants. Qualitative data-gathering techniques such as interviews are thus recommended to supplement surveys (Martin-Jones 1991).

In order to ascertain the extent of the phenomenon, a street block was selected in the township and a surveyor went from door to door to obtain information about the linguistic repertoires[4] of all the inhabitants over 16 years of age. All 32 houses in the block were selected and there were 78 respondents. There were some reservations as to the purpose of the survey, but no refusals. The street block respondents included 42 females and 32 males. The age range was from 16 to 88 years with an average age of 39.The street survey asked respondents to self-assess language competence in broad terms which correlate with Blommaert & Backus' (2011: 16-17) classification. They distinguish four categories of

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[4] Linguistic repertoire refers here not to the more inclusive original use of 'ways of speaking', but to all the languages that participants knew and used.

competence, i.e. 'maximum', 'partial', 'minimum' and 'recognising' competence. In this thesis only the first three will be used, as the fourth is not deemed to be relevant in this context. It was necessary to keep it simple for the respondents; thus, they were asked to rate their language proficiency as 'good', 'average' or 'poor'. 'Good', corresponding with Blommaert & Backus' 'maximum', was explained to the respondents as the language in which they feel completely comfortable, the one that they use at home, also known as the mother tongue. 'Average' or 'partial' would be an additional language that the respondents felt less comfortable with but could still understand and be understood in. 'Poor' or 'minimum' would mean they could understand the additional language only if simple terms were used and speak only a few key words.

3.2.2   Interviews

As proposed by Martin-Jones (1991), the quantitative information gained by the survey in lacks insight. It has to be augmented by qualitative research. Martin-Jones (as cited in Holmes 1997: 27) recommends "qualitative research to illuminate survey data". Her method of choice is "interviews to provide the interpretive depth and insights which can never emerge from large-scale survey data" (p. 27). It is clear that specifically-tailored interviews make up an invaluable research tool in combination with broad-based surveys. In order to get more detailed information, 15 participants were selected to fill in a questionnaire and conduct interviews. They appeared to need reassurance in completing the questionnaire, so they were interviewed while they filled in their questionnaires. This gave them the opportunity to narrate their language biographies at the same time. Without prompting, they generally completed the questionnaire first and towards the end they seemed to relax and were keen to elaborate and narrate anecdotes. They gave much more information than required by the questionnaire. The interviews were recorded and they were aware of that fact. None of them refused to be recorded. A few had reservations about how they would sound, expressing a mild form of embarrassment about their voice quality and word/phrase choices, but they still agreed.

The health facility where the data was collected places a large emphasis on maternal and child health. Of the 15 participants in the questionnaire-interview, 14 were female and one male. The ages ranged from 28 to 75, the average being 47. Out of these participants, some were selected for more in-depth interviews.

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3.2.3   Case studies

The concept 'case study' implies that there is a 'case' that can be studied. In social research, case studies provide a deeper level of qualitative reflection on a small sample of data, and the method is particularly useful to validate the accuracy of subjective data. Johansson (2003: 8) explains the validation of data by means of 'triangulation'. It refers to the combination of methods in data collection where validation can be achieved by using several sources of data.

In the selection process for case studies, Johansson (2003: 8) differentiates between cases with intrinsic interest and purposefully-selected cases. Intrinsic interest cases are selected and studied as such, with no purpose of generalisation. On the other hand, when cases are purposefully selected, "then there is an interest in generalising the findings" (p. 8).

Four participants were selected as subjects of case studies on the grounds that they provided significant background information and went into detail about their cultural heritage in general and language biographies in particular. They were interviewed in more detail and recorded for a second time. The four case study subjects were females aged 28, 32, 58 and 75, thus giving the language biographies of (roughly) three generations of women.

3.3   Methods of analysis

The data was analysed by giving an overall descriptive statistical representation of the survey information, and then by a more qualitative approach for the interviews. Two main methods will be used. Firstly, thematic analysis was used to identify recurrent themes according to the approach of Miles and Huberman (1984), taking into account the criticisms of Pavlenko (2007). Secondly, the data was analysed according to Bamberg's (1997) small story analysis narrative approach.

3.3.1   Thematic analysis

According to Pavlenko (2007: 166), the main advantage of a thematic analysis is that the recurrent motifs that stand out in participants' stories become apparent. The most commonly-used thematic analysis is that of Miles and Huberman (1984). They propose that a thematic analysis includes data reduction, data display and conclusion-drawing and verification (p. 23-24). Miles and Huberman (1984) emphasize that the data reduction process (the process

involving selecting, focusing, abstracting and transforming the raw data) is part of the analysis process. It is the part of the analysis that "sharpens, sorts, focuses, discards, and organises data in such a way that final conclusions can be drawn and verified" (Miles and Huberman 1984: 24). Data display involves the format in which the data is presented, while conclusion-drawing refers to the process where meaning is drawn from the displayed data. Although thematic analysis is a popular form of analysis in most studies that use qualitative methods, there are some criticisms against this approach. Pavlenko (2007: 166) emphasizes the point that applied linguists "cannot conduct their analyses in a vacuum and treat narrative versions of reality as reality itself". She argues that "narrative analysis in sociolinguistic studies has to consider larger historical, political, social, and economic circumstances that shape the narratives and are reflected in them". The positioning of the narrators and the background setting of the narrative have to be taken into account by the analyst because "in the context of autobiographic interviews, the preferred portrayals may emphasize ethnic, linguistic, and cultural loyalties". The analyst must avoid interpreting it subjectively and a theoretical framework is crucial to maintain the standards of objectivity (Pavlenko 2007: 166).

Taking Pavlenko's views into consideration, this thesis not only relies on thematic analysis but also chooses to use a particular theoretical framework, that of narrative analysis.

3.3.2   Narrative analysis

The thesis uses language biographies as data source. Such biographies are always a small section of the full life story of an individual. They cover mostly those parts of the personal biography that appear to be significant in terms of determining the narrator's linguistic repertoire. In other contexts "biographies" are sometimes referred to as "big stories". This study, in contrast, will use small story analysis as analytic method, i.e. for its analysis it will select telling anecdotes given in the course of narrating the language biography. Bamberg initially introduced this approach by postulating "three analytically separable levels" at which speakers represent themselves (De Fina 2012: 164). The levels segue into each other, starting with characters relating themselves and the events to "social categories and their action potential" (De Fina 2012: 164). Each level flows into the next level of relative positioning between the narrator and the interlocutors. At the third level the narrator establishes his identity irrespectively of the relevant narrative. By actively engaging in the narrative, he

constructs a sense of self in varying degrees. Bamberg focused "on how people use stories in their interactive engagements to convey a sense of who they are and not on how stories represent the world and identities" (De Fina 2012: 164). The main reason for selecting an approach that analyses small stories rather than big stories is that there "is often not only one story to tell" (Ryan 2008: 2). Trying to find one coherent life narrative of a language biography can be difficult as "there are many intersecting and sometimes contradictory stories that overlap" (Ryan 2008: 2) in the telling of language biographies.

Wortham (2012: 165) added to the positioning-identity approach by using it as "not just a vehicle of representation of denotational content but rather as a means for positioning narrator and audience interactionally". In Wortham's (2012: 165) model "the distinction between the telling and the told world for positioning in narrative" is the underlying factor.

This line of research employed positioning as a 'meso-analytic concept', linking told stories with the interactions of the process of telling them. It represents a complex process which has involved the related concepts of "e.g. footing, frame, stance, evaluation and involvement". It acknowledges the presence and value of "larger social roles and identities beyond the here-and-now" (De Fina 2012: 165-166). This thesis draws on the tools of analysis proposed by both Bamberg (1997) and Wortham (2012).

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF DATA

In this chapter the data will be presented. Firstly, the results from the street block survey will be presented and discussed. Secondly, some of the elicited small stories will be presented. The presentation of the small stories here follows the first two steps of the data analysis process suggested by Miles and Huberman (1984), namely the data reduction and data display processes. The interpretation of the displayed data and drawing of conclusions will be presented in the next chapter.

4.1   Street block survey

The street block in which the survey was taken is representative of the Hopetown township known as Steynville. It is big enough to include people from a wide spectrum. It includes formal and informal dwellings. In 35 houses, 78 people were surveyed. Table 1 below illustrates how people who lived there self-identified as belonging to seven cultural heritage groups. From the data, it seems that in the street block that was surveyed a total of eight languages belong to this community's linguistic repertoire. The survey shed light on the diversity of the current population profile. Included in the seven different cultural heritage groups, participants identified themselves as members of six indigenous South African groups: Coloured, Xhosa, Tswana, Southern Sotho, Venda and Zulu. The seventh group was a group of five Bangladeshi nationals who can be identified as recently-arrived foreign migrants. Table 1 reflects knowledge of, but not the level of competence or proficiency in any language. It indicates that the speakers can get by in a given language within the L1 and L2 range.

