THE PLACE OF ENGLISH IN EXPANDING REPERTOIRES OF LINGUISTIC CODE, IDENTIFICATION AND ASPIRATION AMONG RECENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES IN LIMPOPO PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the comparatively high use of English among 48 high school graduates aged 18-25 living in the semi-rural Mankweng area of Limpopo Province, South Africa. The study focuses on the interaction between the participants' increased use of English and their processes of individual and social identification.

Discourse analyses of focus group and individual interviews, triangulated with descriptive data from two questionnaires about educational experiences, media usage and language attitudes, suggest that the participants recognize both the potential consequences for identification that linguistic code choices carry, and the desirability of equitably managing—or as some call, "balancing"—these choices and consequences.

Participants' discourse indicates two factors shaping how they "balance." One is their physical and social location. Post-apartheid freedoms of mobility and media engagement are positioning youth to tinker with historically persistent ideologies of languages as "traditional" or "modern", "white" or "black," "urban" or "rural". Amidst these changes, the participants evaluate their own and others' abilities to "balance" based on where one lives and works. A second "balancing" factor is the perceived strength of one's sense of "African" group belonging, or "roots." Most participants consider family

or village ties as the basis for strong "roots"; certain others consider their ethnolinguistic backgrounds equally integral. In any case, one must avoid the perception of one's roots being too "strong" or "weak," as this can threaten "balancing."

A second finding is that, as a "balancing" strategy, participants claim that using African codes is "necessary" in oral conversation with elders at home, and that using English is "necessary" for both written language practices (especially cell phone messaging) and as a linking language in multilingual locations such as the local university campus (which half the participants call home). This strategy uses "necessity" as a way to problematize individual agency and responsibility for code choices deemed undesirable.

This study is significant because it highlights the unpredictability of language practice trends in rapidly changing societies, and offers implications for multilingual education. It also invites further investigation into how opportunities for crossing linguistic and cultural boundaries expand with social, political and technological changes.

CHAPTER 1

Why Study English, Code Choice, Identification and Aspiration among Educated Limpopo Youth? An Introduction

> Confrontation and clamour for emancipation is the immediate result of the mastery of the colonist's language. The Promethean gift can only begin to give a good account of itself when the ex-colonial strives toward a synthesis, a point of equilibrium. This is an exciting and often excruciating experience.
>
> —Es'kia Mphahlele
> *Prometheus in chains: The fate of English in South Africa[1]*

This dissertation explores what the discourse of recent high school graduates in a rural South African township suggests about how they are expanding their linguistic code repertoires to include more English and the linkages of this expansion to their processes of individual and social identification.

In this chapter, I explain why this topic is worthy of research and lay out how I have researched it.

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1 Mphahlele, 1984, p. 93

First, I give an overview of youth's increases in English usage in South Africa, the lack of research on similar increases among rural youth, the general rationale for addressing this topic in the Mankweng area of Limpopo Province, and a summary of my findings. My central finding is that the participants want to successfully manage the social consequences of linguistic code choices by "balancing" types of identification associated with using English as well as African linguistic codes—perhaps the "equilibrium" suggested by Mphahlele above. The data from their participation in this study suggest that they consider the location of one's interactions and the perceived strength of one's sense of "African" group belonging or "roots" to be, generally, the most consequential factors affecting the "balancing" process. Further, the data also suggest that they understand "balancing" to require management of the social consequences of making certain linguistic code choices; and that as a result, a reliance on certain socially acceptable justifications (or in situations construed as accusatory, *excuses*) for particular choices is useful in managing one's social persona.[2]

In the next section, I elaborate on important background details that scaffold this study, which I further detail in Chapter 4. I follow this section with a discussion of the research purposes, rationale and research questions of the study, and subsequently, my approaches to responding to them. I conclude this chapter with a summary of remaining chapters.

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2 See Austin, 1956, pp. 1–3 for an overview of his distinction between justifications and excuses.

Increases in English Usage among Educated Youth in Rural South Africa

Research has long established that youth play a leading role in the change of language use patterns in their communities (Gal, 1979; see Garrett, 2005 for review). One type of such change affects the composition of one's linguistic code repertoire, or the palette of linguistic codes and ideologies at one's disposal. In this dissertation I focus on the participants' reflections on their addition of English to their code repertoires, which they describe as an additive expansion of the daily use functions of English, in contrast to language shift-like phenomena following a subtractive model of repertoire change (Fasold, 1984; cf. Appel & Muysken, 1987).[3]

In this study, the expansion of the participants' code repertoires to include more English is not meant to imply a language shift situation, i.e. an inexorable trajectory toward eventual language endangerment and death as the term "language shift" implies (cf. Crystal, 2000; Mesthrie, 2002). I invoke a model of code repertoire change that does not suggest a subtractive trend toward replacement of another code, as would the term "language shift," but rather, an expansion of linguistic code repertoire as in the case of stable multilingualism.

One important type of change in code repertoires taking place on a global scale that has gained attention in the language endangerment and revitalization literature of the past twenty years is English language shift. It is often framed as a kind of globalization; and in studies of how youth worldwide are leading such shifts, they are portrayed as specially

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3 As Simmons (2003, p. 12) notes, citing Jaspaert and Kroon (1991): "Where two individuals of the same L1 who are also speakers of the same L2 communicate with each other in the L2 rather than their L1, there is a clear case of shift."

positioned as agents of globalization as they use English more and their home languages less, and eventually not at all, for everyday communication.

If youth are generally considered to be at the forefront of an important kind of social change such as the increase in English usage, then there are both scholarly and practical motivations to examine its inner workings. Changes in code repertoires are notably unpredictable phenomena contingent on sociocultural and historical particularities. Research on how certain changes in linguistic code repertoire are happening in a particular place can shed light both on the general regularities of such changes and on the idiosyncrasies and real-life consequences thereof for a specific group of people.

Further, because language is such an important semiotic resource for identification and social differentiation, changes in linguistic code repertoire generally happen alongside, whether as cause or effect, of concomitant social changes. Depending on the community, such changes may be taken to be normal historical variations or important ruptures of sociocultural continuity.

From this perspective, youth bear some kind of responsibility for their choices of linguistic code; for in the aggregate, such choices may instigate or actually constitute not only code repertoire but also sociocultural changes.

Institutionally, however, education also plays a key role in shaping the code repertoires of youth—i.e., in hastening the decline of, or shoring up the increase of, the use of certain linguistic codes in everyday interaction. Scholars and planners of language-in-education policy and practice have acknowledged the need to understand more about the mechanisms of specific changes in language use patterns, not just their structural potentiators but their sociocultural logics and dynamics as well.

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This dissertation explores, then, what the discourse of recent high school graduates in a rural South African township suggests about their increases in English usages and consequences for their processes of individual and social identification.

A number of studies in South Africa have discussed the role of youth generally, but educated youth particularly, in leading increases in English usage, especially since the decline of the apartheid regime in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Nearly all of these studies have focused on youth living in the vicinity of major South African cities. Valuable as these studies are for examining how youth are leading globalization and increases in English usage in South Africa, they may imply that these phenomena are particular to urban youth.

The question of how globalization (including increases in English usage) is happening outside of South African urban centers has not been adequately explored. This lack of research is especially inappropriate because rural-urban tensions and dynamics have been politically and economically central to the history of modern South Africa. More specifically, although research on urbanization in Africa has clearly demonstrated that urban youth ideologize the divide between rural and urban, the uptake and management of these ideologies among educated "rural" youth has hardly been explored. And in a practical sense, the urban/rural distinction in South Africa is especially complex. Many villages in Limpopo may match prototypical images of the humble hamlet of "traditional" lore. But a good number of South Africa's rural townships resemble urban townships because they are high in population density—a legacy of colonial and apartheid government land reallocation schemes for the ethnic "homelands", also known as "Bantustans" (Horrell, 1969; 1973). Two research sites in this study, Mankweng and

Sebayeng, were formally part apartheid townships (also called "*Bantoedorpe*"), township

infrastructural and social organization must also be taken into account (W.L. Maree,

1962, p. 219; McCusker & Ramudzuli, 2007, p. 59).

How or even *whether* youth, and most interestingly, English-proficient and educated

youth, define themselves as "rural" has barely been explored in the extant literature. This

is especially interesting for youth hailing from Limpopo Province, where the current

study takes place, including those participating in this study. As will be discussed, the

data, congruent with my own personal experiences and observations, suggest that many

Limpopo youth habitually present themselves as "rural", and are commonly positioned in

Gauteng or national media discourses as quintessentially so, or hailing from "the real

Africa". In other words, what is suggested here is that Limpopo youth must deal with this

"rurality" in a way youth from urban areas or townships do not. Existing research has

established that urban South African youth have been involved in globalization, but has

overlooked the degree to which rural youth have also been involved—a scholarly

oversight perhaps based on an unproblematized urban/rural distinction.

A whole generation of youth living outside of major urban areas has now reached

legal adulthood amid unprecedented post-apartheid freedoms. They have no

understanding of life with pass laws hampering their freedom of physical mobility,

censorship limiting how and with whom they make meaning,[4] the homeland system

defining them as members of a single ethnolinguistic group, or apartheid education

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4 Television, radio, and printed news media were heavily censored in the dependent Bantustans, such as Lebowa, during apartheid. Television did not exist in South Africa until 1975. The apartheid government funded the institution of Radio Bantu, which provided African language radio shows in Gazankulu, Lebowa, and Venda; this was done in the interest of furthering "separate development" (Lekgoathi, 2009).

restricting English and requiring the "mother tongue" and Afrikaans as languages of learning and teaching.

Although large-scale instigators of the increase in English usage in the Mankweng area (e.g., the end of pass laws in 1986 and the ANC language in education policy of 1997) are highly interesting for this study, my primary interest has been to explore the reflections of locally-based recent high school graduates on whether and how they have been using more English. How they define languages and linguistic distinctions, the mapping of these distinctions onto sociocultural differentiations, and how they construe the relationship between language use and identification, whether at individual or group levels, I argue, are all interpretive stances that mediate their changes in code repertoires to include more English.

Gal (1979) and others such as Kulick (1992; cf. Silverstein, 1998, p. 420) have long established that changes in language use patterns are always mediated by these factors of interpretive action:

> To say that urbanization or other social change "causes" (language) shift is to leave out the crucial step of understanding how that change has come to be interpreted by the people it is supposed to be influencing … i.e., interpreted in a way that dramatically affects everyday language use in a community (1992, p. 9).

What can an analysis expanded to include, even privilege, these interpretive factors in such changes tell us? Or, as I propose, what can an emphasis on how ideologies of language mediate such changes add to our understanding of them? These questions lay important groundwork for this dissertation study, and in the next section, I describe additional pretexts complementary to this groundwork.

Local Contextual Factors Motivating and Shaping this Study

My own observations and conversations during two research projects in Limpopo Province from 2005–06 strongly suggested that in the rural township of Mankweng and environs, youth were expanding their linguistic code repertoires to include more English. I repeatedly heard reports of "young people speaking English all the time" and made some direct observations supporting this claim (which, *prima facie*, as mentioned above, was also supported by a wide precedent in the literature).

The increase in the use of English in the geographical region of Limpopo Province (formerly called the Northern Transvaal) has been an abrupt and consequential sociocultural development. Historically, the region has been socially and economically isolated from the modern metropole. For this and other sociocultural reasons explained further in Chapter 4, very few English-speakers have lived in the region. Limpopo Province (pop. 5.4 million) remains a region of significant poverty and unemployment— the second-poorest province in the country by per-capita income—despite a recent surge in capital investment and infrastructural growth.[5] This poverty is rooted in colonial and apartheid social policies; namely, alienating indigenous land rights, controlling the means of production, enforcing exploitative labor practices, and drastically underfunding public education. The basic labor migration patterns established in the mid-nineteenth century by British colonizers and held in place by the Union and National Party governments until the end of apartheid in 1994 drew fathers and mothers away from rural areas to

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5 General Household Survey (GHS) 2007, p. 28. Due its location, Limpopo was once known as the Northern Province, a derivation of its former regional name, the Northern Transvaal.

cities and mines, locking most of those remaining, such as children and the elderly, in poverty.

Mankweng, a township located about 30 miles east of the regional hub of Pietersburg (now Polokwane), has served as the location of a major university for Black students, the University of Limpopo (UL), since 1960. [6] The university has long attracted English-speaking youth from urban areas (though since the 1980s the majority of its students—currently 75–80%—have hailed from Limpopo [Nkomo, 2007, p. 161]). High school graduates living in the Mankweng area have generally overcome difficult economic and often social circumstances to succeed academically and, in the process, to gain at least a basic understanding of and competence in English (NMF, 2005). Estimates show that the local 2008 high school graduation rate was about 20%.[7] A very small percentage of these high school graduates attend the UL, due to tuition costs and limited scholarships.

Although the university has surely contributed to a favorable environment for increases in English usage among local high school graduates, the pervasive reports of this relatively sudden phenomenon, driven by educated local youth, still struck me as both noticeable and socioculturally significant, especially given that everyday English language usage has historically been very uncommon in the region. Most Limpopo adults over a certain age do not speak English because apartheid policies discouraged English

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[6] UL was formerly known as the University College of the North, then UNIN. It was established in 1960 as a model of tertiary apartheid education.

[7] This statistic is, unfortunately, merely an estimate based only on the anecdotal reports of a handful of professors at the university, local high school teachers, and administrators of the Mankweng circuit of the public school system. The circuit level may be understood as equivalent to a small school district level in the United States. The next highest administrative level is the district level, followed by the provincial and then national levels.

education among the rural and almost entirely Black communities in the region.[8] The apartheid government censored mass media distribution and access in the Lebowa homeland and strictly controlled mobility between Mankweng and urban, "English-rich" areas. Rural youth are highly likely to live with parents and/or elders who do not speak English—an important factor given the highly gerontocratic norms in the area—thus, if they do speak English on a regular basis, it is likely not with their elders.

In an area of dirt roads, no indoor plumbing, intermittent electricity, very high unemployment, and virtually no household Internet access, the university campus, comparatively, is infrastructurally advanced. The level of infrastructural development and service provision in Mankweng and on the UL campus poses a stark contrast to surrounding villages, which resemble the home environments of most of the university students. The apartheid government planned the co-development of Mankweng and the university in the late 1950s, providing substantial financial backing to ensure its success as a "demonstration project" of Bantustan development generally and tertiary education specifically (McCusker & Ramudzuli, 2007, p. 58). Eighty percent of the students at the university are from Limpopo Province, and about 80% of those students are from the kinds of village communities that surround the university (Nkomo, 2007, p. 161). Given this fact, one wonders how new students from even the campus's vicinity adjust to this relatively "modern" environment or ecology. Or more interestingly, one may ask what role these students play in socially co-creating the campus environment, and/or how the

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8 This discouragement or even prohibition of English by regional Protestant missionary societies pre-apartheid shared many of the same philosophical and theological premises as apartheid. See chapter 4.

non-village participants negotiate these dynamics compared with the village participants, who do not attend the university.