	Afrikaans	isiXhosa	Bengali	English	Setswana	Other	Total
L1	55	14	5	0	0	4	78
L2	15	0	0	63	0	9	87[5]
Heritage	31 Afrikaans speakers of Coloured heritage	21	5	0	11	10	78

Table 1: Distribution of spoken languages and heritage in the street block

In summary, the following relevant information was obtained from the street block survey:

Coloured heritage

- There were 55 Afrikaans L1 respondents (70.5%) out of a total of 78 in the survey.
- 31 of the 55 Afrikaans L1 respondents consider themselves to have Coloured heritage. That is 39.7% of the survey.
- 39 of the 55 can speak some form of English; three speak only Afrikaans.
- One can speak Afrikaans, some English and some Setswana.
- One can speak Afrikaans, some English and some isiXhosa.

Xhosa heritage

- Of 21 who self-identified as Xhosas, seven have Afrikaans as L1.
- Four of the seven Afrikaans L1 respondents of Xhosa heritage speak no isiXhosa at all.

Tswana heritage

- There are 11 participants who identified themselves specifically as Tswanas in the survey on account of their Tswana heritage.
- Ten of these 11 participants are loosely related and have lived in close proximity for as long as they can remember.
- They speak only Afrikaans, L1, and little or no English.
- Three speak a little Setswana (L3) and one a little isiXhosa.

Bangladeshi heritage

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[5] The number of L2 speakers exceeds the total because several respondents presented more than one L2. Some were monolingual, claiming to know Afrikaans only.

- Five Bangladeshis speak L1 Bengali and some English.

- Three L1 Bengalis can speak some Afrikaans. They have been in Hopetown, South Africa for three or more years.

- The two who do not speak Afrikaans are new immigrants and stated that they do not speak Afrikaans 'yet'.

- The L2 English competence of the members of this group is limited, in that they communicate in basic phrases with a very small vocabulary.

Although this study eventually selected the stories of participants of Xhosa heritage, some attention needs to go to the respondents of Tswana heritage. In terms of the former political dispensation's policies and its imposition of 'group areas', people of Tswana descent would have been geographically closer to the Northern Cape and much more likely to come into the Northern Cape as migrant workers or as new settlers. It is likely that their biographies have similar patterns to those of Steynville inhabitants of Xhosa descent. This suggestion was confirmed by one respondent who mentioned such Tswana/Afrikaans repertoires in the questionnaire and the related interview which will be referred to below in section 4.2.

The term 'other' in Table 1 on p.25 above refers to a small number of respondents of Venda, Zulu and Southern Sotho descent. The survey did not ascertain how long these respondents had been living in the area. No certain conclusions can be drawn as to whether they had been part of the language shift process as they are too few to be of significance for this study.

4.2   Questionnaire combined with interview

The 15 participants in this part of the research were clients or employees of the Hopetown Community Health Centre. The centre was chosen as a point of access to a fair cross-section of the community. Over a period of three weeks, clients and employees were approached and invited to voluntarily be part of the study. Some declined on the grounds that they were busy or not interested and were excluded. Four questionnaires with interviews were completed on one day per week so that 12 were completed by the end of three weeks. A further three participants were approached and recorded shortly afterwards, as will be explained below. According to Miles and Huberman (1984: 24), the way in which data is displayed forms a crucial part of the data-analysis process. Following their suggestions, the data from the interviews are displayed in both table and narrative format, as each of these forms of display

reveals different information and different themes. The biographical information obtained through the questionnaires is presented below in Table 2. Considering the importance of names as indicators not only of linguistic but also of social change the real names of these participants are given – with their permission. Eight of the 12 participants considered themselves to be of Xhosa heritage. This percentage of 66.6 could not be taken as representative of the larger community. In the street block survey it was 12 out of 78 or 15.38%. Nevertheless, it was an established pattern and big enough to steer the focus of the research in this direction.

	Name	Original form of surname/ maiden name	Birth year	Highest school grade passed	School instruction language	Cultural Heritage	L1 maximum	L2 partial	L3 minimum	Language most spoken at work	Language most spoken at home
1.	Suzette Melaat	Molatudi	19 83	12	Afrikaans	Tswana	Afrikaans	English		Afrikaans	Afrikaans
2	Maria Swangaza, known as Maya	Swangaza	19 83	12	Afrikaans	Xhosa	Afrikaans	English	isiXhosa	Afrikaans	Afrikaans
3	Lena Nosipho Jane	Jane	19 81	12	isiXosa (prim) Afrikaans (sec)	Xhosa	Afrikaans	isiXhosa	English	Afrikaans	Afrikaans
4	Elizabeth Modise née Diba	Unknown	19 81	12	Afrikaans	Xhosa	Afrikaans	English	isiXhosa Setswana	Afrikaans	Afrikaans
5	Regina Tshangela	Tshangela	19 80	12	isiXhosa (prim) Afrikaans (sec)	Xhosa	Afrikaans	English		Afrikaans	Afrikaans
6	Gilbert Eugene Sak	Kgetse	19 79	12	Afrikaans	Tswana	Afrikaans	English	Setswana	Afrikaans	Afrikaans
7	Soon Tooi	Masethe	19 71	8	isiXhosa (prim) Afrikaans (sec)	Xhosa	isiXhosa	Afrikaans		Afrikaans	isiXhosa
8	Ester Booysen	Unknown	19 65	8	isiXhosa	Xhosa	Afrikaans	isiXhosa	English	Afrikaans	Afrikaans
9	Sanna Dick	Dikelo	19 65	10	Afrikaans	Xhosa	Afrikaans	English		Afrikaans	Afrikaans
1 0	Martha Pieters	n/a	19 64	8	Afrikaans	Coloured	Afrikaans			Afrikaans	Afrikaans
1 1	Dalena Meintjies	Meintjies	19 61	12	Afrikaans	Afrikaner	Afrikaans	English		Afrikaans	Afrikaans
1 2	Anna Jane	Jane	19 54	6	isiXhosa	Xhosa	isiXhosa	Afrikaans	English	Afrikaans	isiXhosa

1 3	Jane Prins	Unknown	19 48	8	isiXhosa	Xhosa	Afrikaans, isiXhosa	English	isiZulu, Setswana	Afrikaans	Afrikaans
1 4	Vivian Magalie née Magerman	Mohale (married name)	19 48	10	Afrikaans	Coloured	Afrikaans	English		Afrikaans	Afrikaans
1 5	Marie Swangaza	Swangaza	19 47	3	isiXhosa	Xhosa	Afrikaans isiXhosa			Afrikaans	Afrikaans

Table 2: Biographical information obtained from questionnaire

As can be read from Table 2, Afrikaans is overwhelmingly the L1 of the participants despite the fact that most participants identify themselves with reference to their Xhosa cultural heritage.

Three participants reported an L1 other than Afrikaans. Of these three, Mrs Jane, (participant number 12), speaks fluent Afrikaans but she rates it as her second language. She comfortably conducted long conversations in Afrikaans when interviewed. The other two, (Prins, participant number 13 and Tooi, number 7) stated that they are equally fluent in both isiXhosa and Afrikaans. They speak both languages at home and in public. The Afrikaans spoken at home is specifically directed towards the younger generations. Prins' daughter, Booysen (number 8), also claimed to be equally fluent in Afrikaans and isiXhosa. Mrs Prins later contradicted this and said that Booysen's isiXhosa is poor and she only speaks it when she has no other choice. She speaks Afrikaans and not isiXhosa with her mother. This claim was affirmed by several other participants. The survey had triggered a conversation among them and in the light of my observations I interpreted her self-rated proficiency accordingly and changed her isiXhosa proficiency level from L1 to L2. The relationship between Prins (number 13) and her daughter Booysen (number 8) was not apparent when they were invited to participate. They were both included in the survey.

After the initial recruiting and recording of participants, three more respondents were invited because they are related to other participants of Xhosa heritage and so could add to the accuracy of the profile of this section of the community. This was also done to follow the language pattern over more than one generation. The three were selected as follows:

- Maya Swangaza (participant number 2) suggested that her grandmother would be a suitable candidate. The older Mrs Swangaza became participant number 15.

- Gilbert Sak (participant number 6) was nominated by Sanna Dick (participant number 9) as the son of her sister.

- Lena Jane (participant number 3) nominated her aunt as a suitable candidate. The older Mrs Jane became participant number 12.

The three additional participants were included in this part of the survey so that the total of 15 was reached.

4.3   Case studies

Four individuals were selected from the participants who took part in the questionnaire and interview phase. They were identified as candidates on account of their ability to recall and narrate their language biographies with background information. The additional information that they gave during the interview was unprompted and spontaneous.

Two of the four individuals are older ladies who have known each other for most of their adult lives. They are Mrs Marie Swangaza and Mrs Anna Jane. Because they were comfortable with each other and spontaneously began to narrate their biographic histories in the preliminary stages of the research, they were interviewed together in conversation. They reminisced and reminded each other of incidents and anecdotes. The other two were younger women who experienced the change from apartheid during their school years. The language biographies of the four participants selected as case studies will be presented in the next sections. This will be displayed in narrative format as a retelling of the stories participants told. These narratives reveal much about the factors that led to the current linguistic situation in Hopetown. If this part of the data were to be displayed in figure or table format, much of the complexities and ambiguities in the stories would be lost.

4.3.1   Marie Swangaza

Marie Swangaza was born in 1945 in the Bethuli district of the Free State. She moved to Hopetown in the 1960s with her husband to seek employment. He was employed by a succession of farmers. One thing became clear to them early on: they had to be able to speak the language of the farmers, which was Afrikaans. Both Swangazas learned to speak Afrikaans in Hopetown.

(1) "Ek het baie reeds Afrikaans geleer hier in Hopetown. Hier in Hopetown, die mense het baie hier Afrikaans gepraat."

[I learned a lot of Afrikaans here in Hopetown. Here in Hopetown the people spoke a lot of Afrikaans.]

In order to qualify for residence in the township, they had to blend in with the Coloured population. Mrs Swangaza recalls:

(2) "Hulle het vir ons gesê Hopetown is 'n Kleurlingdorp."

[They told us Hopetown is a Coloured town.]

This is statement is also echoed in the narratives of other participants as several others explained how Hopetown was differently organised by saying:

(3) "Hopetown was anders."

[Hopetown was different.] (See Modise at 4.3.4, quote (14))

In Hopetown, different to the majority of the surrounding towns, and the arrangements elsewhere in the country during the apartheid era, there were never separate housing blocks for Black and Coloured groups. Elsewhere in the region, as Blacks entered the communities, a third division was established in most towns – not so in Hopetown. The participants reported that they did not realise it at the time, but later realised that neighbouring towns had so-called blocks where ethnic groups were clustered together, specifically so that there was a clear distinction between "Coloureds" and "blacks". Mrs Swangaza is aware of the fact that she can speak Afrikaans with almost L1 proficiency in contrast to friends and relatives from other towns. In comparison to the younger participants of Xhosa descent whose Afrikaans appears to be of the same vernacular as the Coloured participants, Mrs Swangaza speaks Afrikaans with an accent that does have phonological features typically found among Xhosa L1 speakers of L2 Afrikaans.

Mrs Swangaza's children were of school-going age in the 1970s and 1980s. They were not allowed to attend the Afrikaans-medium Coloured school. There was no school for the Xhosa children until the churches started teaching small groups in the church facilities. The church school in Hopetown was launched informally on the church premises during this period as a service to the children who were being excluded from an education. This soon grew into what

was informally known as the Bantu School. It was only a primary school[6]. In later years Mrs Swangaza learned that the school's name was Vuka Sizwe but she still calls it the Bantu School. The language of instruction was isiXhosa and the Swangaza children were able to get their education, the youngest benefitting the most. Mrs Swangaza is unsure which year her children started attending school. The older children started school at a later age because either they did not know about the school or the school had not yet been launched. The school only functioned as primary school up to Grade 7. The Swangaza children left or dropped out of school at that point. Having started school at an advanced age, they were expected to start finding employment. Of her eight children, only five are still alive. There are two sons in Johannesburg. They are employed, but Mrs Swangaza is not sure which languages they speak. They are rarely in contact. One daughter lives in Bloemfontein. She speaks isiXhosa to her mother and can, according to her mother, speak Afrikaans and English. The last two sons live in Hopetown. They speak isiXhosa to their mother, but mostly Afrikaans in their daily lives. Of the five children collectively Mrs Swangaza says:

(4) "Ons kinders wat hier moes grootword, hulle moes Afrikaans praat. Party hulle hoor hom net die Xhosa, hulle kan hom nie praat nie."
[Our children who had to grow up here, they had to speak Afrikaans. Some of them only hear (=understand) the Xhosa but they cannot speak it.]

Another fact worth noting is that the family belongs to the Methodist Church where services are conducted mainly in Afrikaans. Mrs Swangaza raised a grandchild, Maya. Maya started school at the age of seven in 1990 and was schooled in Afrikaans. She speaks Afrikaans to her grandmother, and has only minimum isiXhosa competence. She understands but does not speak it.

When she was interviewed together with Mrs Jane, Mrs Swangaza spoke at some length about the Xhosa cultural traditions and practices.

(5) "As ons so werk, werk, ons maak mos werke om Xhosa te doen. Daars werke wat ons werk, ons maak hom in die Xhosa. Dan moet ons almal bymekaar kom soos wanneer die mannetjies donkerskool toe gaan."

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[6] The school's formal name is Vuka Sizwe. It is currently still functioning and plays an important role in the local educational system.

[When we work, work, we do work as Xhosas. There is work that we do as Xhosas. Then we all get together like when the young men go to the initiation school.]

The 'work as Xhosas' was a direct reference to the cultural practices of the Xhosas that were being perpetuated by a few families.

4.3.2   Anna Jane

Although the surname "Jane" appears orthographically to be English, it is in fact a Xhosa surname pronounced 'Dza:ni'. It is her maiden name as her traditional marriage to her husband was not recognised at the time. Anna Jane was born on a farm in the Hopetown district in 1954 to Xhosa parents. Interestingly, she was born in the Hopetown area before the Group Areas Act came into effect. She recalls that in her early days on the farm the workers and their families lived in a mixed settlement of Xhosas and Coloureds.

(6) "Daar waar ons gebly het, ons het deurmekaar gebly daar."

[There where we lived, we lived 'mixed' there.]

As such, she learned Afrikaans in her youth on the farm. Like Mrs Swangaza, Mrs Jane also speaks Afrikaans with a slight Xhosa accent. When she got married to a fellow local Xhosa, they moved to the Free State for reasons she did not or could not explain. When her mother became frail, fairly early in life (in the 1970s), she returned to Hopetown to look after her. Her husband soon followed and found employment with the Department of Water Affairs.

The Orange River Water Project was a major development that involved the building of dams and a canal system. Building started in 1966 and construction lasted about ten years. In the late 1970s it was down to maintenance. At the same time, irrigation farms were burgeoning and filled the vacuum created by the closing down of Water Affairs with many employment opportunities. Workers from many different backgrounds were brought together, but there is no doubt that the operational language in the industry was Afrikaans. Mrs Jane remembers that it was imperative to use Afrikaans as lingua franca in the workplace. She found employment as a housekeeper in a private household while her husband continued his employment with Water Affairs. They both spoke only Afrikaans at work.

She recalls that the Xhosas had a hard time in those days.

(7) ”Ons moes maar net dit doen want rêrig dit het bietjie swaar gegaan. Die Xhosas het baie swaar gekry. Party het sommer omgedraai gesê hulle pas nie hier nie. Dan maak hulle sommer vir hulle 'n ander van.”

[We just had to do it because really it was a difficult time. The Xhosas had a hard time. Some just turned around and said they don't belong here. Then they changed their surnames.]

She referred directly to the practice of replacing Xhosa surnames with Afrikaans surnames (See Table 2 above which gives some indication of families that changed their family surname.) They also acquired Afrikaans first names to fit in at school and at work. She suspects that they kept their name, Jane (Djane), because it is a straightforward name without clicking sounds which would be a marker of foreign identity. It is a name that Afrikaans speakers can pronounce so that they did not need to change their surname, other than in the orthography. Here Mrs Swangaza interjected and agreed that it probably was the case with the Swangazas as well.

Her children were of school-going age when her husband worked for the state department referred to in short as 'Water Affairs'. It was in the late 1960s when the Orange River Water Project was launched. They were stationed in the temporary purpose-built town of Orania[7], in the district 40 km from Hopetown. In Orania their children could attend the Afrikaans-medium Coloured school established for Water Affairs children. They were not excluded, but no special arrangements were made to accommodate their family language. Apparently, this was a concession for the children in Orania which did not apply in Hopetown. Mrs Jane's children found it difficult, but managed to progress.