Numerous new shops and service outlets in Mankweng testify to a substantial sudden increase in local economic growth over the past five years.[9] This rural urbanization of the college town also coincides with concurrent campus developments, notably the extensive expansion of the university's ICT infrastructure and increase in new enrollments. As mentioned just above, the apartheid government envisaged this economic growth for the region, though as a wholly subordinate and dependent colony of White South Africa, not as an open, market–based regional economy integrated into a pluralist democracy.

What also kept the region and its almost entirely Black inhabitants socially and economically isolated from the metropole were colonial and apartheid land policies. Black landowners were disenfranchised from their land, and the mobility of Black families and communities was strictly controlled. Land Acts passed in 1913 and 1936 by the Union governments extended and enhanced elements of the British "native reserve" system and paved the way for the later apartheid Group Areas and Native Resettlement Acts (of 1950 and 1954, respectively). These laws led to the establishment of three ethnic "homelands" or Bantustans in the former Northern Transvaal (today's Limpopo Province): Gazankulu, Lebowa, and Venda. These homelands aimed to create pockets of culturally homogeneous, high population density, rural communities that could serve as, bluntly stated, repositories for inexpensive human resources. The apartheid government achieved this by forcibly evicting Black South Africans from urban areas to these

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9 According to the Capricorn District Municipality IDP Budget 2010/11, p. 85, Mankweng and Sebayeng are designated as regional "growth points".

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Bantustans. These areas, comprising stretches of usually intractable, dry land were meant to hold their denizens in a precarious balance between survival and harsh forms of political, economic, and educational oppression (Bank, 1994; Horrell, 1970; Hartshorne, 1995).[10] Apartheid labor and pass laws highly regimented Africans' movement between Bantustans and South African urban areas, disrupting family life and thus eroding social cohesion. Under apartheid, this form of social control also enforced the "one nation, one language" vision for the homelands.

The post-apartheid era, having changed this landscape, brings unique self-definitional freedoms, opportunities, and challenges to Mankweng-area youth. New opportunities for social mobility (in its multiple senses), media usage and consumption, and English language education have changed the conditions for communication and identification, especially for post-apartheid youth who have little to no frame of reference for understanding past White hegemonies. Investigating these new self-definitional freedoms, opportunities, and challenges vis-à-vis linguistic code choice was a principal starting point for this research.

Empirical data preceding this dissertation research suggested that Mankweng-area youth in the 18–25 age group were not necessarily abandoning local cultural lifeways and just "going for English" (Babson, 2007; Babson, Wagner & Sirinides, 2007; Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). Thus, just as with "urban and rural" discussed above, a starting point for this research was that definitions of and tensions between "tradition" and "modernity" among many rural South African youth today, although likely highly

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10 Delius and Shirmer point out that the Lebowa homeland included some of the worst farmland in the region (2001, p. 14).

dynamic, have been largely unexplored in the literature. Also echoing the same

discussion on urban and rural above, this dissertation asks how and/or whether English-

proficient and educated youth in Limpopo define themselves as "traditional" or "modern"

(cf. Cook, 2002; NMF, 2005; Ngwane, 2001).[11]

This study aims to address the need, in this mercurial post-apartheid era, to analyze

these tradition-modernity dynamics as embedded in the choices of so-called "rural" youth

to use more English. I pay particular attention to the key role of educational institutions in

laying important groundwork for such dynamics, especially in areas formerly

incorporated into the apartheid "homeland" of Lebowa, of which Mankweng serves as an

example.

Changes in code repertoires usually happen alongside larger social or political

economic changes, as both Limpopo and Mankweng in particular exemplify. Since the

end of apartheid in 1994, Limpopo has undergone some of the most rapid economic

growth of any region in the country,[12] particularly in the past four years.[13] Limpopo,

including Mankweng, was formerly a region economically and politically marginalized

by a wide range of apartheid policies. Today, however, Mankweng is one of Limpopo's

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11 These themes of tradition and modernity have been treated in South African classics such as Mayer's 1964 anthropological study *Townsmen or Tribesmen,* and Abrahams' 1946 Bildungsroman, *Mine Boy*. For a critical assessment of these themes in Mayer's work particularly) see Ngwane, 2001).

12 According to the 2001 Census, the highest average real-economic-growth rate recorded in South Africa between 1995 and 2001 was that of Limpopo, with an average growth rate of 3.8% (GCIS, 2004, p. 26). Further, according to the recent 2009–2014 Limpopo Employment Growth and Development Plan, Limpopo Province's contribution to the national GDP increased from 5.6% in 1996 to 6.8% in 2006, registering the highest percentage increase contribution over period at 1.2% (LEGDP, 2009, p. 13).

13 Fixed Capital Investment in the province started to peak in 2001 and it "skyrocketed" to over R31 billion in 2007. "Considerable amounts of investment in road and other economic infrastructure" accounted for this increase. These investments were made in preparation for the 2010 World Cup, and the Lephalale Municipality integrated development plan (IDP), focusing on a dramatic expansion of coal and waterpower production (LMIDP, 2009, p. 27).

fastest growing areas—a growth anchored by the university. Thus another goal of this study is to illuminate how increases in English usage among educated youth in the Mankweng area might interlink with other types of social change.

Purpose, Rationale, and Research Questions of the Study

According to many local accounts from 2005–2008, educated Black youth in Mankweng and environs were speaking more English than they had prior to that time. Despite Mankweng's 50-year status as a college town and service hub, and the preexisting history of local chiefly openness to "Western" institutions, Black youth in the area have long lacked access to opportunities for English learning and usage. Thus the addition of English to linguistic code repertoires among recent high school graduates (a minority yet significant set of the local youth population) marks a sharp and politically significant break from a regional past of Afrikaner hegemony and Black economic disenfranchisement. This emerging trend raises questions about why and how these youth took up the national and global language of English and what such an addition to their linguistic code repertoires meant for them in terms of translocal social identifications and positionalities, especially because they have so often been positioned in popular culture, media, and academic discourses as "rural."

Thus, this study seeks to understand how a small sample of these leading English users in the Mankweng area integrated more English into their linguistic code repertoires, and how this integration influenced their social identifications and positionalities. Guiding research questions for the study include: (a) How do the participants talk about

English, Northern Sotho, Afrikaans, and other linguistic codes? (b) What do they indicate as the major factors in code choice? (c) What does their discourse reveal about the relationship between their code choices, social identifications, and positionalities? (d) What do they say are important potential consequences of code choice for their social identifications and positionalities; and how do they manage such consequences?

In a historically oppressed region generally overlooked by South African social scientists, recent high school graduates are taking opportunities to access the powerful semiotic resource of English for social upliftment as well as self-expression and self-definition. In this post-apartheid era, the increase in using English among educated Black Limpopo youth may indicate an unprecedented move toward social and economic empowerment. English carries with it certain potentials of establishing social prestige and desirability; and more practically, English serves as a bridging language in highly multilingual environments. But for high school graduates living in the Mankweng area, most of who identify as "rural," the addition of English to one's everyday linguistic code repertoire presents a potential conflict of interest. They are specially positioned to both increase their learning and usage of English and question how much this increase challenges rural identification. This study investigates how a group of these youth, half of whom attend the local university and half do not, take on these unprecedented self-definitional challenges and opportunities, and invites further research into how crossing linguistic and cultural boundaries may expand with social, political and technological changes.

I propose that this study contributes to ongoing research into the interaction between language practices and identification among youth both in and out of educational

contexts. As such, the study clears a path for inquiry into how multilingual education policy and practice, as well as diversifying technological means for learning and using language, may shape or adjust with regional sociocultural changes. In the highly decentralized South African policyscape (Carney, 2009), such local and specific research may help address the lack of data on sociocultural and linguistic trends needed to make responsive and beneficial adjustments to educational policies and practices.

Research Approach

To address the above research questions, I recruited 48 recent high school graduates age 18–25 in the Mankweng area to participate in surveys and interviews. I aimed to collect data that would shed light on how and why they made linguistic code choices, with special attention to English.

The sample was differentiated by two categories: The first was by those attending the UL and those who did not. The striking infrastructural differences have been noted above. Socially, students hail mostly from Limpopo but also come from around the country and the continent. This diversity requires English as a language of wider communication, though it is also the official language of university business. This contrasts with the surrounding area, wherein English is rarely needed for everyday communication outside of institutional settings.

There were also important differences in first languages to account for between campus and non-campus youth. All of the students claimed an African language as their first language; all of those living in the vicinity of the campus claimed a variety of

Northern Sotho as their first language. Among the UL student body, about 60% claim a variant of Northern Sotho as their home language, but the rest claim a variety of codes commonly spoken in the province (such as Tsonga and Venda) and elsewhere (Tswana and Zulu). The sample roughly reflects this percentage.

The second category of differentiation was by stated gender of male and female. In my previous research in the area, I noted interesting gender-based differences in livelihood expectations for youth, particularly regarding employment and child rearing. I also noted different attitudes toward mastery of prestige accents and social image: males seemed less concerned, in their conversations, about the above than females. I expected attention to this sampling difference to yield interesting results along these lines.

Categorizing the survey and interview data revealed broad themes that were further explored through discourse analysis of the interview data. Descriptive statistical results from the questionnaires and coding analyses of the discourse data gave insights into local particularities in the general consensus in the literature that certain linguistic code choices can potentially mean certain things in particular social situations, and that language users generally want to successfully manage the social consequences of these meaning-potentials.

From the preliminary analyses above, I moved to discourse analyses using a theoretical framework, drawing from sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological theory aiming to capitalize on both the semi-structured nature of the interviews and the spontaneous interactions therein. The combination of the recent history of apartheid and the increased usage of English among relatively highly educated youth called for a theoretical framework that could illuminate these phenomena. I have drawn from

frameworks combining perspectives of language ideology, the semiotic process of indexicality, and genre as a mode of practice. I explain my application of these frameworks in the methods chapter (3) and analysis chapters (5 and 6).

By exploring the language practices of recently graduated youth in a rural township, this study also highlights the need to address unanswered policy questions that confront South African language-in-education policymakers today. For example, decentralization of language in education policy decisions may or may not be the best plan if the research on additive multilingualism is not well known (Heugh, 2000). Further, emphasis on English education may be setting up rural areas for an internal "brain drain" to Gauteng and other urban regions (Delius & Schirmer, 2001). And perhaps the negative associations of "mother tongue" education with past political oppression have loosened enough to refocus learners and their parents on the potential benefits of an additive multilingual language in education approach—or perhaps not. My study does not directly address these issues, but may serve as a preface to such an effort. As I mention below and take up in depth in the analysis chapters, the educated youth participants in this study show that a much broader and flexible model of language teaching and learning would not only be possible but beneficial to South African students at all levels—primary, secondary and tertiary.

The study also briefly touches on striking trends in the usage of digital information and communications technologies. The data suggest that usage of cell phones plays a large role in certain types of increases in English usage described in the data, though a further study would be needed to more fully and credibly explore these trends.

In the next section I provide an overview of the remaining chapters of this dissertation.

Overview of the Remaining Chapters

Chapter 2 discusses the literature landscape within which this dissertation situates itself. This discussion clarifies certain points in this chapter about the motivations and rationale of the study, from the standpoint of preexisting theory and research.

Subsequently, Chapter 3 explains the methods chosen for conducting the research. I detail sampling methods as well as the data collection tools and rationale for their use. I also describe the kinds of data these tools yielded and how I planned to use them to make my arguments. Then, I describe how I applied the linguistic anthropological frameworks for discourse analysis, and explain why they, rather than others, were chosen for this study.

Chapter 4 provides an account of the ideological contexts within which the participants of this study are making their linguistic code choices and the role of educational institutions in scaffolding these contexts. Specifically, I contend that three cultural and historical conditions are central to the participants' linguistic code choices: the relative historical rarity of English usage in the region, the persistence of Western ethnolinguistic labels and associations, and disinterest or ambivalence in using African languages in educational settings. These conditions are in large part the language ideological legacy of missionary and apartheid educational institutions. Following the logic of my central argument in this dissertation—namely, that the participants want to

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successfully manage the social consequences of linguistic code choices—requires understanding the role of educational institutions in the scaffolding of the language ideologies that are mediating those choices.

In Chapter 5 (the first analysis chapter), I take a closer look at participants' descriptions of how they manage—in some participants' words, "balance"—the meaning-potentials generated by using one linguistic code rather than another in interactions. If the participants want to both hold on to their "roots" and put themselves in situations where they can likely speak English, what goes into this process? What factors make it easier or harder to balance these motivations and the *indexical potentials* generated by pursuing them?

First, I look more closely at "roots": what are they, and how and why are the participants holding on to them? It turns out that some people as a whole—self-identified "Pedis," especially those close to the campus—are perceived to have less roots than others, such as Tsongas and Vendas. This debate over amount or strength of roots reveals that roots refer not just to ethnicity, but also to *domestic and local belonging*. Following from the language socialization literature (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1986), I take language practices to link both types of belonging. One may have no real concern for Pedi identification, yet hold on to his/her roots by speaking the language of his/her elders and following customs associated with "home." A handful of participants, however, disclaim any affinity or use for roots: for them, English serves all meaning-making purposes.

Second, I consider what placement and location have to do with balancing, or the social appearance of balancing. The participants, all high school graduates, are mostly interested in working in cities or towns, in jobs that require English. The resulting

challenge, then, is to keep one's roots while doing this (a primary way being through speaking the home language) and in such a way that does not index and thus position oneself as a "tribalist." There are key differences in how each group conceptualizes the other, particularly in regard to how effective they are at balancing. The role of "centering" institutions (Blommaert, 2005) in balancing, namely the home and the university, is also highlighted.

According to the participants' discourse, the code choice event appears to be fraught with deontological ambiguity and/or conflict about what must or should be done. To further understand how participants say they and others manage this ambiguity and/or conflict, in Chapter 6 (the second analysis chapter), I first look at what participants describe as necessary code choices, which seem to avoid the complexity above. I look at the three instances in which the participants assert that a particular type of code is necessary: using one's home language with elders, using English as a lingua franca in situations of sociolinguistic diversity, and using English for literacy practices.

By investigating the nuances of these putative necessities, I aim to demonstrate how they are highly ideologized. The participants' discourse suggests that framing certain language choices as necessary is one way appear to to strategically manage the aforementioned instability, erase deontological complexity, and, through justifications or excuses, absolve any perceived agency or responsibility for code choices that may index "undermining" or "uplifting" African languages or English. Further, I follow up with the argument that as language practices and the decision matrices about them change, so must the plausibility of certain justifications and excuses for code choices.

Chapter 7 comprises a discussion and summary of the main findings as presented in Chapters 5 and 6. The goal of this chapter is to connect the main findings to broader theoretical conversations. I include key issues about language ideologies and a discussion of the changing nature of the South African scene.

In the final chapter, 8, I draw implications from the findings: What do these findings mean for policy? What is the role of technology? What could these findings say about pedagogical practice?

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

The central research question of this dissertation is:

What can the discourse of recent high school graduates living in the Mankweng area tell us about how they are expanding their linguistic code repertoires to include more English, and how has this expansion affected their processes of individual and social identification?

As discussed in the introduction, this study has emerged from interests cultivated through a variety of experiences and studies since 2005. Initially, I wanted to learn more about what I saw as the increasing role of the written word in everyday interpersonal communication among Mankweng-area youth, and how this related to their increased usage of English and linked processes of identification. But during the course of my work in 2008, I was forced to make an important change in my conceptual framework for the current study; namely, that even though all participants said they often used their mobile phones for text-based communication, they emphasized *spoken* language practices far more than written language ("literacy") practices. I steered the focus group and interview participants to offer metalinguistic and metapragmatic commentary focused on *linguistic code choices* in spoken interactions.

I am addressing this conceptual shift here because it strongly relates to the kind of scholarly discussions I have had to familiarize myself with and join. I had to know certain

scholarly discussions to set up and conduct the study, but I had to know more as I proceeded with the analysis. In this chapter, I describe in detail both these discussions and my engagement with them.

These discussions can be thematically categorized as follows:

1. Youth in South Africa

2. The ideological mediation of language practices and choices

3. Individual and social differentiation, identification, and transformation

4. Scales of social organization and practice (rural/urban, global,/local, etc.)

5. Schools as European hegemonic institutions in rural African communities

Youth in South Africa

The analytical category of "youth" is relatively new to researchers in sociolinguistics, anthropology, and related fields (Bucholtz, 2002; Durham, 2000, p. 116; cf. linguistic studies by Eckert, 1999; Mendoza-Denton, 2007; Rampton, 1998).

The study of youth is especially worthwhile in the South African context, given the important role Black youth activism played in the recent demise of the apartheid government and rise of the African National Congress (ANC). Youth were key players in the fight against apartheid. The Soweto Riots of 1976–77 over the demand for English in schools is a prime example of the power of South African youth activism (inspired by both the ANC and the Black Consciousness Movement) (Everatt, 2000). Historically, Black youth have had a sizable political presence in the ANC (Soudien, 2003; Zegeye, 2004; cf. Diouf, 2003). The organization's Youth League (ANCYL) was the proving

ground for many of the future leaders of the ANC and, eventually, the country (Walshe, 1971). The Pan-African Congress has also long recognized the political power of youth. Leaders of student organizations are customarily recognized and involved in political dealings by the important political parties—for example, the current high profile ANCYL leader Julius Malema. Under the ANC government, youth in South Africa are legally empowered: the national Constitution grants children more explicit human rights than almost any other known democracy (RSA, 1996, Ch. 2, Section 28; NMF, 2005). Youth, as a group, have struggled for and achieved real political power in South Africa.

One question that may be asked, then, is whether there is still a "culture" of youth activism in South Africa? Or has it been replaced, as some authors suggest, by a culture of capitalist consumerism, globalism, and individualism? Contemporary South African scholars generally agree that prevalent youth cultures have flourished beyond the political in the wake of major social changes post-apartheid.[14]

Popular cultural forms in South Africa, as in most other parts of the world, drive and have been driven by youth expressions, values, and self-presentations. It is important to remember this regularity in light of the ANC-dominated South African political climate described above that promotes national unity (Comaroffs, 2004; Dolby, 2003; Durham, 2000; Nuttall, 2004).

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14 Youth cultures refer to experiences particular to adolescents and young adults that are regimented by consistent types of ideas and beliefs and activities, specific to domains (music, politics, etc.) on various spatial scales (local, national, global). The term, derived from cultural studies, has been criticized by some as too essentialist and static to account for the dynamism of practices and ideologies among groups (Bucholtz, 2002, p. 539). The culture concept itself has no shortage of critics as documented by Manzanella (2004, p. 345), yet it is still widely accepted, cf. Sahlins, 1995.

It can be noted that in today's South Africa, many youth are rediscovering their cultural heritages and simultaneously embracing a unified South African self-understanding that is multicultural, which honors local and or traditional heritage, but is also "Proudly South African." Soudien and others have pointed out the role that consumption of nationally produced goods and entertainment forms plays in this process of sociocultural unification (Dolby, 2003; Soudien, 2003 p. 68; cf. Comaroff, 2004). In fourth section of this chapter ("Scales of Social and Cultural Organization and Practice"), I discuss literature on how South African youth integrate this nationalist sensibility with their involvement in global flows of semiotic resources, with particular attention paid to the English language's place in these flows.[15]

To recap from above, research on the cultural and political interests of contemporary Black South African youth suggests that politics is less on their mind; the struggle is over, and it's time to reap the benefits (Comaroffs, 2005; Soudien, 2007). This study contributes to the already substantial literature on youth in South Africa by providing a much needed piece on South African youth who are not only coming from and living in a rural areas, particularly Limpopo, but are *positioned* as such (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; cf. Cook, 2002).

The role of the UL in the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement and the South African Student Organization (SASO) is very important and has been little discussed in recent relevant literature (cf. Nkomo et al., 2007, and Oxlund, 2010). For example, the university hosted the 1967 conference establishing the SASO in opposition to White

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15 For a critique of the "flows" metaphor—in favor of "points" and "nodes"—see Ferguson, 2006, p. 47).

dominance of the National Association of Students, the former presided over by Steve

Biko and Mamphela Ramphele (Nkomo, 1984). The university also expelled O. R. Tiro

after his incendiary commencement address in 1972 (see Appendix E.), in which he

directly confronted the mostly White administration for forcing Black parents to stand in

the back of University Hall while White administrators sat in front (ibid.; Jackson, 1975;

Nkondo, 1975; White, 1997).[16] Tiro is an important figure in South African student

resistance, as after his expulsion he taught secondary school in Soweto, inspiring local

youth resistance to the Afrikaans-Medium Decree of 1974, which mandated Afrikaans as

the medium of secondary school instruction (White, 1997). This resistance would

eventually lead to the Soweto Riots of 1976–77 and further consolidate youth influence

in the anti-apartheid struggle.

The university may be described as a place where different types of youth cultures

coexist. About 7 in 10 students at the university today come from rural villages and

townships in Limpopo (Nkomo, 2007, p. 165). The university, however, must

accommodate the marked ethnolinguistic differences among these Limpopo students as

well as those from outside the province, in a way congruent with its mission to be a

"world class university" and in the spirit of post-apartheid nationalism. English, then, is

the natural choice as the official university language. The university campus is a unique

location for the confluence of youth cultural formations, particularly regarding a

rudderless but still-inspired youth activism (cf. Oxlund, 2010). It can be debated whether

campus youth care more about "bashes," socializing, and keeping current with the latest

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16 This hall was renamed Tiro Hall in 2005. See Appendix E. for Tiro's well-known 1972
commencement speech at the university.

trends than exercising their political influence. Further studies would more fully explore these questions.

For this current study, it is important to explore the role of language practices in ideologically regimenting cultural forms particular to youth. Namely, how does choosing to use a certain linguistic code identify or position an individual as engaging in particular types of activities and taking particular stances?

The Ideological Mediation of Language Practices and Choices

Language practice plays a key role in social and individual processes of identification. This topic, particularly concerning South African youth, has attracted a large amount of scholarly attention, often with an emphasis on the sub-role of English language.[17] I argue, however, that this dissertation study can add to the literature in three important ways. First, nearly all of the relevant literature, with the exception of a handful of major articles,[18] is focused on youth in communities in or around major urban centers, such as Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Durban. Second, the literature has only recently begun to recognize the crucial new role of digital technologies in language practices— particularly literacy practices among South African youth—as well as ideologizations about those practices (e.g., Cook, 2004; Prinsloo & Snyder, 2007). Third, I argue that a language ideological framework would add much to research on youth language practices and their connection to other sociocultural practices and processes. This section focuses

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17 See Bangeni & Kapp, 2007; Cook, 2002, 2004; De Kadt, 2005; V. De Klerk, 2000; Dyers, 2008; Janks, 2003; Kapp, 2004; McKinney, 2007; Prinsloo & Snyder, 2007; Rudwick, 2008; and Stein, 1998.

18 E.g., Cook, 2002; some references to "rural areas" in Rudwick, 2008; Harries, 2001; and Rüther, 2002 from a historical point of view.

on the last-mentioned potential contribution, namely, the application of the language ideological framework.

It is argued that ideologies deserve a central place in this research because they mediate how people reflect on and use languages, signs, and sociocultural identifications. Further, inasmuch as the participants in this study are leading innovation in language use, they are reformulating and tinkering with language ideologies. Language ideologies themselves provide the means for construing the objects of one's intentionality; languages are not simply out there in the world waiting to be discovered, as a realist (or in Hacking's [1999] terms, "inherent-structuralist") ontology would dictate. This is an advantage of the language ideological framework over that of language attitudes (Coupland et al., 2004), one that is particularly apt for this study on a new generation of educated South African youth who are increasing their usage of English in a rural South African township and environs.

Eagleton's definition of ideology provides a starting point: "a body of meanings and values encoding certain interests" (2007: 45). Ideology in this definition is less akin to Engels' "false consciousness" (cf. Woolard 1998, p.16) than to the fairly neutral concept of a "set of ideas." Why *ideology*? After all, similar concepts exist to describe organized and shared sociocultural knowledge. Examples include the common *discourse* or *discursive formation* and *genre* (Bakhtin, 1981; Geertz, 1973; Hanks, 1996) from literary and cultural studies, or *schemata* Anderson (1977), *cultural models* (Holland and Quinn, 1987) and *mental modules* (Sperber, 1996) from cognitive perspectives. Using ideology has to do with disciplinary background and perspective, though many scholars in linguistic anthropology have found ideology's wide applicability very useful. The term

links ideas to cultural and semiotic processes, political economy, and power relations in a way that cognitivist construals tend not to (Gal, 1989; Woolard, 1998).

Further, how does the analyst determine the existence of an ideology? I propose below a further methodological explanation grounded in the language ideology literature for how I take interactional patterns, assumptions, implicatures, interactional positionings, reflections, explanations, and justifications (and sometimes, excuses; Austin, 1956)[19] about linguistic code choices to constitute important *sites* of language ideological production.

Eagleton notes, "nobody has ever clapped eyes on an ideological formation" (2007, p. 95). But as Judith Irvine explains (cf. Gal, 1992), gleaning from explicit attitudinal statements construable as "ideological" is not an adequate strategy for getting at ideology. The theoretical frame of language as social action helps us transcend this limited lens:

> Investigation of language ideologies will require moving beyond the mere recording of informants' explicit statements of sociolinguistic norms, for beliefs and ideational schemes are not contained by a person's explicit assertions of them. Instead some of the most important and interesting aspects of ideology lie behind the scenes, in assumptions that are taken for granted—that are never explicitly stated in any format that would permit them also to be explicitly denied. As Silverstein (1979 and elsewhere) has suggested, the best place to look for language ideology may lie in the terms and presuppositions of metapragmatic discourse, not just in its assertions (2001, p. 25).

On these overlapping concerns about ideological epistemology and ontology, Eagleton clarifies that ideologies do not emerge from the ether, nor are purely in the analyst's mind: "deeply persistent beliefs have to be supported to some extent, however

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19 Austin, in summary, calls explaining oneself in the absence of an accusation a justification, and defending oneself against an accusation an excuse (1956, pp. 1–3).

meagerly, by the world our practical activity discloses to us" (2007, p. 12).[20] What

Eagleton implies here is that ideologies—which from a Marxian and functionalist

perspective comprise both individually held and culturally shared ideas *and their*

associated practices[21]—also have a durability and resistance independent of the

interloping analyst, which makes them available as objects of research (Irvine, 2001, p.

24; cf. Keane, 2003). Further, linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists, adopting the

language ideological framework, also stress the need for scholars to reflect on their own

ideological production as they locate and construct the objects of their research in the

field (Philips, 2000; Wee, 2006). When an analyst claims to have grasped an ideology in

the field, it is in some ways a reflection of the analyst's ideologies. This brings us back to

the point made above that language ideologies are involved in the ideological

construction of linguistic phenomena themselves; the analytical focus, then, rests not just

on what appears to be overt evaluations of objects that already exist "out there" but on

how those very objects are constituted through language ideology (Bauman & Briggs,

2003, p. 266; cf. Silverstein, 1979).

This study relies on the premise that language ideologies mediate the participants'

descriptions of choice events.

The language ideological framework is also useful because it offers a theoretical

grasp on how linguistic and social differentiation co-establish one another interactionally.

Ideologies do more than reflect or link social differences, they are essential mechanisms

of *creating* and sustaining them (Gal, 1998; Irvine & Gal, 2000). Following Irvine's 1989

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20 A further question for another study, in the words of Thompson, is "why do ideologies 'stick', and what makes them susceptible to change?" (Thompson, 1984, p. 132, quoted in Eagleton 2007, p. 195).

21 See Gal, 1992, pp. 445–6; cf. Williams, 1977 and compare discussion in Philips, 1998, pp. 215–6.

definition, ideology "links the nature of linguistic differentiation and social differentiation" in a multilingual environment such as rural Limpopo; that is, such differentiations are co-constituted. This entails that a change outside of the language situation itself, according to Irvine, can effect a change in how people reify language, adopt, and formulate linguistic categories; evaluate linguistic phenomena; and, of course, use language to communicate (cf. Gal, 1979). From this perspective, the literature suggests that participants' talk about linguistic code choices may also inform about trajectories (Wortham, 2006) of personal transformation over time and across locations and about the role of communication technologies that encourage text communication, such as the cellular phone (Horst & Miller, 2006).

In addition to how situational factors may motivate particular linguistic code choices, there is also the consideration of the social consequences of making such choices. Here, the concept of *indexicality* takes center stage as a major theoretical contribution to the study's conceptual framework. Indexicality is a quality of certain signs of physical phenomena to stand for something else, a quality that is strongly determined by shared understandings. Further, these shared understandings could be more or less culturally and ideologically determined. For example, the smell of smoke could index the actual presence of burning, but beyond this first order of indexicality, any meanings made would be more ideologically or culturally construed. As much as they are shared, however, meanings are also perspectively based and always partial (Woolard, 1998, p. 10). This goes for ideologies in general: asBucholtz and Hall put it, "ideologies are rarely monotonic" (2008, p. 156).

Relating this ordering to language use, indexicality in linguistic code choice works on two levels: referential and non-referential. Referential communication means that which is intended by choosing certain words, including their meaning-potentials, in discourse. Non-referential communication means that which may or may not be intentionally communicated beyond semantics or grammar, but rather, *pragmatics*. I use non-referential indexicality here to bring attention to how linguistic code choice can itself be "marked" (Myers-Scotton, 1993) in a certain way according to shared understandings and how awareness of this marking can be used for communicating something beyond (though never fully excluding) reference. From this point, we can delve further into the workings of pragmatics and intentionality, namely implicatures and assumptions embedded in linguistic code choices (Fairclough, 2003; Grice, 1975) and thus the role of ideology in mediating them (Woolard, 2004).