(8) Toe bly ons daar in Orania. Toe gaan die kinders daar skool maar eintlik hulle het swaar skoolgegaan daar ook want toe mag hulle nie, die Xhosas mag nie daar skool gegaan het nie.

[Then we stayed in Orania. The children went to school there but they found it difficult because the Xhosas were not supposed to go there.]

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[7] Orania was established as a temporary town for employees of the Department of Water Affairs in 1966. After the completion of the project in the late 1970s the town was abandoned and became derelict until it was bought privately. Thus the town that is currently known as Orania, on the same location, is a completely different community to the Orania of Water Affairs.

Mrs Jane's children speak Afrikaans and isiXhosa fluently. They speak Afrikaans to each other. Her grandchildren speak Afrikaans fluently, but with lesser knowledge of isiXhosa. The proficiency of the third generation in isiXhosa varies: they all have at least minimum competence. Mrs Jane raised her sister's grandchild, Lena, and she and Lena still speak isiXhosa to each other. Lena was schooled in Afrikaans and speaks Afrikaans with her young family.

Towards the end of the interview, Mrs Jane and Mrs Swangaza briefly exchanged a few words in isiXhosa and then proceeded to tell me about some basic cultural Xhosa practices of which some have been lost, while others are still maintained. There are families who stuck with the traditions around goat slaughtering and initiation. Some (the subjects of this study) are families who have lived in Hopetown for two to three generations. Others are new migrants who can prove that they are observant of the Xhosa traditions. They do not accept new recruits. Such practices have to be taught at home and instilled from infancy. These practices, they find, do not interfere with their Christianity as many like to suggest. They attend various Christian denominations and usually gather on Saturdays and Sunday afternoons to accommodate church going. At church they honour the regular Christian customs and practices.

(9) "Ons gaan deurmekaar kerk, nie net die Xhosas nie. Ek is by die Church of Christ."

[We are mixed in church, not just the Xhosas. I belong to the Church of Christ.]

In spite of the English name, the Church of Christ meetings are held mainly in Afrikaans. The traditional Xhosa gatherings are held independently from church and there they only speak isiXhosa. The gatherings are held in private but are not veiled in secrecy. Thus children can be baptized in church and afterwards the goat slaughtering ceremony will be held.

4.3.3   Nombulelo Regina Tshangela

Ms Tshangela is known by her second name, Regina. She was born in 1980 in Hopetown. Although her first language was Afrikaans, her parents were obliged to send her to the Vuka Sizwe School where isiXhosa was the language of instruction. In the conversation triggered by the interview, Regina's friend expressed disbelief that she had attended the Vuka Sizwe School. Regina replied,

(10) "Ja dis maar dinge wat ek saam met my dra, jy sal nie weet waardeur gaan ek nie."

[Yes those are things that I carry with me; you won't know what I went through.]

Ms Tshangela had indicated that she had a lot of information to divulge and spoke freely and enthusiastically before the interview, saying,

(11) Ek broadcast mos maar gevaarlik.

[I broadcast rather dangerously, you know.]

Even so, during the interview she was reserved, taking care to give answers to questions which she thought would count as "correct". Her parents had no choice regarding which school she was to attend, nor which language of instruction would be preferred or best suited to the community profile. With very little understanding of the Xhosa teachers, Regina did not cope well. When the school segregation was abolished in the early 1990s, her mother was adamant to move her to an Afrikaans-medium school. She had spent three years in the Vuka Sizwe School but had to repeat them when she changed to the Afrikaans-medium school. She matriculated in Afrikaans and acquired English at school as a second language. Her isiXhosa competence was always poor and she has no desire to relearn it.

(12)   "Daai's dinge wat verby is daai."

       [Those things are in the past.]

4.3.4   Elizabeth Modise

Mrs Modise said that she went to Vuka Sizwe for her first six school years because it was compulsory for children from Xhosa-oriented families to go there. She could speak no isiXhosa and only learned it at school.

(13)   "Die Xhosa het ons by die skool maar geleer."

       [The Xhosa we only learned at school.]

In 1994 when the system changed, her mother put her in an Afrikaans-medium school because she wanted a higher standard of education for her children.

(14)   "In '94 toe's dit mos nou die vryheid, né, '94 kon ons toe oorgaan na die
         Kleurlingskole toe, toe haal my ma ons onmiddellik uit."

[In '94 there was the freedom, you know, '94 we could go to the Coloured schools, then my mother took us out immediately.]

Mrs Modise explained how the Hopetown township known as Steynville differed from the housing arrangements in surrounding towns. Places like Ritchie and Douglas (70 and 80 km from Hopetown, respectively) had separate blocks where people were placed according to ethnic classification. That form of segregation was never enforced in Hopetown.

(15)   "Hopetown was anders as Ritchie of Douglas... In Hopetown is ons mos ge-combine. Daar's nie lokasies wat sê dié lokasie is vir die Swartes en dié lokasie is vir die Kleurlinge nie. Ons is almal saam… Daar was 'n klein groepie Xhosas gewees wat destyds in die Plakkers gebly het, maar jy kan nie sê eintlik dit was net die Xhosas nie. Daar was Kleurlinge. Dis hoekom die Xhosa nie so, hoekom ons nie voortgegaan het om ons taal te praat nie. Ons was meer, in die huis was dit Xhosa, maar buite… Afrikaans was die dominante taal."

[Hopetown was different from Ritchie or Douglas… In Hopetown we were combined. There weren't locations that said this location is for Blacks and that location is for Coloureds. We are all together… There was a small group of Xhosas who lived in Squatters (=*the squatter settlement*) at that time but you can't say it was only Xhosas. There were Coloureds. That's why the Xhosa, why we didn't continue to speak our language. We were more, in the house it was Xhosa, but outside… Afrikaans was the dominant language.]

Mrs Modise has no doubt that this is the reason why her isiXhosa competence deteriorated to the point where she understands but no longer speaks it. It is clear that there was a single Coloured area and the prevailing authorities viewed it as such. In such a context, Afrikaans was the language of survival.

The next chapter will discuss some of the themes that emerged from these small stories in more detail and will connect them to the relevant literature.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter will address the research questions presented in Chapter 1. The first part of this chapter will address the first two research questions, namely:

i) What are the linguistic repertoires of selected residents in Hopetown?

ii) Which social and historical factors shaped their current linguistic repertoires?

The research question in ii) will specifically be addressed by investigating what role language and identity had in their current linguistic repertories. The first part of the chapter will rely on what was revealed through the thematic analysis.

5.1   Thematic analysis

In the previous chapter the first two steps of thematic data analysis procedure (Miles & Huberman 1984) were followed. Data reduction occurred by selecting data that spoke to the original questions of the thesis. Secondly, the data were displayed both in graphic and narrative form. Here, the next steps in the process, namely conclusion-drawing and verification will be given. The patterns that were recognised will be discussed in terms of the literature to draw conclusions about the data.

5.1.1   Language biographies and what they reveal about linguistic repertoires

Participants were typically eager to talk and reminisce with nostalgia. They appear to have little or no regrets about the ways in which the language history of their communities developed. In narrating their language biographies, it became clear that many of them were thinking about the matter for the first time. This corresponds with the findings of Busch (2012), who found that in the process of taking language biographies the subjects became more aware than before of their language histories and practices. Similarly, the participants in the case study in this thesis could, with the advantage of hindsight, look back and wonder what would have happened if they had not been subjected to the conditions that prompted language shift. None of them regret the shift. Only one said it would have been nice to be able to speak Xhosa (sic) now. They settled into new lives and accepted the gradual crossover

without complaint. The two older subjects indicated that they had to do it and shrugged it off as something inevitable over which they had no control. This is confirmation of the inevitable dynamic characteristics that Blommaert & Backus (2011: 23) found: the individual's repertoire is the outcome of external pressures. These can be powerful, authoritative pressures as was the case for the Hopetown subjects.

It should be noted that the older generation who brought their families with them in the migration period are no longer alive and available to give first-hand accounts.

The language biographies revealed that the linguistic repertoires of the research subjects, in contrast with those of subjects in urban studies of a similar kind, are limited. The urban study of Coetzee-Van Rooy (2012) concluded that urban youth have developed diverse linguistic repertoires. Their repertoires enable them to communicate on several levels and include at least three languages. Southern Sotho students are shown to have retained their traditional language of Southern Sotho which remains a dominant language in the area. They are also competent in Afrikaans, which is used by many businesses and opens up employment opportunities. In addition to that, they have expanded their repertoires to include English as a lingua franca and medium of instruction. By contrast, it was found in this thesis that in rural Hopetown, the community very seldom needs to speak anything other than Afrikaans. The older participants tend to speak isiXhosa at home and with older friends, but not even with their own children. Afrikaans has largely become their mother tongue. Most of them, in particular the ones who finished school, can get by in English when they have to. (Notably, in this predominantly Afrikaans-speaking community, the entire survey did not find a single English L1 speaker.)

Regarding different varieties of Afrikaans, there was no evidence in the interview group that suggests that they have different Afrikaans repertoires for different settings. When they stopped to discuss a point among each other or with a third party, they used the same ways of speaking as with the interviewer. This is of course something that cannot be said for certain, as more observational data would have to be collected in order to draw any certain conclusions about the different varieties, styles and registers of Afrikaans that participants know and can use.

Regarding the development of bilingual and multilingual skills, there was in fact no pressing need for the respondents in this study to expand their repertoires beyond Afrikaans. They speak Afrikaans proudly to the extent that the collective Afrikaans-speaking majority teaches

foreigners to speak Afrikaans. This is evident in the data collected from the street survey. The recently arrived Bangladeshis are all in the process of learning to speak Afrikaans to promote their shop-keeping businesses. I witnessed interaction between locals, Bangladeshis as well as Chinese and Somali traders who have come in as "settlers". I saw no hostility, and the foreigners were light-heartedly encouraged to learn and use Afrikaans words and phrases. It can be documented that the foreigners are expanding their repertoires and appear to be capable of living in a predominantly Afrikaans multicultural community. They are demonstrating goodwill, but at this stage there is no evidence of loss of own language, culture and thus identity. They can be seen to actively engage in their particular rituals and practices among each other.

This pattern that the foreigners follow is not prevalent among the South African ethnic groups that have recently settled in the area. Xhosas who have more recently (in the past five to ten years) migrated to this region characteristically speak their African language as mother tongue and use English as a lingua franca. They apparently experience no need or pressure to speak Afrikaans. In that respect, the community of Hopetown is evolving within the larger multicultural South African society and can be expected to continue evolving.

Many of the claims that Blommaert & Backus (2011: 9) make regarding linguistic repertoire also seem to be evident in the data of this thesis. For example, they state that linguistic repertoires change throughout a person's life. This is particularly evident among some of the older isiXhosa speakers in the sample who attest to currently using Afrikaans frequently, while using isiXhosa much less than they did before they settled in Hopetown. This is also the case with the Bangladeshi speakers who are now expanding their repertoires in order to learn Afrikaans. Just as Blommaert & Backus (2011: 9) mention, migration seems to have played a vital role in the trajectory of each individual's development of linguistic repertoires. If people stayed in Hopetown all their lives, they used Afrikaans. If they originally came from elsewhere, it is likely that they do not necessarily have Afrikaans as L1 but added it to their linguistic repertoire. In the case of Hopetown, we might follow Blommaert & Backus (2011: 22) in that "repertoires in a superdiverse world are records of mobility". We might add, however, that in this case it is a record of mobility of two generations ago (isiXhosa speakers shifting to Afrikaans) as well as a record of more recent migration. In this one small town we find both patterns of older and newer migratory movements intersecting.

5.1.2   Language identity and its influence on patterns of language shift

The participants of this study seemed not to view linguistic and cultural identity as necessarily interlinked. The shift from isiXhosa to Afrikaans seems to be viewed as a normal progression in life. It was crucial for their economic survival and they thought nothing of it. As a minority group they had to face up to socio-economic realities. They had to "live and work in a new language, a medium that is not the carrier of [their] culture, or the medium of [their] ancestry" (Edwards 2009: 255). There was no opportunity for them to fight for the survival of their culture. Against these odds, they managed to forge a new identity with Afrikaans as their language while retaining some and modifying other aspects of their Xhosa culture.

The modification of African names to sound more acceptable to Europeans was a well-known colonial practise as is documented by Edwards (2009). In the interview phase it was established that five of the 15 participants had surnames that were changed by older generations. It is not clear whether the Xhosa families in this study decided to change their names of their own accord in order to fit in, or whether the white Afrikaans employers explicitly suggested such change. Where the latter happened, it would have illustrated deliberate intervention on the part of the European employers that altered the ethnic African identity towards what was considered to be socially superior. The name changes are a *fait accompli* and none of the respondents indicated that they would prefer to revert to the original form of their names.

Although the participants call themselves Xhosa and share the physical traits of indigenous Xhosas, they speak Afrikaans and share the verbal repertoire of the Afrikaans-speaking Coloured community. Many speak no isiXhosa at all and are often, in the old racial classificatory terms, "mistaken" for Coloureds. In census surveys members of this group typically classify themselves as Xhosa, and overrate their fluency in isiXhosa. In the street survey and interviews done for this research, it transpired that they proudly call themselves Xhosa and many rated their proficiency in isiXhosa unrealistically high. This phenomenon is reminiscent of what was found in the Hopi community in Arizona. Nicholas (2009) found that the younger generation could no longer speak Hopi, but still continued to uphold the Hopi identity.

At least one respondent in the questionnaire and interview was found to idealise her linguistic competence. This was discovered in the interview where, according to friends and relatives,

she overrated her isiXhosa skills. This form of idealisation is backed up in the literature by Holmes's (1997: 29) observation that "respondents tend to idealise". Holmes finds it important to explore "the correlation between self-reported data and actual language proficiency". The informal setting surrounding the interviews in this study facilitated the emergence of additional qualitative data as in this example.

Some of the participants reiterated the fact that Hopetown was different. Xhosa, and for that matter Tswana and other groups as well, were not required to move into separate ethnic blocks. They put up shacks on the edge of the township and were soon surrounded by new developing extensions. This did not happen in other towns around Hopetown. The participants named Ritchie, Douglas and Petrusville as places where migrant labourers had to put up their houses in the designated ethnic blocks which are still recognisable up to this day. These individuals still speak their original family languages, although they also had to acquire competence in Afrikaans and an additional Afrikaans name. Some modified their surnames to sound more acceptable to the Afrikaans employers, but reportedly not to the extent of the Hopetown contingent. It is evident that the township planning for Hopetown in the apartheid era was based on the assumption that only Coloureds would live there. The fact that many indigenous Xhosas managed to move in and blend in was either not noticed or was overlooked by the authorities.

The acquisition of Afrikaans in the mid-20th century Hopetown area appears to have happened with ease. None of the participants can remember how they learned it. It just happened. Most of them were young – the oldest of the group acquired Afrikaans as young teenagers. This confirms the general experience that young children acquire their first and additional languages with exponential ease. It is also well established that "bilingualism (or multilingualism, of course) is an ability possessed by the majority of human beings – most of them relatively uneducated, many of them illiterate – an ability almost effortlessly acquired by the youngest of them" (Edwards 2009: 248).

The participants appear quite content with their cultural and linguistic position in life. There can be no doubt that the spatial planning in Hopetown during the apartheid era had a major influence on the inhabitants' language repertoires and caused the language shift from isiXhosa to Afrikaans. There can also be no doubt that for economic survival the older generations had to acquire Afrikaans in a society where the dominant Afrikaans authorities had disenfranchised them. The Xhosa were put in a position where, as Nettle and Romaine

(2000: 53) puts it, they were "forced to change their speech habits by a change in circumstances". There is in fact evidence that a gradual language death, as described by Nettle and Romaine (2000), took place. Only three of the 15 interviewed participants can still call isiXhosa their L1. Four of them can no longer speak isiXhosa. The remaining eight who rate their isiXhosa as L2 stated in the informal discussions surrounding the interviews that they rarely use it. In most cases it is only used to address the diminishing group of isiXhosa-speaking elders. In the words of Nettle and Romaine (2000: 51), the less often they "use the old language, the more difficult it seems to be to use".

The Hopetown study differs from Nekvapil's study (2003) where the older German Czechs were able and chose to continue speaking German. They could assert themselves with the statement that "Germans speak German" (Nekvapil 2003: 15). The younger generations assimilated with the Czech culture and shifted to the Czech language with little or no obstacles. In my data set, instead, it seems that Xhosas do not need to speak isiXhosa to consider themselves Xhosa.