What this means, then, is that in certain situations, certain choices of linguistic code will generate certain potential indexical sign relations, largely independent of referential intentions. As discussed in Chapter 5, certain ethnic identifications among the participants on campus are understood in certain ways. Thus choosing a linguistic code associated with a particular identification or social differentiation involves the deployment and reproduction of certain language ideologies.

For example, responding to a Northern Sotho address in Tsonga is a highly salient code choice, which indexes the responder as a certain kind of person, according to a wide variety of considerations (whether they are friends and it is a joke, whether it is a confrontation, whether it is because of a lack of Northern Sotho expertise, etc.). In sum,

language ideologies provide the "instructions" by which indexicality works socially (Hanks, 1996).

Early sociolinguists of the "functional turn" of the 1960s talked about the use of multiple linguistic codes or varieties in terms of "diglossia". , . According to Ferguson, diglossia originally referred to "two or more varieties of the same language used by some speakers under different conditions," whereby one variety functions as high-prestige (H) and another as low prestige (L) (Ferguson, 1959, p. 325). As Hudson documents, there has been considerable debate about this extension to relationships among varieties not considered part of the "same" linguistic code or even of different registers (2002, pp. 12–14; cf. Errington, 1991).[22] Most functional sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists, however, take a broader view. As Hornberger explains, Fishman (1967, p. 29) "later extended the concepts of diglossia and of functional specialization (differentiation) to include not only varieties of one language but different languages" (1989, p. 289, n.4; cf. Gumperz, 1962). Fishman and others have noted that the H code needs to be learned in school because it is nobody's first language (Hudson, 2002, pp. 7, 13; cf. Irvine, 1989, p. 256; Pauwels, 1986, p. 15). Applying the conservative "classical diglossia" view of Ferguson would rule out English usage in the Mankweng area as diglossic; the broader view of Fishman (and many others) would include such usage.[23]

Taking Fishman's view of diglossia, then, another concept from this literature may be applied productively to the Mankweng situation: "functional differentiation" of varieties

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22 Variations occur according to situation of use and/or expected social role; see Halliday, 1964, §4. Contrasted by Halliday with dialect, as "variation by user" (p. 76). Cf. Halliday, 1975, p. 856-858.

23 Fishman's dissent was part of a much broader growth of functional approaches to language that effectively replaced Ferguson's view. See Hudson (2002) for review.

in a diglossic situation, whereby "compartmentalization" of function, or division of labor

between language varieties may ward off language shift[24]That is, the H variety (in the

Mankweng area, English) would only be compartmentalized by specialized function in

daily use, such as formal institutional settings (e.g., the workplace, schools, courtrooms,

etc). This is widely applicable, but a recent usage in Street (2003), citing Hull and Schultz

(2002), concerning literacy practice in and out of school is most appropriate to this study.

Street ties Hull and Schultz's "respectful division of labor" between in- and out-of-

school literacy practices back to Dewey's widely known critique of a strict division of

labor (Street, 2003, p. 83). Applied to the situation in rural South African areas, like

Mankweng, this division of labor takes on a much broader significance.

The English language has long been highly restricted to formal settings in the region,

including in the Mankweng area. As highlighted above, most usages of English and

Afrikaans in South Africa have historically been restricted to formal (e.g., schooling or

employment) interactional contexts, nearly always involving Whites, especially in rural

areas (Alexander, 1999; Kamwangamalu, 2003; Lestrade, 1934/1967, pp. 106–108).

Further, however, due to settlement from the "Great Trek" in the early 1800s, nearly all

White South Africans in the Northern Transvaal have historically been Afrikaner

(Pollock & Agnew, 1963). Thus the most common "White" language in the region has

long been Afrikaans. Bantu Education policies banned missionary education and

promoted African language and Afrikaans education at the expense of English education

(either as subject or medium). This made English education in the region even rarer post-

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24 See Fishman, 1967; cf. "domain," 1971, p. 248; 1991; Gumperz, 1971; Spolsky & Irvine, 1982; cf.
Hudson, 2002, p. 7.

apartheid. Most homeland governments modified their language-in-education policies in the 1960s and 1970s to promote English language learning from grade 4 on (Hartshorne, 1995, p. 378); lack of qualified teachers, however, prevented effective implementation of this policy.[25] More fundamentally, lack of daily use opportunities in the rural homeland environment—characterized by limited electricity, transportation, and media access—has prevented English from being widely used.

On the whole, then, the historical basis for the association of English with public-literacy-schooling-Whiteness is solid, based on the secondary historical data cited above. Missionary development of orthographies, printing of religious works, and so forth, however, were never meant to do anything but facilitate religious work (Mears, 1934/1967) and did not result in a widespread culture of writing or literary consumption (Maake, 2000). As Lestrade writes, "Literacy in African languages was promoted to varying degrees by missionaries, but was never considered anything but a means to evangelical ends" (1934/1967, p. 107; cf. MacKenzie, 1993, p. 55). And although literacies were practiced by some—e.g., local men having returned from the mines with a missionary education (Harries, 2001; Hofmeyr, 1993; MacKenzie, 1993; cf. Prinsloo, 1999)—they were never widespread, no matter the language.

Supporting this secondary literature on the national and local legacy of missionary and apartheid education are interview and survey data from a 2006 pilot study with 103 adult learners, almost all females (average age 42), from the Capricorn and Mopani districts (Babson, Wagner & Sirinides, 2007.). Twenty-six participated in individual

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25 The Lebowa homeland, including the Mankweng area, adopted a similar policy in 1971; cf. Hartshorne, 1995

interviews. Corroborating the results of a major recent research study on rural education in South Africa (NMF, 2005, p. 37–40), participants associated reading and writing with English and, further, were discouraged from school at a young age because of parental objection to the education of girls (NMF, 2005, p. 38–39, 44–45). General themes in participants' responses revolved around the traditional role of girls to take care of domestic and pastoral chores and get married as soon as possible. Any other option, including school (which was for boys), was equivalent to a waste of time or money, or even immoral. One respondent, age 64, spoke for a number of others when she noted, "Our parents did not allow us to go to school, school was for boys only."

This situation persists to this day, but it has been changing rapidly since the end of apartheid, along with so many other aspects of social life. Sociocultural linguistic scholars have long construed language as central to the maintenance and reproduction of social structures (Boudieu & Passeron, 1977; Gumperz, 1962; Hill, 1985; Irvine, 1989), personal and communal agency (Gal, 1989; Duranti, 2004), and culture itself (Sapir, 1949), thus language is central to any social and/or cultural analysis (Bucholtz & Hall, 2008). Language as political cause has a long history in South Africa, exemplified by the fight to establish Afrikaans as a language (Giliomee, 2003b), the Soweto riots (see above and Chapter 4), the increase in African language television shows, or the elimination of Afrikaans instruction from regional schools. From this perspective, it is perhaps not surprising to claim that post-apartheid, some longstanding and stable functional differentiations have shifted.

The central argument of this dissertation, however, is that linguistic code choices are dynamically related to this differentiation, both constitutive of and consequent to it. In

this way, researching what youth say about their literacy practices and choices provides a window into this differentiation, and how understanding changes in this differentiation may in turn help to explain sociocultural variation and change.

A language ideological framework also allows for attention to be placed on issues of language practice and power (Philips, 1998; 2004), and on how common discourses of hegemony may be contested (Fairclough, 2003; Gal, 1989, p. 360). This is important given the recent political history of South Africa, especially of the local area of concern in this study—a former Bantustan township and site of long-term Lutheran missionary activity. Meek, in her research on Native American youth language ideologies, argues that many studies neglect the possibility of an "alternative hegemony" or "an emergence or articulation of a (local indigenous) ideology that is not necessarily in reaction or retaliation to a dominant regime" (2007, p. 36; cf. Philips, 1998; Williams, 1977, p. 107). This may entail problematizing the notion of postcolonial Western (linguistic) hegemony as entirely negative, or youth powerlessness against the imposition of English as a hegemonic semiotic resource. The linguistic anthropological literature cited above provides examples of how the emphasis can be shifted to the new types of power available to youth post-apartheid that were unavailable pre-1994.

This research may also contribute to the literature related to semiotic and linguistic specialization of function as discussed by Fishman (1974) and others. The work of Ahearn on literacy practices in Nepal (2004) comes to mind here. In parallel with this work from Ahearn, opportunities for frequent and interpersonal literacy practices in the Mankweng area seem to have rapidly and exponentially increased recently due to the

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cellular phone, in contrast to the mostly public or official uses of literacy of the past.[26]

The work of Horst and Miller on cellular phone usage in Jamaica and its central function

in negotiating interpersonal relationships is of special relevance here (2006). The choice

of using a language ideological framework needs to be made with the recognition of other

prevalent frameworks among African sociolinguists, and other models of meaning-

making. First, a social semiotic perspective has influenced South African scholarship on

language, which emphasizes that language is but one of many sign systems that can

function as resources for meaning-making (Halliday, 1978).[27] This echoes, but does not

explicitly reference, a Peircean definition of semiosis as an ongoing process of sign-

relating, and brings attention to the complex differentiation between sign, object, and

interpretation (Keane, 2003; Parmentier, 1993, pp. 3–5).[28]

Despite complementarity, little South African work to date has integrated the

language ideological framework;[29] this study aims to illustrate how the framework might

contribute to existing literature on youth reflections, stances, and choices about using

linguistic codes.

Yet accepting the congruent tenets of both Hallidayan and Peircean semiotic

traditions, if language is just one mode of meaning-making among many, then what other

26 The previously gathered data from BFI interviews of adult learners may especially assist in making this point.

27 At the time of this research in 2008, most South African scholars of youth language practices appeared particularly influenced by Hallidayan functional linguistic tradition. Methodologically, the British Marxist school of critical discourse analysis (CDA) of N. Fairclough (2003) and R. Wodak et al. (2001, 2003) has also been influential.

28 According to Peirce, there is a basic fixed set of three-way processes of sign relation: iconic, indexical, and symbolic (Peirce, 1955, pp. 98-119; cf. Parmentier, 2002, 2005). Peircean semiotics should be contrasted with the continental semiotic tradition of Barthes, Saussure et al. (Parmentier, 2002, p. 291).

29 Presentations at a recent conference in Cape Town, January 2011, suggest this framework is becoming more common.

kinds of ideologies of sign systems should be accounted for? Or, what ideologies can be identified that inform people how to categorize different modes of semiotic practice? Addressing these questions, Keane's notion of ideologies of sign systems, or *semiotic ideology,* is premised on the idea that language is a special sign system, but ideologies about language are conceptually limited—a point based at least partially on a Derridean and Pericean account of sign relations that de-privileges language as a semiotic system (Keane, 2003, p. 412; cf. Derrida, 1976; Lemke, 1998). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I have chosen to use language ideology in this study because the focus of my research is on linguistic code choice and identification.

As described in the first section of this chapter, I place this study in the context of other recent studies asserting that youth play a vital, leading role in changing patterns of linguistic code choice. I discuss in the final section of this chapter and in Chapter 4 the role of Western schooling, and specifically, language education, in providing and structuring the conditions for the emergence of changes in code repertoires (and how Western schooling and language education do not necessarily determine such changes). However, I also contend that youth agency in these changes must be considered. In the Mankweng area of today, choosing to use English, rather than a "home" language, is an empowered and educated act of identification, and because of the economic and cultural power of English on multiple social scales, it is also a step toward realizing personal aspirations. I explore these issues more fully in the next section.

Identification, Aspiration and Potential Transformation

Taking Brubaker and Cooper's 2000 article "Beyond Identity" as a guide, identity in this study is operationalized as a process rather than a state. *Identification, positioning*

(Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), *self-definition*, and *self-understanding* are preferred (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, pp. 14–16). In this way, the essentializing and semantically overburdened "identity" doesn'tdoes not muddy the rhetorical waters unnecessarily, and it has the added bonus of identifying some determinate agent, the Self, behind an open and indeterminate process.[30] This processual view of identity links well with a Bakhtinian view of identity as linked to others, which may be analyzed through the prism of heteroglossia (1981; cf. Garrett, 2005, pp. 332–335); Koven, 2007; Woolard, 2004).

In this study, the *performative* aspects of identification are emphasized.

A mimetic element of identification has special implications in the postcolony, as articulated by many well-known scholars.[31] For youth in Limpopo, this means that although they may have respect for and attachment to their languages and cultures, many of them, as suggested by some of the recent literature on youth elsewhere in the country (Bangeni & Kapp, 2007; Dyer, 2008; Rudwick, 2008), may desire to be free to choose among a variety of languages, including global languages and forms, e.g. American hip-hop and *kwaito*.[32] It is of prime interest in this study just how different the balancing act among cultural influences (Rampton, 2005) might be for youth in the Mankweng area.

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30 Though the unitary "Self" has been problematized from several important perspectives, notably Bakhtin and Foucault (cf. Werbner & Ranger, 1996 for more). Cf. also Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, p. 8. Cf. Comaroffs, 2001 for a South African and British social anthropological perspective.

31 See Benjamin, 1999; Bhabha, 1994; Fanon, 1967; Girard, 1966 "mimetic desire"; Taussig, 1993; cf. Ferguson, 2002; Kulick, 2005; Maran, 2003.

32 Evident from both local research leading to this study, as well as South African research cited above, preference for cultural forms, whether African or Anglo-European, is not a given. Trends suggest the social preference for choice and hybridity.

A fruitful avenue for research for this study is the link between performance and identification.[33] The literature on youth and identification in South Africa suggests that the consumerist, neo-liberal model of individuality and self-authorship is prevalent (Comaroffs, 2000; Durham, p. 117; cf. Geertz 1986). To use a comparative example from the United States, Cutler (2004, p. 435) discusses how White teens appropriate the speech styles of Black youth in their processes of identification, as if consuming (Lukose, 2005) or accessing a material and symbolic semiotic resource for the purposes of identification (Maran, 2003; Mertz, 2007, p. 345; Shaw, 1994).

In this study, I attend to a heretofore under-researched dynamic of linguistic code choice and identification: emotion.[34] Specifically, two concepts from the recent work are of interest for this study: 1) the degree and quality of emotional attachment to a language, and 2) Kellman's (2000) concept of "emancipatory detachment," whereby L2 + users of a language achieve a type of freedom from the emotional detachment offered by competence in a language other than one's mother tongue.[35]

Identification in this study is examined through the above theoretical lenses, with the literature and preliminary analyses suggesting that, using English as a semiotic resource, most South African youth hope to be the authors of their own self-definition (Bangeni & Kapp, 2007; McKinney, 2007). For the Mankweng-area youth in this study, this freedom

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33 See Askew, 2002; Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Kuipers, 1990; Kulick, 2005; Lemon, 2002; Rampton, 1998.

34 See Pavlenko (2005) for an extensive new treatment and review. This topic has been fairly recently addressed anthropologically by, among others, Besnier (1990, 1993), Irvine (1990), Kulick (1998), and Lutz (1988).

35 As I elaborate in Chapter 3, this "emancipatory detachment" provided by English also applies to me as an English-speaking researcher, as it frees me from the necessity of fumbling through the focus groups and interviews with imperfect Northern Sotho.

of choice is modulated by financial constraints but also by a desire for stability, belonging, and in certain cases, ethnic pride. To urban youth, a strong marker of being rural is a limitation of the aforementioned self-authorship, and one important limitation is the lack of English as a semiotic resource for identification—which results from other structural factors such as lack of good education, and other semiotic ecological (geographical isolation) and technological (lack of transportation or mass media) resources. All of these differences result in vast differences in "life-chances" between many so-called "rural" and "urban" youth (Shaw, 1994, p. 91; cf. NMF, 2005). Class should not be overlooked in such an analysis; in fact, it is an equally effective, and sometimes more accurate, frame for understanding life-chance differences than the rural-urban descriptor. How place and class are bound together is of prime importance to the comparison between university and local-area students (further explored in Chapter 5 of this study), who may differ quite a bit in how they talk about themselves and their aspirations (Mesthrie, 2008b). Equally of interest on this topic is the literature on homeland policies and how they aimed to solidify the connections between place, "race," and class (urban/White/middle class) (Banks, 1994; Cox et al. 2000; Harries, 1989; Horrell, 1971).

A critical engagement of the motif of aspiration and potential transformation figures prominently in this study. "Development," "civilization," and similar aspirational motifs are already immanent in educational discourse; colonialism and missionization redouble this effect, as might be recognizable in religious discourses equating literacy and Christianity with salvation and illiteracy and "paganism" with sin (Harries, 2001). Black

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African youth currently enjoy an unprecedented opportunity to exercise democratic rights in South Africa and aspire to new types of sociocultural and personal transformation.

A young rural person's desire to escape to the big city is hardly a novel concept. Economically motivated urban migration among aspiring youth is in fact a global and historical pattern and, currently, no more common in South Africa than on the African continent (Diouf, 2003). The promise of a better life in a post-*apartheid* society, however, has proven to be a mere illusion for many youth due to serious macroeconomic and social problems. Roughly 20% of the under-35 population is unemployed, almost 2/3 of which are women, and further, world-leading crime rates and prevalence of HIV (Everatt 2000: 21; Sayed et al., 2003). The rate of change in South Africa, however, has created a well-documented atmosphere of ebullience, even a carefree attitude among many youth; a number of authors have characterized the social terrain as one of possibility and danger (Comaroffs, 2002, 2004; Durham, 2000; Flanagan, 2008; Soudien, 2003).

The economic realities of the Limpopo region, however, contravene any Panglossian claims that such change is sweeping, or that the participants are generating "new ethnicities" (Hall, 1997; cf. Bucholtz, 2002, p. 538), or that they are fully riding the wave of "fluid modernity" (Z. Bauman, 2001, p. 23; Silverstein in Woolard, 2004, p. 91 n8; cf. Sindjoun, 2002, p. 19). Further, as Bucholtz points out, this process of change is likely anything but straightforward or easy for the participants:

> The impact of modernity and economic restructuring ("development") on youth in societies previously organized in other ways is often thought to give rise to psychological stress of a kind not unlike that associated with youth in industrialized societies. … [T]he difficulties believed to be endemic to this stage of life, however, may appear to be compounded among adolescents in societies undergoing rapid cultural change because such young people also face tensions

between tradition and innovation. … (Not to mention) the stress of competition for educational access and the social mobility it promises (2002, pp. 529–530).[36]

But inasmuch as youth are perennially associated with growth, and that right now there is an exceptional confluence of sociocultural, technological and economic innovation and growth apace in South Africa (and Limpopo Province in particular), it is safe to say that the young participants of the study have more opportunities and agency to create an alternative social order to that of their forebears (ibid.).[37]

One might also ask what some of the trade-offs of individual aspirations might be for communities at large. Accounts of traditional rural South African life reflect a gerontocratic scene, wherein elders grapple for control over the life trajectories of youth.[38] Although this picture has changed considerably, in some rural areas elders consider schooling a departure from tradition and a rupture of local social cohesion because it accelerates the process of urban flight for a a wider range of employment options. As Chisholm has shown in her extensive study of rural education, however, the overall picture on elders' attitudes is far from clear. This elder-ambivalence toward education in rural South Africa is important to this study, as it has played a significant role in motivating the research (Babson, Wagner, Sirinides, 2007). The educated rural youth participating in this study are enjoying new freedoms, but their research responses and interactions hardly suggest that they are flouting traditional shackles and snubbing the ancestors.

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36 For a brief but rare and detailed accounting of these issues for rural South African youth in the mid-1980s, see Molefo, 1986.

37 Of special interest here is Likert scale questionnaire item 16, "I believe I have better opportunities for success than my elders did when they were my age" (1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree). For all 48 participants, the average score was 4.76. See Appendix D.

38 See Chisholm, 2005; Kirkaldy, 2005; Mayer, 1964; Ngwane, 2001; cf. Wortham, 2006.

The "conversion" motif of potential transformation is an important part of educational

discourse in South Africa, and no more acute than in English education for Black South

Africans. English education not only enables one to competently communicate referential

content in English but also to use the English language in a culturally competent way.

Acquiring English language expertise means acquiring a quiver of powerful culturally

shared indexes that not only directly improve one's actual life chances in terms of higher

employment probability, but also improve one's ability to wield a believable "English-

speaker" persona.[39] In rural Limpopo Province, however, learning and using English can

lead to negative social labeling. One such label post-apartheid has been "coconut",

referring to a Black person who, through a kind of language and lieftsyle-driven

transformation, becomes "white on the inside" (cf. Stevens & Lockhat, 1997; Mesthrie,

2008b; Rudwick, 2008).

Recent research suggests that English is viewed as essential to the aspirations of

South African youth, not just in terms of economic mobility and social climbing, but also

other positive *personal* states and attributes (Bangeni & Kapp, 2007; Rudwick, 2008).

This dissertation contributes to this literature, specifically in relation to the above-

discussed history of rural marginalization in South Africa. In the last section of this

chapter, and more fully in Chapter 4, I explore the role of educational institutions in

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39 In my study, I am making the provisional argument that education in rural South Africa is still taken to be a kind of conversion, of which English language education is the prime example. From my observations, and as will be suggested in the analyses, realizing aspirations and potential transformation through learning and using English appears to resemble the charismatic Christian conversions that are, coincidentally, popular among young belonging to African independent churches (such as the enormous Zion Christian Church, based on Moria, adjacent to Mankweng).

providing and structuring the conditions for English language education, and thus English-based self-definition and potential transformation.

Scales of Social Organization and Practice: Rural/urban, global/local, etc.

Of major concern in this dissertation is the organization of social spaces or how people organize themselves and reflect upon this self-organization across multiple scales—for example, rural, urban, village, township, province, nation, tribe, Africa, etc. The power to hold land or decide where to live is closely linked to agency over self-definition and self-location. As will be more lengthily explained in Chapter 4, European hegemonies knew this and were highly concerned with how to control indigenous Africans by revoking or restricting land ownership and enforcing particular forms of social organization according to new, self-serving conceptions of location in physical space (Hofmeyr, 1993; Scott, 1995).

Under the forced relocation schemes of the apartheid government, African residents of urban areas were forced back into the "native reserves" in rural areas. The borders of these "reserves" (which apartheid leaders renamed "ethnic homelands" or "Bantustans") were tightly controlled, which resulted in very high population density.[40] Further, movement to and from Bantustans was also highly controlled. The Bantu Education system was intentionally under-resourced, as were infrastructural systems and, by extension, access to mass media. Bantustan denizens were intentionally cut off from the political, economic, and cultural modulations of White South Africa, inasmuch as White South Africa was fully part of the world economy, the outside world.

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[40] Mankweng was constructed as a *Bantoedorp* or "Bantu-town" in the late 1950s and thus served as a kind of rural service hub (see Ch. 1).

The end of White control over physical mobility, location, and land tenure began with the repeal or modification of select apartheid laws in the 1970s and 1980s and was further solidified by the move to ANC rule in 1994. Though this process is not complete (James, 2005), what is clear is that Black South Africans have more legal control over their physical mobility and land tenure now than since the first European incursions in the seventeenth century.

How young people outside of major urban areas and/or in provinces such as Limpopo (which are widely characterized as "rural" in the research literature) are taking advantage of these changes has hardly been explored. Thus, this study aims to make this contribution.

Another potential contribution of the current study is that it focuses on the agency of the participants to define types of social spaces and their interrelation, for example, this village or region vs. another, a city vs. a village, Joburg vs. the UL campus, and so forth. Returning to the power of code choice to index oneself as a kind of individual, it follows that places are also defined or even produced through linguistic code choice. For example, in Chapter 6, there is a prominent theme: namely, the necessity of using the "mother tongue" or home language in the physical space of the family dwelling. Using a significant amount of English (however that is ideologized) in this space may have the power to indexically deconstruct the space as a place of domestic and village or even tribal cultural continuity; conversely, using the home language in this space may have the power to reproduce sociocultural continuity.[41]

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41 As will be briefly explored in chapter 6, there are social consequences to not managing the potential of code choice to index oneself as a particular person to particular others.

What must also be considered in this conversation is how the affordances of telephony, mass media, and now Internet-based communication technologies have introduced important new dynamics into the organization of social space. For example, the ability of a television owner in a "rural" village in Limpopo to watch a nationally, or internationally televised series, impossible during apartheid, partially throws into question the distal elements of the definition of "rural". Lurking also in this discussion is the linguistic mediation of this translocality through the usage of English in many national and most internationally syndicated television series. Not to mention the dominance of English language forms on the Web, and, as will be explored in Chapter 6, the participants' ideological associations of digital communication with the English language and its variations (cf. Crystal, 2007).

A key explanatory construct of this study for theorizing the increase in English language usage among recent high school graduates in the Manwkeng area is *globalization*. The term has been highly contested and debated, though Fairclough's definition provides a working model: "globalisation is the contemporary tendency for economic, political and social processes and relations to operate on an increasingly global scale" (2003, p. 217). However, *cultural* "processes and relations" may be added to this definition, given the focus on the linguistic and cultural choices of youth in this study. To this end, two bodies of literature are used: 1) English as a global language and 2) global cultural flows in the lives of youth.

Scholarship on the global usage of English, with particular attention on South Africa, includes little work on the place of the English language among rural South Africans, particularly in Limpopo (cf. Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Pennycook, 2006). It is through this

example that the image of the ethnically pure "rural" or "real" African is most effectively challenged, and this study posits with other researchers such as Cook (2009) and Makoni et al. (2007) that English language and literacy practices are common in rural areas. No community is a wellspring of "pure" ethnicity—e.g., "Tsonga-ness" or "Venda-nes" or "Pedi-ness"—wherein a pristine linguistic form equally pristinely expresses, in Herderian fashion, the essence of a group (Bauman & Briggs, 2000). There is hardly a place in South Africa where English semiotic forms are never encountered.[42] As a comparable regional example, Makoni shows that even in fairly remote areas of Zimbabwe, code-mixing and switching between English or another translocal code is the norm (2007). Essential for this analysis, however, is the role of language ideology to *construct* certain places and people as more authentic and "pure." The place where "deep" Sepedi is spoken, for example, is in Sekhukhuneland (about 100 miles south of Mankweng), and this place seems to obtain a common meaning as the center of "Pedi culture." These issues are explored further in Chapter 5.

Following on this discussion of ethnicity, technology, language, ideology, and English, and returning to the notion of youth cultures in the first section of this chapter, some researchers have alluded to how rural youth take part in the activities of national and global "youth cultures" in generally different ways than urban youth (Cook, 2009; Diouf, 2003; Mbembe et al., 2004; cf. Rudwick, 2008). Little fine-grained research, however, has been done in South Africa on how this may be. Relevant for this study is how this urban-rural difference, as well on other salient social differences, are both re-

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42 The distorted "noble savage" depictions of San people in the pro-apartheid South African film *The gods must be crazy* is an apt, albeit extreme, illustration of this point.

created and re-defined in the Turfloop area.[43] UL students come from all over the region, the country, and the continent, including cities such as Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg, as well as other African countries such as Botswana, Moçambique, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. The cultural differences between rural, urban, and international high school graduates living in the area is salient to this study's larger discussion about linguistic code choice among these youth. Although specific youth cultures in South Africa range widely, the large-scale globalizing forces shape their basic organization (Strelitz, 2004). Specific cultures are nationally distinctive yet recognizably global, and often associated with music: house music, hip-hop, *kwaito,* goth and techno/rave social scenes have their distinctive South African flavor, incorporating local artists into the mix of brand-names that define the global genres (Dolby, 2003; Mhlambi, 2004; Steingo, 2005).

On the other hand, at the time of this dissertation fieldwork in 2008, prime time multilingual hit soapies, including *Scandal, Isidingo, Rhythm City* and the most popular, *Generations*, appeal widely, and demonstrate a desire to have freedom of choice; the freedom when to code-switch is a metonym for freedom to choose modes of identification **(**Heller, 1995; Koven, 2007). In light of this, to speak of Anglophone cultural hegemony is to miss the central point in understanding how South African youth today are building and performing their life-narratives. There is the omnipresent multilingual TV show, but there is also the increasingly popular multilingual radio talk show (such as "The Morning Drive Show" on Capricorn FM, which mixes Sepedi,

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43 Relating to ideology and scale, one possibility is to use the construct of "fractal recursivity" to discuss ideological flows and on multiple scales (Irvine & Gal, 2000).

Tswana, and English), and the ubiquitous practice of multilingual text-messaging and Internet chat (such as MXit™) that characterize an energetically hybrid array of language practices, among youth of nearly all social strata, even in the poor and mostly rural Limpopo Province.

This latter point is important, given the observation that youth in capitalist economies seem to be able to catch on to and even drive the speed of social change (Cook, 2004; Moje, 2002, p. 212; cf. Virilio, 2005). It is perhaps this perception on the part of researchers that adolescents and youth are the "early adopters" of new technologies that influences the constitution of youth and their practices as an axis of research on globalization phenomena (Barnett, 2004; Cook, 2004; Flanagan, 2008; Omoniyi, 2006; Strelitz, 2004). New cultural forms from the UK and the U.S., for example, both unify and divide young South Africans. Afrikaner- and English-heritage youth consume these forms to some extent as an exercise in self-identification and differentiation as ethnic minorities (Lukose, 2005; Nuttall 2004), while almost a majority of youth (with notable exceptions) admire and enjoy such English cultural forms (such as the language itself, U.S. and UK pop music and TV shows, etc.) and want to have a strong knowledge of American and British current events (Barnett, 2004; Hibbert, 2004). What makes this unity through desire for U.S. and UK cultural forms special, however, is that such cultural dominance seems at odds in the current post-colonial and post-apartheid South African moment (Nuttall, 2004, p. 442).