There are similarities with the Hopi in the study of Nicholas (2009), in that the older generations apply a concerted effort to perpetuate the Hopi culture in spite of the language shift. In the Hopetown study this was found to be different. Most of the Xhosa descendants did not continue with their traditional lifestyle. It can be surmised that in the earlier process of the 1960s and 70s, when attempts to blend in with the Coloured population were important for survival, maintaining marked traditions would cause problems for them. There is however evidence of perpetuation of the Xhosa culture as narrated by the two older participants. There is a smaller group of isiXhosa-speaking members within the larger group of Afrikaans-speaking Xhosas. They strive to uphold the Xhosa traditions, but, differently to the Hopi, they conduct their cultural affairs in their traditional language of isiXhosa.

In order to answer research question iii) a different approach to viewing the data was needed. Section 5.2 will address this.

5.2   Small story analysis

In what follows, a few small stories selected for closer analysis will be presented. This is specifically to answer the third research question articulated in chapter 1, namely

iii)   What kinds of social information do participants inadvertently disclose when narrating their language biographies?

This closer analysis might give information about how participants position themselves in relation to others (such as authorities, friends, neighbouring towns, etc.) and in relation to outside factors. This gives more information about the factors the participants themselves believe contribute to their language shift, how they experience that language shift and what it does to their linguistic identities. These small stories will be analysed by means of Bamberg's (1997) three-level analysis. On the first level, Bamberg says that analysts should pay attention to how the characters in a story are positioned in terms of each other, asking (e.g.) who is constructed as the victim and who is constructed as the perpetrator. On the second level, the focus is on how the narrator constructs himself to the audience. How does the narrator present him/herself to the interviewer, for example? Lastly, on the third level, the question is how the narrator positions him/herself. How is his/her own role presented? In this section, a three-level analysis of a small story of each of the case study participants will be done. The small story which seems to be the most representative of the particular theme of the relevant interview has been selected.

5.2.1   Small story: Marie Swangaza

(1) Ek het baie reeds Afrikaans geleer hier in Hopetown. Hier in Hopetown, die mense het baie hier Afrikaans gepraat.

[I learned a lot of Afrikaans here in Hopetown. Here in Hopetown the people spoke a lot of Afrikaans.]

(2) Hulle het vir ons gesê Hopetown is 'n Kleurlingdorp.

[They told us Hopetown is a Coloured town.]

(3) Hopetown was anders.

[Hopetown was different.]

(4) Ons kinders wat hier moes grootword, hulle moes Afrikaans praat. Party hulle hoor hom net die Xhosa, hulle kan hom nie praat nie.

[Our children who had to grow up here, they had to speak Afrikaans. Some of them understand the Xhosa but they cannot speak it.]

(5) As ons so werk, werk, ons maak mos werke om Xhosa te doen. Daars werke wat ons werk, ons maak hom in die Xhosa. Dan moet ons almal bymekaar kom soos wanneer die mannetjies donkerskool toe gaan.

[When we work, work, we do work as Xhosas. There is work that we do as Xhosas. Then we all get together like when the young men go to the "dark school" (=initiation school).]

Level 1

Mrs Swangaza's small story recounts the arrival of her and her husband in Hopetown as newly-weds. She introduced a number of characters in the story, namely, her family, the community of Hopetown at the time, and an unidentified 'other' who told them that Hopetown is a Coloured town. She and her family and Xhosa speakers in general are positioned as being in a difficult position. They were surrounded by mostly Afrikaans-speaking neighbours and they realised that they had to fit in to avoid eviction. She repeated a few times that they had a hard time but that there was no alternative.

Level 2

As the interview progressed, the narrator became visibly more confident. In the first half of the interview she was reserved and reluctant to volunteer information. She needed prompting and was happy to respond to questions.

Level 3

In the second half of the interview, when the two participants realised that they had a welcome opportunity to share information about their culture, this narrator spoke freely about the customs and traditions of the Xhosa culture. She had repositioned herself as senior spokeswoman for her Xhosa community, and so she was proudly giving a factual account of how their small section of Xhosas had been able to keep their language and some of their cultural practices alive. She used the pronoun *ons* to indicate that she was speaking on behalf of the whole group. She also portrayed herself as somewhat of an expert who knows something about the traditions such as the rituals associated with going to the initiation school.

Mrs Swangaza as narrator and bearer of the culture does not seem to realize her predicament. Her descendants do not show a particular interest in what she still values, and the grandchild that she brought up has no intention of relearning the language or the customs of the Xhosa people.

5.2.2   Small story: Anna Jane

(6) Daar waar ons gebly het, ons het deurmekaar gebly.

[There where we lived, we lived 'mixed' there.]

(7) Ons moes maar net dit doen want rêrig dit het bietjie swaar gegaan. Die Xhosas het baie swaar gekry. Party het sommer omgedraai, gesê hulle pas nie hier nie. Dan maak hulle sommer vir hulle 'n ander van.

[We just had to do it because really it was a difficult time. The Xhosas had a hard time. Some just turned around and said they don't belong here. Then they changed their surnames.]

(8) Toe bly ons daar in Orania. Toe gaan die kinders daar skool maar eintlik hulle het swaar skoolgegaan daar ook want toe mag hulle nie, die Xhosas mag nie daar skool gegaan het nie.

[Then we stayed in Orania. The children went to school there but they found it difficult because the Xhosas were not supposed to go there.]

(9) Ons gaan ook deurmekaar kerk, nie net die Xhosas nie. Ek is in die Church of Christ.

[We are mixed in church, not just the Xhosas. I belong to the Church of Christ.]

Level 1

Mrs Jane's small story revolves around her family settling in the Hopetown district in the specially developed Water Affairs town. She introduces her family, as well as the broader isiXhosa speaking community as characters. Here she distinguishes between those who turned around and stated that they did not fit in, and those who made a different surname for themselves. They stayed; however, things were not always easy. Her position is clearly one of disadvantage. The narrative about her children's schooling indicates that they had to adapt to circumstances over which they had no control.

Level 2

The narrator as a member of a small group of cultural Xhosas presents information about the collective struggle to get their children a formal education.

Level 3

The narrator displays increasing confidence in telling her story as part of the larger community history. There seems to be no regret and no blame for the way her life story and the part captured in this small story developed. She accepts it as it happened and feels affirmed in being able to give a voice to what happened. She also presents her family increasingly as a family with a sense of agency since they decided to stay.

5.2.3   Small story: Regina Tshangela

(10) Ja dis maar dinge wat ek saam met my dra, jy sal nie weet waardeur gaan ek nie.

[Yes those are things that I carry with me; you won't know what I went through.]

(11) Ek broadcast mos maar gevaarlik.

[I broadcast rather dangerously (=*a lot of information*), you know.]

(12) Daai's dinge wat verby is daai.

[Those things are in the past.]

Level 1

This small story might look insignificant at first as it is very short, but upon closer inspection much is inadvertently revealed. There is only one character in the story, namely the participant herself. She reflects on past happenings, also revealing things she seemed not to have expressed before (*jy sal nie weet waardeur gaan ek nie*), and shows a willingness to move on from the past (*daai's dinge wat verby is daai*). Her statement *ek broadcast mos maar gevaarlik* (I broadcast rather dangerously) was not followed up in the interview.

Level 2

The narrator only speaks for herself. She displays confidence but indicates that her life was not easy.

Level 3

The narrator positions herself individually as one who has moved on in life. She expresses no sense of loss regarding language and culture, and has no desire to return to past positions. This says something about the status of the language in the younger generation. Regina has no special appreciation of the value it may have, as she did not experience it as valuable in any way. At the time there were substantially fewer resources put towards education of 'black' children – even less than to Coloured schools – that they did not get access to the same resources or standard of education. The narrator views her early education in Vuka Sizwe as inferior. The language of instruction was an additional problem. Having suffered in the process, she no longer feels any suffering regarding language and culture.

5.2.4 Small story: Elizabeth Modise

(13)   "Die Xhosa het ons by die skool maar geleer."

[The Xhosa we only learned at school.]

(14)   "In '94 toe's dit mos nou die vryheid,né, '94 kon ons toe oorgaan na die Kleurlingskole toe, toe haal my ma ons onmiddellik uit."
[In '94 there was the freedom you know, '94 we could go to the Coloured schools, then my mother took us out immediately.]