This brings attention back to English as a globalizing force. English is not just a linguistic code but a multifaceted sign carrying an abundance of meaning-making

potentials.[44] These meaning-making potentials are especially wide-ranging, given the global prevalence of English language use and the diverse conditions that have given rise to both this wide prevalence and local variations thereof.

English is still considered the world's regnant lingua franca, a language in many places associated with both the pursuit and attainment of social status. The position of English as perhaps *the* global language is a result of not only British and American imperialism but also a number of other financial and cultural factors, understood together under that nebulous but useful umbrella term "globalization." So, English's position is not only the result of colonial history, and/or reasons of practical choice, but reasons of indexical value—that is, the capacity to be socially construed in certain interactions as cool, prestigious, modern, etc.

The semiotic values of English at the local level are never entirely separate from the values of English at other levels. Irvine and Gal's "fractal recursivity" (2000) provides one model for understanding these multi-level phenomena (cf. Lemke, 1995). The ideologically bound relation of "English hegemony—local marginalization," for example, can be seen to play out on multiple social scales. Local rejection of such relations deserves closer attention because it can highlight the importance of the above scholars' anti-unilinearity. For example, Spolsky and Irvine (1982), speaking of the Hopi, have pointed out that (borrowing from Voeglin 1959), it is possible that English can be limited to culturally less important functions (conveying "just information") or English loan words can be used rather than local translations, thus "keeping the native word to be used in its purity for the native object" (1982, p. 75). This is a planful and empowered usage of

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44 Special thanks to Pippa Stein for our conversations on this topic.

English rather than a passive or coerced one, and to go for low-hanging fruit, a kind of resistance to a "colonization of consciousness."

The above multi-scale, fractal models of the meaning-making potential of English can be usefully contrasted with Braj Kachru's model of concentrically organized World Englishes ("World" here is perhaps functioning as an exoticizer, much in the vein of "World music"). As Bucholtz and Hall (2008, p. 417) point out,

> Kachru's association of World Englishes with national boundaries carries its own set of problems, not the least of which is an inability to evaluate diverse, or even oppositional, materializations of English within a single-nation state. Such a position easily leads to an apolitical understanding of English as a structural or functional entity, devoid of the sociopolitical symbolics that bestow and deny privilege.

And yet there is still the issue of linguistic and social differentiation: What makes English "English"? What is the boundary between a heavily English-derived "local" code and a "World English"? Connected to this issue is the "brand" of each such "World English," each of which combines something locally distinct with a kind of universal Englishness, whatever that might be. These brands can serve to index one's class status or, as in Pennycook's work on the Japanese hip-hop scene (2004), affiliation with a superdiscourse, such as hip-hop, both atopic and firmly rooted, as Marcyliena Morgan has noted, in African American experience (1999).

Although, as stated above, there are instances whereby local usages of English do not simply recapitulate English hegemony, studies from a number of global perspectives[45] have shown that many English language learners and recently minted "non-learners" aim to reject non-standard "local" English to acquire and internalize the prestige standard

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45 See Crystal, 1999 for a general review, and Kamwangamalu, 2007 for a South Africa-oriented review.

brands of English (e.g., the King's English or SAE) and embody the personae often

associated with such brands.

Schools as European Hegemonic Institutions in Rural African Communities

As touched upon in the introductory chapter of the dissertation, pre-1994, schools served

historically as vehicles for hegemonic European ideologies, especially in rural

communities, including in the Northern Transvaal region (Althusser, 1971; Harries, 2001;

Kirkaldy, 2005; Hofmeyr, 2003; Paterson, 2005). Most scholars of South African

education agree that the issue of whether to follow the White man's schooling or promote

traditional African socialization has been a vital point of engagement or *site* for these

conflicts and collusions in South Africa since the beginning of European colonization

(Horrell, 1970; Kallaway, 1984; Malherbe, 1900). This cultural imposition was a direct

threat to the traditional cultural transmission and power structure of rural communities

(Bastian 2001; Coe, 2002; Comaroffs 1991; Kirkaldy, 2005; Ngwane, 2001; Ntsebeza,

2005).[46] Yet, by the same turn, this tradition/modernity binary has been used by local

elites for social and political gain. While profiting from Western schooling for social

mobility, many elites such as national politicians have also used the construction of

"traditional" to stake claim to rural roots and tribal authenticity (of which there could

hardly be a better example than current ANC President Jacob Zuma).

This tension between Western and traditional modes of education in the grappling for

control over youth life trajectories and thus social reproduction has changed since the end

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46 See the work of Kirsten Rüther, however, on the approach of the Berlin Missionary Society in the
Northern Transvaal to foster local syncretic appropriation of Lutheran values (2002; personal
communication).

of apartheid. Local power structures have adapted to local and global threats to authority in some of the ways described above (Ntsebeza, 2005). The shared understanding and value of schooling to rural South Africans must be understood in the context of an ongoing tension between tradition and Westernization, of local African versus translocal European military and economic power, but it must not be overstated or oversimplified (Ngwane, 2001, p. 404). Discussing this topic does not legitimate a simple binary of European civilization versus African barbarism, or in the words of Ngwane, of "Red versus Schooled, Traditionalists versus Modernizers" (2001, p. 403).[47] Ngwane rightly cites influential work showing how social reproduction and the consolidation of local power involved playing off of Western embellishment of the "African savage"/"European *civilisé*" dichotomy—a dichotomy with its roots in the legitimation of power (cf. Mayer, 1964). As Kirkaldy quotes Buchhorn: "In the era of colonisation, 'They are cannibals' could be loosely translated, 'We want their land.' The perception of indigenous peoples as primitive, savage and inferior helped justify both the process and its brutality" (Buchhorn, 1999, pp. 3–4; in Kirkaldy, 2005, p. 229).

Scholars in this area appear to agree that this past has an important lesson to teach current researchers about ideologies of aspiration and potential transformation embedded in cultural values concerning English language education. The first and sometimes only books read by Africans in the region were almost always brought by missionaries, and thus strictly religious, such as the King James Bible or the religious novel *Pilgrim's Progress* by Bunyan (Harries, 2001; Hofmeyr, 2004; Maake 2000). This may have

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47 See Ngwane, 2001, pp. 403–05 for a well-grounded and concise discussion of the "tradition/modernity" binary relating to rural South African education.

particular relevance in relation to the notion among some youth, according to Alexander (2000) as well as the NMF (2005), that their (first, African) languages are antithetical to notions of "progress" envisioned and lived out by the leaders of the anti-apartheid movement (notably, national hero Nelson Mandela).[48] Many of these resistance leaders now compose the leadership of the ANC. The language ideological legacy of European hegemonic institutions such as schools in the Western mold will be more fully explored in Chapter 4.

[48] The scant research suggests particularly those in Limpopo (NMF, 2005).

CHAPTER 3

Methods and Analysis

Preceding chapters have laid out the theories and existing research that frame this dissertation. In this chapter, I provide a description of my research choices concerning data collection and analysis, reflections on my role as a researcher, and how my positionings may have shaped the research process and the results thereof.

The first section, "Research Design," describes the mixed-methods research design of the study, whereby quantitative data were gathered to orient and support the study's core qualitative methods and analysis.

The second section, "Data Collection," explains the data collection process, namely details on:

1. The research sites;

2. The participants and their backgrounds, as well as sampling methods used for recruiting participants;

3. The protocols used to generate data; and

4. The procedures for collecting data.

The third section, "Analysis," describes the two levels of data analysis, drawing selectively on the theoretical and topical literature discussed in Chapter 2 (Literature Review). These levels are:

- Level 1: Description, transcription, and "categorizing strategies" (Maxwell, 2005, p. 96).

- Level 2: The "connecting strategy" (ibid.) of discourse analysis.

The fourth section, "Role of the Researcher," provides additional reflections on my involvement in the research process. This is especially important given the highly relational and interactive nature of the data collection process, and the political implications of my own positionalities. The fifth and final section briefly concludes the chapter.

Research Design

This study seeks to understand how a small sample of high school graduates living in the Mankweng area integrated more English into their linguistic code repertoires, and how this integration influenced their social identifications and positionalities.

In addition to this central research question, I also wanted to know: How did the participants talk about English, Northern Sotho, Afrikaans, and other linguistic codes? (b) What do they indicate as the major factors in code choice? (c) What does their discourse reveal about the relationship between their code choices, social identifications and positionalities? (d) What do they say are important potential consequences of code choice for their social identifications and positionalities; and how do they manage such consequences?

To address these research questions, I designed this mostly qualitative "mixed-methods" dissertation study, comprising both quantitative and qualitative methods and

analysis. The core methods and analyses of this study are qualitative, while quantitative methods and analyses serve a supporting role.

This choice of approach was inspired by research I conducted with BFI South Africa in 2005–6, for which both survey and interview methods were employed to investigate language and literacy attitudes and beliefs. Surveys produced quantitative data reflecting broad themes. Interviews provided discursive data open to detailed linguistic analysis.

The core *methods* of this study are qualitative because the research question has called for evidence from discursive data. The core *analyses* of this study are also qualitative, following from the research question concerning the how and why of linguistic code choice and in line with the theoretical frameworks of language ideology (described in Chapter 2). The quantitative analysis is descriptive and supports the qualitative analysis.

In addition to the above mixed-methods s research experience, several mixed-methods s research models also shaped this study's design.[49] Tashakkori and Teddlie's definition of mixed-methods s research exemplifies the approach taken in this dissertation. They define it as:

> (T)he incorporation of various qualitative or quantitative strategies within a single project that may have either a qualitative or a quantitative theoretical drive. The 'imported' strategies are supplemental to the major or core method and serve to enlighten or provide clues that are followed up within the core method (2003, p.190).

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[49] Namely, Bernard, 2006; Creswell & Clark, 2007; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003.

In line with this approach, the quantitative data were collected and analyzed before the qualitative data (see Procedures), according to the "Qual-Quant-Qual" collection series model of Miles and Huberman (1994, pp. 41–42). The broad themes tangible from the first level of the quantitative analysis gave shape to the next two levels of analysis (namely, coding and then analysis of the discourse data). See the Analysis section for more on how the mixed-methods design shaped the data analysis.

Data Collection

Research Sites and Participants

Research Sites. The research took place in and around the rural South African town of Mankweng, located 30 kilometers east of Polokwane (est. 2011 pop. 131,000), the capital of Limpopo Province (see map 1 below).[50]

Map 1. South Africa and Limpopo Province (red shaded area)[51]

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50 Population statistics from Polokwane IDP 2010/2011, p. 15.

The map below (map 2) shows the location of the study area, roughly 30–45 kilometers east of Polokwane, around the town of Mankweng.
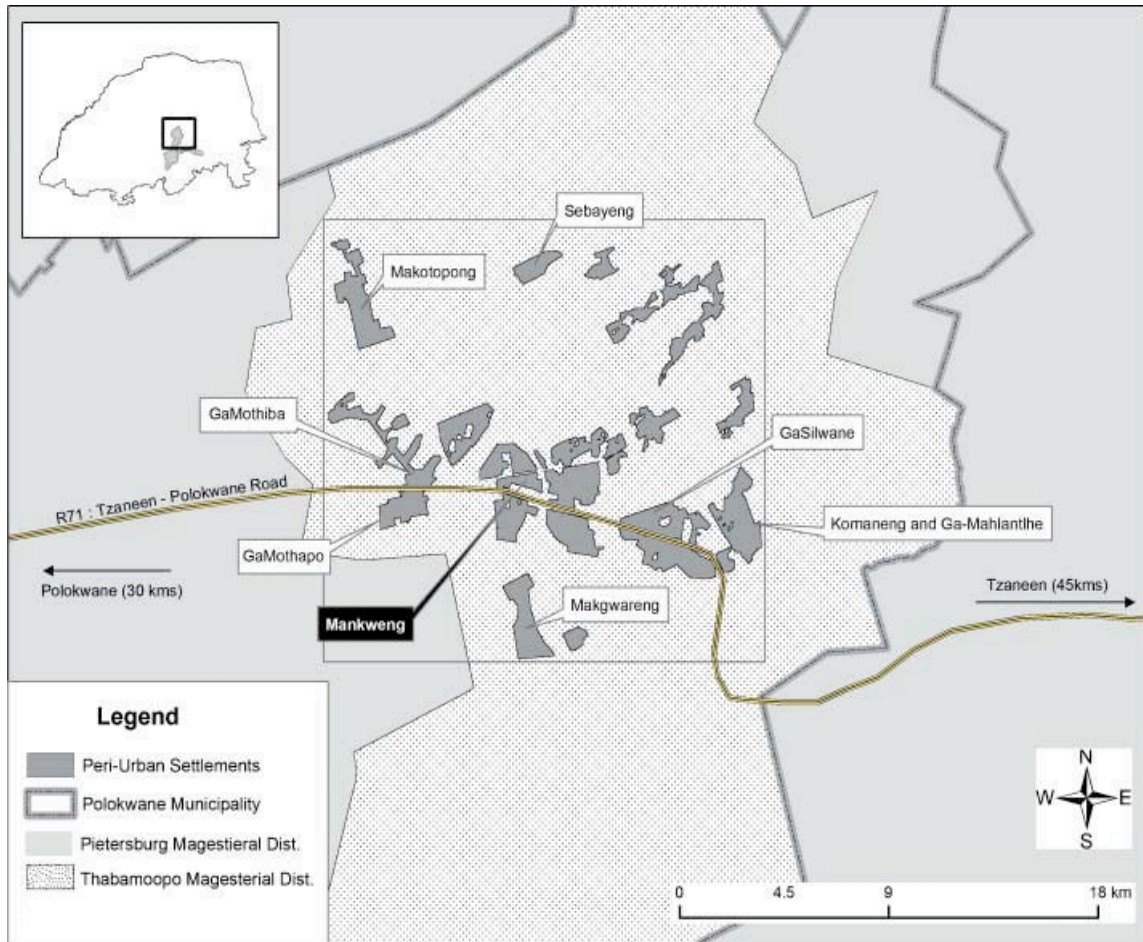
Map 2: Mankweng area[52]

The research took place at four principal sites in this general area: Nobody/Ga-Mothapo, located just to the west of Mankweng; Mamotintane, adjacent to Turfloop; Sebayeng to the north; and Turfloop, adjacent Mankweng to the east (see Table 1).

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51 Picture taken from Wikimedia Commons, licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution ShareAlike 3.0 license, at
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_South_Africa_with_Limpopo_highlighted.svg.
52 Map taken from McCusker & Ramudzuli, 2007, p. 58. Used and modified with permission of authors.

Table 1. Research sites

Site	Est. Pop.[53]	Building	Dist. from Mankweng (km)
Mamotintane	3,000	private residence	.2
Nobody/Ga-Mothapo	10,000	Mapeloana school	4
Sebayeng	14,000	private residence	12
University of Limpopo (Turfloop)	15,000	School of Education	0.1

My previous research experience in the area in both 2005 and 2006 (as detailed in Babson, 2007; Babson, Wagner & Sirinides, 2007) facilitated the choosing and arrangement of the research sites. Other basic criteria were accessibility by vehicle, security, and availability of electricity. Certain contacts in the area and/or study participants volunteered to assist with arrangement of research sessions.