(15)   Hopetown was anders as Ritchie of Douglas... In Hopetown is ons mos ge-combine. Daar's nie lokasies wat sê die lokasie is vir die Swartes en die lokasie is vir die Kleurlinge nie. Ons is almal saam… Daar was 'n klein groepie Xhosas gewees wat destyds in die Plakkers gebly het maar jy kan nie sê eintlik dit was net die Xhosas nie. Daar was Kleurlinge. Dis hoekom die Xhosa nie so, hoekom ons nie voortgegaan het om ons taal te praat nie. Ons was meer, in die huis was dit Xhosa, maar buite… Afrikaans was die dominante taal."
[Hopetown was different to Ritchie or Douglas… In Hopetown we were combined. There weren't locations that said this location is for Blacks and that location is for Coloureds. We are all together… There was a small group of Xhosas who lived in Squatters (=*the squatter settlement*) at that time but you can't say it was only Xhosas. There were Coloureds. That's why the Xhosa, why we didn't continue to speak our language. We were more, in the house it was Xhosa, but outside… Afrikaans was the dominant language.]

Level 1

In Mrs Modise's small story a number of different characters are introduced. Coloureds and Xhosas are introduced as specific groups. In one sense the two groups are positioned as similiar – Xhosas and Coloureds lived in the same location, and both Coloureds and Xhosas lived in informal settlements. However, Xhosas are positioned as being in the less powerful position, since they lost their language because it was not a dominant language.

Level 2

The narrator presents herself here as an 'expert' in some sense, informing the interviewer regarding the situation in Hopetown during the apartheid era. She presents particular information as fact (e.g. "Hopetown was anders as Ritchie of Douglas") without hedging. All information is provided in statement form, thus presenting herself as someone who is knowledgeable of what Hopetown was like and what made it different from neighbouring towns.

Level 3

The narrator positions herself as part of the larger Hopetown community of the time using the inclusive pronoun *ons* (*ons is almal saam*). Simultaneously, she positions herself as Xhosa, and as part of the Xhosa community who suffered from language loss.

5.3 Comparative notes on small stories

From the small stories it seems as if, as Nekvapil (2003: 15) argues, some of the biographies share certain characteristics, but that at the same time there is also some diversity in the individual language biographies. One common factor in the four small stories is that the narrators all appear to be content with their evolved identities. They accept their positions in the community and in narrating their stories a certain element of pride was detected. They all refer to suffering and having lived through difficult times. Their attitudes, body language and tone of voice never suggested that they were complaining, or that they felt robbed of 'their language'. They were just stating facts and often laughed. The younger two narrators interjected the discourse with anecdotes about school incidents and reminisced with apparent mirth and lightness.

They also grew in confidence as the interviews went on. At first they answered questions with basic short answers. When they realised they were free to expand and give any additional information that they deemed relevant, the narration flowed freely and large volumes of collateral sub-stories were included.

The two older women were initially reluctant or hesitant to talk about their on-going cultural practices. That changed rapidly once they realized that their voices were being heard and their stories were accepted as valuable contributions regarding a cultural heritage to which they subscribed. From being wary at first, their narratives grew into ones that could articulate the dignity and satisfaction they felt in showing how they were able to keep identifying cultural practices alive.

Ironically the one narrator, Tshangela, who was eager to talk and even sang songs in the informal settings, gave the least additional information. She is also the only one who only spoke for herself, not crossing over to the role of spokesperson for a larger group. The other three, in various degrees, positioned themselves as experts on the subject of being Xhosa in a historically Afrikaans community.

The small stories provided interesting facts about the anatomy of language shift that seemed to happen unofficially by a process of gradual assimilation. Many of the Xhosa in Hopetown lost their attachment to their tribal or family culture, even though they do not chronicle it in terms of loss. They appear to be content with their evolved identities, and complacent about linguistic changes. In other places where the Group Areas Act was enforced, it appears that black South African migrants retained their original indigenous identities. Either way, shifting to Afrikaans did not translate into inhabitants of Xhosa descent having easier lives. They were also subjected to the prevailing language policies which favoured Afrikaans (and in this region, to some extent, also English), which before 1990 accompanied the general disparagement of indigenous cultures.

Whereas other communities developed negative attitudes towards Afrikaans (cf. Jardine and Tjoutuka in Busch 2010), the Hopetown community that was studied displayed no negativity at all. They are proud of their ability to speak Afrikaans and intend to continue doing so. De Fina (2012: 173) states that "analysts should not assume the relevance of political or social identity categories for a particular interaction unless such relevance is manifested by the participants themselves". The participants in this study themselves refer to identity categories such as Xhosa and Coloured, so evidently these categories were relevant to them. It also shows the influence that these apartheid identity categories had on the linguistic trajectories that people followed. In particular the Group Areas Act (and the non-implementation of it in Hopetown) seems to have played a determining role. However, the identities that are revealed are "complex and multi-layered" and "combine competing ideologies" (De Fina 2012: 178). On the one hand, there does not seem to be all that much regret about the decline of isiXhosa; on the other hand, there is at least some attempt among the older participants to keep certain customs, if not the language, alive.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUDING REMARKS

6.1   Research questions and aims

In Chapter 1 the research questions and aims were laid out. It remains to be seen to what extent the questions were answered and the aims achieved. This section will summarise the findings that started to become clear in the analyses of Chapters 4 and 5.

i) What are the linguistic repertoires of selected residents in Hopetown?

In surveying a selected cross-section of residents in Hopetown, I found that their linguistic repertoires were predominantly ones in which Afrikaans has L1 status. Importantly, this is a regional, non-standard variety of Afrikaans. Respondents did not refer to the relation between the variety they had acquired and standard varieties endorsed elsewhere. In the few cases where Afrikaans is not given as L1, it is a strong L2. English accounts for L2 or L3, but the surveyed residents use it only reluctantly when the situation requires it. Only a few of the older participants can include isiXhosa as L1 or L2. The findings correlate with the historic background of the Xhosa migrations to the area. Overall, there is a positive attitude towards Afrikaans, even among those of the younger generation.

ii) Which social and historical factors shaped the current linguistic repertoires

of the respondents?

Three contributory factors stand out:

-    The escalation of employment opportunities in the area with the launching of the Orange River Water Project during the 1970s and the subsequent escalation of the irrigation farming industry;
-    The expectation of the employers that employees will speak Afrikaans;
-    The disregard of local authorities of the enforcement of the Group Areas Act in the Hopetown area.

These factors set the scene for the migration of ethnic Africans, mainly of Xhosa origin. They were housed within the settlements reserved for Coloureds under the Group Areas Act. Although Xhosa migrants did not go out of their way to make their racial identities known to the authorities, it can be surmised that they turned a blind eye in the light of the urgent need for labourers. The migrating Xhosa, on the other hand, realised that they would not be able to benefit from the employment boom if they did not rapidly acquire a competent command of

the Afrikaans language and manage to blend in with the Coloured community without drawing unnecessary attention to themselves.

In the light of scholarly attention to language shift and language death, phenomena that in recent years have been the subjects of sociolinguistic studies (cf. Decker & Grummitt 2012; Nettle and Romaine 2000), it could have been expected that the second and third generations of the migrants would complete this shift. In the case of the Hopetown Xhosa it has to be emphasised that the shift was not neither planned nor voluntary, but the result of the authoritarian structure that formed the basis of South African society in the latter half of the 20th century.

It is remarkable that the Afrikaans-speaking descendants of the migrant Xhosa were not affected by the negative attitudes towards Afrikaans as language of the apartheid regime as manifested in other regions and particularly in urban South Africa.

   iii) What kinds of social information do participants inadvertently disclose

      when narrating their language biographies?

While narrating their language biographies, participants were necessarily also telling their life stories. It became apparent how and where they grew up and what their social standing was. They also positioned themselves in the community. The biographies that were told from the subject's point of view could be regarded as subjective, but for the fact that recurrent themes emerged. Different subjects, telling different stories, had enough in common to establish trends. Furthermore, the different narrators confirmed the trends independently of each other. This confirmed Busch's (2010) finding that these approaches provide essential insight and understanding in the field of multilingualism and linguistic diversity.

It also transpired that the participants were disclosing information unto themselves. In telling their stories they were remembering, reliving and re-evaluating their lives.

6.2   Limitations

Questionnaires were formatted and implemented at the outset of the research. In retrospect, they could have been designed to cover more ground. The street block survey, for example, may have worked better with multiple-choice questions and the inclusion of more observational data would have been useful, especially in relation to the linguistic repertoires used. Some of the participants found it difficult to complete the questionnaire; most of them

required assistance and as a result of this they were interviewed while completing it. This was not anticipated in the initial phase. It turned out that the impromptu interviews gave invaluable information by means of what could have been seen as peripheral 'small talk'.