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53 No reliable published census data exist on the population in the area depicted in Map 2. The most recent have been published in the Polokwane IDP 2010/2011, pp. 15-16. In this study, the greater Mankweng area population is 81,942, not including Sebayeng (14,000) and Dikgale (65,000). McCusker & Ramudzuli (2007, p. 66) estimated that in 1997, there were 16,226 households in the area depicted in Map 2; using their analysis, a conservative estimate for 2008 would be 30,000 households. Combining this estimate with the 2007 South African Community Survey finding (p. 370) that in the surrounding Capricorn District there are 4.4 persons per household, the total local population, adjusting for growth, may be estimated at $\geq 161,000$.

Participants. Recent high school graduates living in former apartheid homelands or "Bantustans"are a special group of people. They constitute the first generation of graduates who have benefitted from post-apartheid reforms, which is no mean feat, given the long history of undereducation in the mostly rural region of Limpopo. But as described further in Chapter 4, apartheid and missionary education practices did not just limit Black youth from accessing powerful English language education, it also reinforced ideologies of language that positioned English and Afrikaans as powerful and prestigious and their own spoken languages as inferior or, worse, politically oppressive. This is congruent with the following from Philips (2004, p. 486):

> The political economic position of a group determines its attitudes toward the codes in the group's multilingual repertoire, the group's code choices, and the ultimate survival of the codes being spoken. The inequality of languages originates in economic inequality.

The enforcement of apartheid was particularly strong in the Limpopo region; thus it stands to reason that recent high school graduates are availing themselves of quite unprecedented freedoms post-apartheid.

It also is noteworthy, however, that in some Limpopo communities the high school graduation rate is effectively 0%, which pales in comparison to the still-low 20% estimated graduation rate in the Mankweng circuit. Thus the participants are among a sort of educated elite, relative to their peers in their home villages. Inasmuch as they must have had favorable ideologies of English and indeed established a track record of academic success requiring English, they really are driving changing patterns of linguistic code choices by their regular usage of it outside of institutionally regimented situations.

In addition, however, based on my living on the campus in 2005 and 2006, I knew going into the research that there were many language ideologies at play among the university students and graduates living in the area.[54] Further, I got the sense that there were harsh consequences for those who did not navigate these differences well.

At the University of Limpopo, I had an office in the School of Education in both 2005 and 2006. The department chair recommended certain students to work for the BFI project that I was managing in 2005. I hired ten students during this first year on the project, during which I got a sense of the students at the university. But the research also allowed me the opportunity to see how special the university students were. The 2005 research concerned recent high school dropouts. I got a better sense of how fortunate the university students working for me were, and how many youth in the province lived in severe poverty and hopelessness (the work took place in 20 villages across the province). These youth were eager to learn English as an aspirational lifeline to social mobility.

Youth in South Africa today inherit complex and volatile tensions concerning language, education, economics, and identity, as well as the new freedoms written into the constitution. Most youth in Limpopo struggle foremost with poverty. However, my observations suggest that even in rural villages, such as Mphome or Nobody/Ga-Mothiba in the Mankweng area, many youth make keeping up with the latest trends a top priority. They find a place to watch TV, to listen and dance to house or *kwaito* music, to make it to the informal village bar or *shabeen* for a beer or two on credit. Through occasional access to mass media, such as radio and TV, Internet technology, and cheap pirated CDs, they

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54 It must be noted here that my limited knowledge of African languages and relianace on English limited my exploration of these ideologies.

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are connected to the outside world, and are aware of what they have and what they are missing (an awareness the apartheid government desperately wanted to prohibit). For those in villages such as Nobody, poor schooling and sheer poverty make it difficult for all but the very brightest students to go to the universities such as the nearby University of Limpopo, or obtain gainful employment that that fulfills aspirations and offers the mobility—socioeconomic, cultural and ultimately, identificational—so much desired. English learning and practices are pervasive among South African elites, and as a world language, English holds strong appeal to Mankweng-area youth who aspire to a "middle class" way of life, loosely defined (Chisholm, 2004; Mesthrie, 2008a and 2008b). All of these dynamics were palpable in my interactions with the participants.

During the 2006 BFI research, I managed interviews among adult learners, which afforded me the opportunity to learn how the older generation thought about education, computers, literacy, but also in general, how they viewed the younger generation (Babson, 2007; Babson, Wagner & Sirinides, 2007). It was during this experience that I got a better sense of how the "lucky" graduates may have been viewed by their elders: as not only a source of pride, but a threat to sociocultural continuity. Youths' fun and excitement in learning and using English, of going to university, and having options in life was all fine in these adult learners' views; but they also expressed concern that English-speaking youth did not value their home communities or their ancestors as much as they should.

Thus entering the research, I had a set of ideas about the participants, how they might be taking up more English into their linguistic code repertoires, what factors may be involved in their code choices, and how they might deal with the social consequences of

such choices. But I did not know enough about these issues first-hand; I was guessing, based on my observations and participations in local life, not from any direct or planful conversations on the topics. My thinking was that given my familiarity with the local area and region, my relationships with people in the local area, and recognition of the power dynamics at play—a White male invested with institutional approval and agency to recruit participants for a study—I was reasonably confident that I could conduct focus groups that would yield a lot of interesting and, I hoped, informative data.

The following tables provide information on the participants of the study by research activity:

Table 2. Activities 1–3 participants

Session #	Date (2008)	Sub-Sample Name (By Location)	Participants	
			Male	Female
1	7-16	Sebayeng	6	0
2	8-1	Nobody/Ga-Mothapo	5	3
3	8-8	University of Limpopo-1	10	0
4	8-11	Mamotintane -1	0	6
5	8-11	Mamotintane -2	2	0
6	8-24	University of Limpopo-2	0	12
7	8-29	University of Limpopo-3	0	2

8	9-1	University of Limpopo-4	2	0
			25	**23**

Table 3. Focus Group (activity 4) participants

Focus Group #	Date (2008)	Sample Name (By Location)	Participants	
			Male	**Female**
1	7-16	Sebayeng	5	0
2	8-1	Nobody/Ga-Mothapo	4	3
3	8-8	University of Limpopo-1	5	0
4	8-11	Mamotintane-1	0	5
5	8-11	Mamotintane-2	2	0
6	8-24	University of Limpopo-2	0	8
7	8-29	University of Limpopo-3	0	2
			16	**18**

Table 4. Interview (activity 5) participants

Interview #	Date (2008)	Age	Sample Name (By Location)	Participants	
				Male	**Female**
1	7-28	19	Sebayeng	1	0
2	8-12	24	University of Limpopo-1	1	0
				2	**0**

Table 5. Other interview (activity 5) participants, completing some activities 1–4

Interview #	Date (2008)	Age	Activities not completed	Sub-Sample or Location	Participants	
					Male	**Female**
3	7-30	25	4	UL-1	1	0
4	8-19	20	4	UL-4	1	0
5	8-23	22	1-3	UL	1	0
6	9-2	20	1-3	UL	1	0
					4	**0**

Table 6: Other interviews, not included in general sample

Interview #	Date (2008)	Age	Sample Name (By Location)	Participants	
				Male	Female
7	7-11	41	Nobody/Ga-Mothapo	0	1
8	7-15	28	Mamotintane	1	0
9	7-15	26	Mamotintane	1	0
10	8-26	65	University of Limpopo	0	1
11	9-9	71	University of Limpopo	1	0
				3	**2**

Sampling. The requirements for participating in the study were: 1) high school graduate and 2) aged 18–25, living in and around the Mankweng area. All prospective participants had to present verification of passing the South African matriculation exam. University of Limpopo participants were required to present their student identifications, though if the participant wished, s/he could hide their names.

The study was designed to collect data via five research activities:

1) BALLI (Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory)

2) A questionnaire of general education and media attitudes and practices

3) A "frame elicitation" exercise

4) (Optional) focus groups and

5) (Optional) interviews

The sample design called for a group of participants to be recruited through the snowball technique (Bernard, 2006, pp. 185–6). This group would participate in activities 1–3. Those willing to continue would then join a focus group (activity 4) immediately thereafter, or, on occasion, at a later time. Those from this subset who agreed to further participation would be interviewed individually (activity 5) at a later time.[55]

Further, interviews were conducted with those who, while not meeting the sample profile, still could contribute relevant and impactful data toward the project (n=5; see Table 6).

Those who participated in research activities in the village sites did not attend the university, and are referred to as "village" youth throughout the study (n=22). All but one who participated in research activities on the campus attended the university.[56] These participants are referred to as "campus" youth (n=26). Male and female participants (n=25 and n=23, respectively) were about equally represented.

Research sessions took place at the university, a local school, or a conveniently located place of residence sourced through local contacts.[57] Tables 2 through 6 above summarize each type of research activity by sample name, location, and date, as well as number and gender of participants.

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[55] A number of interviews and verbal interactions were recorded but not transcribed.

[56] The historical precedent for few youth living off campus is significant (White, 1997). The university was established in 1960 for Black students only. The campus was built to house all university students.

[57] I also had the opportunity to talk with a group of adult learners in Nobody/Ga-Mothapo about "mother tongue" education. About three of these learners also participated in the 2006 BFI research.

In practice, sampling relied on word of mouth and personal networks of assertive volunteers. I started the ball rolling on campus with a recruitment flyer (See Appendix B.). Each focus group essentially included one or two leaders and their friends who were interested in the topic of the study. Not all participants knew each other in all focus groups, but in the majority of the cases, they did. Organizing such activities otherwise would have been impracticable on the time scale within which I was working (3.5 months). I did not ask the participants in-depth questions about their backgrounds upfront or why they were participating in the study. In retrospect, this may have been helpful for me and the rest of the group to understand the motivations for participation. The responses and dialogue in the focus groups around the topics (discussed below) indicated to me that most of the participants found the topic intrinsically interesting. This does not however preclude the possibility that the students were interested in receiving the certificate of participation: historically, opportunities for credentialing have been so scarce in the region that the certificate could have had a value beyond what I had predicted. Thus, selection biases must be considered.

Were the participants different in a way that I have not considered; for example, are they more aware of their language practices or ideologizations than the typical 18–25 year old high school graduate? Am I getting the contributions of certain cliques of students and participants and not others, perhaps with certain academic or other interests? And what about the focus group participants: Why did they participate, while the others who completed the questionnaires did not? In sum, how can I be certain that my sampling method worked?

In response, I would propose that the participants' interest in language and identification issues was not unique. Factors such as friendship or extraordinary interest in the subject matter cannot be ruled out. Every effort was made in the focus group interactions, for example, to elicit responses from all involved, not just the "ringleaders" or talkative participants (Krueger & Casey, 2000).

Returning to the tables above, here is a summary of the participants and their research activities:

- The first sample comprised 48 participants who completed activities 1–3 (See Table 2);

- A subsample (n=34) of these 48 participants completed activities 1–3 as well as activity 4 (See Table 3);

- A subsample (n=2) of these 34 participants completed activities 1–4 (See Table 4).

Additional interview data was collected from interviews with those who did not complete all research activities (See Table 5). These included:

- Individual interviews with participants (n=2) who completed everything but the focus group.

- Individual interviews with university students (n=2) fitting the basic sample profile (18–25 years old, high school graduate) but who did not participate in any of the other research activities.

Protocols

Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory (BALLI). The BALLI was published by an applied linguist, Elaine Horwitz, in 1987 and has been used in a number of surveys

on learners' beliefs about their own language learning (Horwitz, 1987; cf. Bernat &
Gvodzenko, 2005 for review).

The purpose of including the BALLI in the research design was twofold. Previous
inquiry into metacognition about language learning for the BFI project suggested it would
be useful for capturing *broad impressions* of 1) attitudes about acquiring another
linguistic code, especially English and 2) attitudes about language and certain users of
language in general.[58]

Items. The BALLI contained five item categories, corresponding to the following
items:

1. Learning and communication strategies (items 7, 9, 13, 14, 18, 21, 22, 26);

2. The nature of language learning (items 8, 12, 17, 23, 27, 28);

3. Foreign language aptitude (items 1, 2, 6, 10, 11, 16, 19, 30 and 33);

4. Motivations (items 20, 24, 29, 31, 32); and

5. The difficulty of language learning (items 3, 4, 5, 15, 25, 34).

Six South Africa-specific items (35–43) were added after piloting. Phrases were
localized to reflect multilingualism rather than bilingualism, and English was specified as
the language learned. Some of the questions were pointed and sensitive and, as a result,
often generated separate discussions after the session and as applicable, in the focus
groups.

See Appendix D2 for form.

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58 About 25 BALLI items deal directly with languages and speakers thereof, apart from language
learning per se.

Questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed to capture four kinds of information: 1) demographic information, 2) education and literacy attitudes, 3) media habits, and 4) attitudes about digital technology. They were designed to be short (32 items) and varied, mixing multiple types of data.[59] See Appendix D for form.

Demographic information. In two sections of the questionnaire (items 1–8 and items 16–18), basic personal information is requested, including age, family situation, university major if applicable, languages spoken, self and parents' occupations, and educational attainment.[60]

Education and literacy learning attitudes. The next seven items (9–15) concerned items about the value of education, optimism about the future connected to education, and related topics.

Media habits. Nine items (19–28) concerned types of media technologies; namely, radio, TV, books, and the Internet. The items inquired about forms of media owned, how often these forms were used or consumed, preferred shows or websites, and so on.

Digital technology attitudes. The last four items (29–32) included questions about the perceived benefit of digital technologies in the context of life in Limpopo.

Frame elicitation exercise. The simple but useful *frame elicitation* exercise was used, which calls for providing free associations about topics central to the research question (Bernard, 2006, p. 285–86, 505; cf. Frake, 1964). For this research, the exercise involved the following sequence:

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59 The questionnaire adapted from BFI materials originally used in 2006 by the author in Mankweng and surrounding area.

60 Some of these questions were sensitive for some of the respondents and, as a result, there are a handful of non-responses to some of them.

"When I think of:

- my first/home language,

- English,

- literate,

- literacy

I think of _____."

The goal was to get participants to provide at least five brief, spontaneous verbal responses for each question, which could be coded to usefully supplement other quantitative and qualitative analyses.

Focus groups. Focus groups were convened to provide the principal set of discourse data for the study. This method was chosen chiefly for the reason that "they produce ethnographically rich data" and "are widely used to find out *why* people feel as they do about something or the steps that people go through in making decisions" (Bernard, 2006, p. 225; cf. Kreuger & Casey, 2000).

Seven subsets (n=34) of the 48 total participants participated in the focus group discussions. Each discussion was organized with a subset according to factorial design (Bernard, 2006, p. 227). Factorial design, "an essential part of focus group methodology" involves organizing subsets "homogeneous with respect to certain independent variables." That is, each focus group featured one of the four principle differentiators of the sample design: male, female, village, and campus.[61]

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61 For logistical reasons, only one focus group (Nobody/Ga-Mothapo) included males and females together.