6.3   Contribution made by the study

An interesting consequence of the research is that several people came forward after the research period. They seemed touched by an endeavour that took an interest in their voices, their small histories, their life world; that was something new to them. It had not occurred to them that their language biographies would be of any interest. So they continued talking to me about their linguistic experiences, and apparently to each other as well. I was told that one individual would like to be interviewed about the continuation of the Xhosa culture in Hopetown. I scheduled an informal recorded interview which lasted 45 minutes. What followed was a description of something similar to the Hopi experience. The gentleman, Mr Tooi, is poised to succeed his recently deceased uncle as leader of a group of Xhosas in the Hopetown area. The group uses only isiXhosa in their gatherings, having kept it alive while at the same time acquiring Afrikaans. The group consists of a few extended families who only occasionally accept newcomers. The only requirement for inclusion is that they had to be brought up within the culture and had to have followed it throughout their lives. The group operates within the standards of CoGTA (the Cooperative Governance for Traditional Affairs) and, according to Mr Tooi, have a good track record. This is testament to the role that language biographies can play not only in academic research, but also in giving a voice to those who often feel voiceless.

6.4   Suggestions for further research

New residents of ethnic African heritage who have arrived since 1994 were not interviewed. It is, however, obvious that some, if not most of them do not share the established residents' positive attitude towards Afrikaans and they avoid speaking it. There is scope for research into the role that they continue to play in the expansion of linguistic repertoires in the larger community.

There is a measurable, changing pattern in the Hopetown community as more ethnic Africans are being employed in government institutions like the Police Service and Correctional

Services. They are contributing diverse multicultural factors that have become common in South Africa. Many of these newcomers apparently retain their indigenous languages and use English as a lingua franca. It would be interesting to do a longitudinal study to ascertain the extent to which this influences the attitudes of the Hopetown community towards Afrikaans in general.

The surrounding towns that include Douglas, Ritchie and Petrusville were subject to much more rigid enforcement of the Group Areas Act. Some participants pointed out that migrants in these towns retained their original languages. Schooling was available in the mother tongue so, even though they had to learn Afrikaans for the sake of employment, there appears to be no similar language shift. A comparative study could be done to establish how language attitudes, repertoires and other sociolinguistic patterns differ between the communities.

The particular group of Xhosas in Hopetown that are maintaining Xhosa cultural practices could and should be followed up by acknowledging their pride in their cultural heritage. There is also scope for comparative studies with similar Xhosa communities in other regions of the country. In general, more language biographies of diverse communities should be collected as it gives interesting glimpses into the history of South Africa and might ultimately also provide indicators of possible futures of different linguistic groups. Such studies provide insight into the development of bilingual and multilingual repertoires and the ways in which such repertoires support or hinder social integration. They could also provide new insights into processes of language change, language decline and language death within such mobile, multilingual communities – even in places as isolated and seemingly homogenous as a small Northern Cape village.

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Addendum A: Informed consent form

**DEPARTEMENT ALGEMENE TAALWETENSKAP,
UNIVERSITEIT VAN STELLENBOSCH.**

INLIGTING EN TOESTEMMINGSVORM VIR DEELNEMERS AAN DIE VRAELYS OOR TAALGEBRUIK

Taalpatrone en taalidentiteit in die Tembelihle area.

NAVORSER: A. DAUBNEY

U is versoek om deel te neem aan bogenoemde studie. Die vraelys sal saam met u deurgewerk word en klankopnames van die gesprek sal gemaak word.

Die studie stel belang in

- watter taal / tale u as huistaal gebruik, en of dit verander het

- in watter taal / tale u skool- en verdere onderrig het

- watter addisionale tale u verstaan of magtig is

- wat die moedertaal van u ouers en grootouers was.

TOESTEMMING: Ek. _____ is ouer as 18 en verklaar dat ek vrywilliglik aan hierdie studie deelneem. Ek gee hiermee toestemming dat die inligting wat ek gee, gebruik kan word in Me Daubney se studie.

Ek gee ook toestemming dat my eie naam gebruik mag word.

HANDTEKENING:

DATUM:

Addendum B: Survey questions

Steynville Language and Cultural Heritage Survey

Date:

Street Address:

Surname:

First Name:

Age:

First language:

Second language:

Other languages:

Cultural heritage of grandparents: Coloured / Xhosa / Other:

Addendum C: Questionnaire/interview procedure

VRAELYS

1. **PERSOONLIKE INLIGTING:**

   NAAM ....

   VAN ………...

   GEBOORTEDATUM ....

   ADRES   …………………….....

   …………………………….

   HOPETOWN

   Geboortedorp: …………………………………………………….

   Hoe lank woon jy al in Hopetown? ....……………………………………

   Ander plekke waar jy al gewoon of gewerk het:………………………………………

   Hoe lank was jy daar? …………………………………………………...

   Doel van verblyf daar / verskuiwing ……..…………………………………………….

   ……………………………………………………………………………………………

2. **ONDERWYS EN OPLEIDING:**

   SKOOL STANDERD GESLAAG   ....

   SKOLE BYGEWOON (Naam, Plek, Jare bygewoon)…………………………………….

   Taal van onderrig op skool …………………………………………………………….

   Jaar toe ek skool verlaat het …………………………………………………………..

Na-skoolse opleiding …………………………………………………………..

   ………………….......................……………………………………………………..

3. **TAALKENNIS EN TAALGEBRUIK**

   My eerste taal is ………………………………….

My tweede taal is …………………………….........................

Ander tale wat ek ken, is ……………………………….……

Ouderdom waarop ek my tweede taal begin aanleer het …………..

Omgewing waar ek my tweede taal aangeleer het

By die huis	By die	In die werkplek	In die

Plekke en geleenthede waar ek Engels hoor ……………………………………………..

Plekke en geleenthede waar ek Engels lees…….………………………………………   ..

Plekke en geleenthede waar ek Engels praat …………………………………………

4. TAALVERMOË

Lys al die tale wat jy ken en dui jou vermoë in elk aan met behulp van die volgende nommers:

1 = goed, 2 = middelmatig, 3 = swak:

	verstaan	praat	lees	skryf	WAAR / WANNEER gebruik jy die taal?
Afrikaans					
Engels					

4. TAALVRAE

(Merk die gepaste blokkie)

4.1 Hoeveel amptelike tale is daar in Suid Afrika?

Een	Twee	Nege	Elf

4.2 Hoeveel amptelike tale is daar in die Noord-Kaap?

Een	Twee	Nege	Elf

4.3   Dink oor die tale wat mense ken en gebruik in Hopetown. Kan jy sê of daar sedert 1994 'n verandering   gekom het? *Verduidelik jou antwoord hier.*

Ja	Nee

4.4   Dink oor mense se kennis en gebruik van Engels in Hopetown. Dink jy mense ken Engels beter en gebruik dit meer as 10-15 jaar gelede?

Ja	Nee

4.5   In Hopetown, sal iemand wat Engels goed ken, makliker 'n werk kry as iemand wat eintlik net Afrikaans gebruik?

Ja	Nee

4.6   Sal iemand van Hopetown wat Engels goed ken, op 'n ander plek in die Noord-Kaap (soos Strydenburg,   Carnarvon, Upington of Kimberley), werk soek, makliker regkom as iemand wat eintlik net Afrikaans gebruik?

Ja	Nee

4.7   Lees jy koerante/tydskrifte?

Ja	Nee

Watter lees jy die meeste? …………………………………………

4.8   As   jy   televisie   kyk,   watter   3   programme   kyk   jy   die   meeste?
……………………………………
……………………………………
…………………………………….

RAAMWERK VIR ONDERHOUDE

1. Vul die vraelys saam met deelnemer in, sodat as daar vrae of onduidelikhede is dit dadelik opgeklaar kan word.

2. Gebruik die vrae, spesifiek vrae in afdeling 4 as riglyne vir gesprek wat op band opgeneem word.

3. Verdere vrae:

3.1   Dink jy dit is in Hopetown (en in die Noord-Kaap) belangrik om meer as Afrikaans te leer – of kan 'n mens sê anderstaliges, moet van hulle kant bietjie moeite doen met Afrikaans? (In Engeland moet vreemdelinge Engels leer, in Holland moet vreemdelinge Hollands leer … is dit hier by ons anders?)

3.2   Moet jy soms vir jou werk Engels lees, skryf of praat? Indien wel, is dit vir jou maklik, moeilik … 'n probleem of glad nie?

3.3   Vind jy dit moeilik om verskillende tale op verskillende tye te praat? Verduidelik jou antwoord.