The following list of **topics** (Krueger, & Casey, 2000, p. 43) was used to shape and guide all focus group discussions:

- Language and literacy choice and usage

    o in the villages versus on the campus

    o among men and women

    o using digital technologies

- The definition of literacy and attributes of those considered "literate"

- Multilingualism and ethnic diversity on the campus, in the villages, and South Africa generally

- English and its meanings and uses

- "Roots," loosely understood as one's sense of family and/or community-based African group belonging.

Interviews. Eleven *unstructured* interviews were conducted. Unstructured interviews lack predetermined questions, yet are mutually and explicitly understood by both interviewer and interviewee as interviews (Bernard, 2006, p. 241). There may be broad topics in mind to discuss; in this case, the topics listed in the focus group section above. Otherwise there is no formal protocol used for comparing responses, as with a structured interview format.

These unstructured interviews were conducted with the following interviewees:

- included in the sample (N=48):

1. A 19-year-old male first year UL student, who also participated in activities 1–4.

2. A 24-year-old male fourth year UL student, who also participated in activities 1–4.

3. A 25-year-old male employee of the university who did not participate in activity 4; he was not attending the university and lived adjacent to the university;

4. A 20-year-old male second year UL student, who did not participate in activity 4.

- *not* included in the sample (i.e., did not complete activities 1–3) but met the sample parameters:

5. A 22-year-old second year UL student and representative of SASCO.

6. A 20-year-old UL first year student and head of the Tsonga student cultural group.

- *not* included in the sample and did not meet the sample parameters:

7. A 41-year-old female teacher from Nobody/Ga-Mothapo, who discussed life before and after apartheid, and youth initiation rites.

8. A 28-year-old male, former BFI employee, who talked about his life in the area and the history of the area.

9. A 26-year-old male, brother of interviewee 9, who talked about traditional schooling, specifically male initiation.

10. The head university librarian, (est. 65 years old; female), a 35-year employee of the university, who discussed the history of the university and shared archival documents.

11. A 71-year-old male professor emeritus, Prof. A. P. P. (Percy) Mokwele; who discussed topics concerning language and culture, the history of the university and his involvement in it, missionary education before apartheid, the role of Werner Eiselen in the establishment of the university and the Bantu Education system.

Procedures

Activities 1–3. After agreeing to the terms and conditions of the research activity, participants were given answer sheets for both the BALLI (1) and the questionnaire (2), and a blank sheet for the frame elicitation exercise (3).

The BALLI was given first, then the questionnaire, followed by the frame elicitation exercise. The BALLI took about 40 minutes to complete, the questionnaire 35 minutes to complete and the frame elicitation exercise about 10 minutes to complete.

Before each research activity, participants were oriented to the materials and instructed how to mark their responses.

- For both 1 & 2, each item was read aloud twice, and repeated by request. Sepedi-language clarification was also offered as needed.

- For 3, the procedure was to take a blank side of paper, such as the back of the last questionnaire page, and divide it into quadrants, with "my first/home language," "English," "literate," and "literacy" at the top of each quadrant. Respondents were given up to 10 minutes to complete this exercise and asked to provide at least five ideas (words, phrases) in each quadrant.

A certificate of participation was given to each participant at the end of this exercise for his/her time.

Activity 4: Focus group. Those who had time and interest were invited to participate in a focus group. The goal number of participants was 7 per group, but some surpassed or fell short of this target.

The minimum time for each focus group was set at one hour, but all lasted between 75–90 minutes. The focus groups were held at the research sites described above.

The procedure was guided by several principles outlined in Krueger & Casey (2000). The emphasis was on creating an inclusive dialogue among the participants, but also one guided by the topics outlined above in "Focus Groups." The focus group discussions were conducted in English, but participants were encouraged to use whatever language they wanted to, so there were periodic switches between linguistic codes.[62] The limitations of this strategy will be discussed in further depth in the "Role of the Researcher" section.

Each focus group was recorded digitally with Sound Forge software on my laptop computer. All participants were informed, per the IRB agreement, that the conversation would be recorded. No individual microphone was available, so the laptop was centrally placed and occasionally passed around or rotated to capture the best sound possible. Participants were asked to refer to themselves by their participant number for the first few responses so that their voices could be recognized at later points in the recording. I took notes during the interviews, but not often, so as not to disrupt the flow of the conversations.

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62 These shifts were more common off campus, a topic to be explored in later chapters

Activity 5: Interview. Interviews were arranged spontaneously and by appointment at various locations described above. Protocols for interviewing outlined in Bernard, 2006; Briggs, 1986; and Spradley, 1978 guided the interviewing process.

Analysis

Overview

- Data from activities 1 and 2 (BALLI and questionnaire) were analyzed using descriptive statistics to outline themes for further investigation in the discourse data (sources 4 and 5).

- Data from activity 3 were coded for thematic patterns.

- Data from activities 4 and 5 were analyzed progressively, by open and axial coding, and then linguistic anthropological approaches to discourse analysis.

  o Coding: like the statistical analysis, established data patterns and themes.

  o Discourse analysis:

  o provided empirical warrant through investigation of utterances, interactional moves and various implicatures in the discourse data, and then

  o connected them to wider social processes, specifically through the language ideological framework.

First Level of Analysis: Description, Transcription, and Open Coding

BALLI, Questionnaire, and free association data. The first analytical activity of this study was generating a basic snapshot of the BALLI and questionnaire data. This was accomplished through simple tallying functions in both Excel and SPSS software

programs. Mean results for all Likert scale items, as well as any other quantitative data, were also generated.

These first results were then organized into eight spreadsheet reports, which were separated first by the study's two chief vectors of differentiation—gender and UL attendance—and then across both BALLI and questionnaire items. Differences in means within and across these eight spreadsheets were noted. At the completion of this first stage, notes were taken on observable themes or patterns in the data.

Building on the description of the participants in the previous subsection, a majority of participants reported (see Appendix D):

1. Northern Sotho was reported as L1, under the label "Sepedi" (Item 6, 39/48 or 81%). This mirrors both the prevalence of Limpopo students at the university (as of a recent study, 75% of the student body, Nkomo, 2003, p. 151) and of Sepedi in the province (just over half of the provincial population) and in the Mankweng area (primarily "Pedi"-speaking).[63]

2. English as L2 (Item 7, 29/48 or 58%); most speak at least three languages.

3. Nearly all are unemployed or students; and most have one or more parents who are unemployed (Item 8).

4. Higher level of parental education among campus vs. village participants (Item 9), with a particularly marked effect among female participants, who counted 6 mothers as teachers (cf. Item 8).[64]

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[63] See Krige, 1937 and Mönnig, 1967 for more on the problematic labels for Northern Sotho linguistic varieties. The common term for all of these varieties is Sepedi, also abbreviated "Pedi." "Se" meaning "language of"," and "Pedi" being the ethnic identification; cf. Xi/Tsonga, Tshi/Venda. But in fact Sepedi is just one variety of Northern Sotho. These issues are discussed in further depth in Chapters 4 and 5.

5. Positive and aspirational attitudes toward education and life chances, particularly compared to their elders, and confidence in English education to further these better life chances (Items 10–16).

6. Modest to very modest living conditions (Items 17–20), with a wide degree of difference from one extreme to another.

7. On media consumption (Items 20–29):

   a. Radio is prevalent at residence, (81%), only slightly higher than the provincial average of 79.9% (GHS, 2007, p. 44). With 81% having electricity in their home, roughly the same percentage will have a radio. 37/48 (77%) listen to the radio an hour or more daily.

   b. T.V. is less prevalent at home (52%) than the provincial average (61.5%).

   c. The languages of radio and TV shows consumed were of particular interest. There was wider variability in radio language consumption than TV, and notably less English, Zulu, and Tswana in radio than TV. This underscores a difference between national and local technologies and forms.

   d. All but 2 participants reported having some books in their residence (Items 25 and 26). Males vastly preferred magazines to other types of book; females

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64 Among campus youth parental educational achievement (and to a less determinate extent, parental employment) appears highly correlated to university attendance. These correlations tend to co-articulate with those well established by studies in the U.S. showing a clear relationship between parental educational level and student achievement (Raudenbush et al., 1998). The pattern seems to be especially pronounced for female students, among whom 6 had mothers who were teachers——a very noteworthy finding, given that only 6% of Limpopo female respondents in the NMF study reported having the qualifications to teach (NMF, 2005, p. 29). This is also culturally significant, because more than any other region in South Africa, Limpopo teachers have historically tended to be mostly male (NMF 2005, p. 113). This suggests that female participants having grown up under mother teachers may have received a powerful pro-female message in a region of deep historical patriarchy, including in the educational system (NMF, 2005, p. 117–18). It is perhaps in this light that the noteworthy difference between male and female parental educational attainment should be interpreted.

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slightly preferred religious books more than magazines. Novels were also popular.

e. Internet usage (Item 29) was reported to be much higher among campus than village participants. There was also a significantly higher reported use among females. English was the dominant language of sites visited. Instant messaging was the most popular communications usage, followed by email.

8. Fairly positive attitudes toward ICTs and usage (Items 31–33). There were, however, some sharply divergent viewpoints across groups.

a. Item 30: Most participants had a lukewarm response to the idea that using the Internet can help rural people get out of poverty (avg. all: 3.2, no major differences between on/off campus and male/female).

b. Items 32 and 33, however, yielded some of the most striking differences in the study:

i. 32: "Being good at using a computer is important for having a good life in South Africa." The 4.2 vs. 3.6 on/off campus difference suggests that youth on campus have come to appreciate the potential value of computer skills to boost chances of obtaining professional employment.

ii. 33: "Having technology makes me feel better about my life situation." There are two stark differences in these responses: first, 4.45 vs. 3.87 female/male, and 4.48 vs. 3.75 on/off campus. Perhaps female and non-village participants are generally more aware of the indexical and

emotional value of technology to elicit the positive social evaluations associated with financial means, social status, and upward mobility.

For a full listing of tabulations, see Appendix D.

The following is a "meta-summary" of the above three data sources:

The first three data sources yielded five broad data patterns:

1. Congruent with most of the preexisting literature, there is enthusiastic support and desire for learning and speaking English well.

2. There is overall support for *speaking* African languages, and, overall, participants cite positive evaluations of their own "roots." But L1 learning is generally not as enthusiastically supported as English learning.

3. Participants show a range of parental and home backgrounds that have influenced their various life trajectories, but all agree they have high aspirations and better chances than their elders for attaining a higher level of economic stability.

4. Media consumption practices reflect a desire to engage with, for village youth, those relatively foreign life experiences of habitual English speakers in South Africa. For the campus youth such practices reflect a desire, through their daily usage of English, to *further* model their processes of self-definition according to their stereotypes of these speakers.

5. Female participants appear more interested than male in conforming their English language speaking practices to the "Model C" metapragmatic stereotype.[65]

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[65] "Model C" was a designation for all-white schools under apartheid. The kind of English spoken there, indexes, with other semiotic markers, a kind of "whiteness" that some African students consider desirable. See footnotes relating to the term "coconut".

Transcription of discourse data. The next step in the analytical process was to transcribe as many highly relevant discourse data sources from activities 4 and 5 as possible. The following data sources were transcribed:

Table 7. Transcribed discourse data

Name, Sub-Sample, or Location	Date	Duration
Interview		
Interview 1, Sebayeng	7-28-08	51:43
Interview 2, UL-1	8-12-08	45:51
Interview 3, UL-1	7-30-08	39:19
Interview 4, UL-4	8-19-08	23:41
Interview 5, SASCO rally, UL campus	8-23-08	20:35
Interview 6, office, UL campus	9-2-08	33:26
Interview 7, house, Nobody/Ga-Mothapo	7-11-08	22:03
Interview 8, house, Mamotintane	7-15-08	14:29
Interview 9, house, Mamotintane	7-15-08	11:55
Interview 10, library, UL campus	8-26-08	26:17
Interview 11, office, UL campus	9-9-08	68:02
Focus Groups		

Focus group 1: Sebayeng, P1's cousin's house	7-16-08	55:30
Focus group 2: Nobody/Ga-Mothapo, Mapeloana S.	8-1-08	91:02
Focus group 3: UL, Old R Block; males	8-8-08	91:05
*Focus group 4: Mamotintane, PM's house, females	8-11-08	21:41
Focus group 5: Mamotintane, PM's house, males	8-11-08	57:29
Focus group 6: UL, Old R Block; females	8-24-08	79:52
Focus group 7: UL office, 2 females	8-29-08	50:59
*Focus group 4 recording cut short, excerpt available		

The digital files of the focus groups and interviews created by Sound Forge were loaded into the VoiceWalker software program to aid transcription into Word documents.

Transcription conventions followed those used by Pavlenko (2005, p. 257) and informed by secondary literature by Bucholtz (2000), Ochs (1979), and Preston (2000) on the politics of transcription.

Analysis of Frame Elicitation Data

The frame elicitation technique produced free associations of the terms "literate," "literacy," "English," and "first/home language" in the form of handwritten word lists. Discourse data from this activity waswere transferred from the original handwritten

documents into a digital (Excel) spreadsheet. The data were then coded for general patterns and themes, a process elaborated in the open coding of the discourse data.

"Open coding" of discourse data. The next step in the analysis was open coding of all discourse data (activities 3–5). Open coding, according to Strauss & Corbin (1990, p. 61), is the initial process of making sense of one's discourse data by highlighting themes in the data related to the research question and then creating codes based on those themes. The initial reading of the texts produced overlapping, general codes (as opposed to the mutually exclusive codes of content analysis; cf. Wood & Kroger, 2000, p. 32). The purpose of this step was to engender a more systematic understanding of patterns in the data (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Taylor, 2001; cf. Wood & Kroger, 2000).

The codes that emerged in the discourse data were then compared to themes that emerged from the first-level analysis of the statistical data. At this point of comparison, *theoretical memos* were also produced. The purpose of these memos was to render explicit any connections between initial impressions of the data and theoretical knowledge.[66]

Maxwell calls coding the "main categorizing strategy in qualitative research" (2005, p. 96), and open coding can lead to "substantive categorization," the process of developing descriptive categories, which "implicitly make some kind of claim about the data" (p. 97).

"Axial coding" of discourse data. Axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 96) is an additional coding process that aims to further organize and specify the key themes

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[66] The theoretical memo concept comes from grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 197) and is elaborated in Maxwell, 2005, p. 59.

discerned through open coding (Neuman, 2003, p. 322–23). Whereas open coding's aim is to discover themes, axial coding aims to organize and consolidate related themes into core themes. This shift from open to axial coding is similar to the shift from, in Maxwell's terms, "substantive" to "theoretical" categorization, the latter being more "etic" and researcher-generated than the former, which could be described as more "emic" and participant-generated (Maxwell, 2005, p. 98). One shared purpose of both axial coding and theoretical categorization is to "place the coded data into a more general or abstract framework" (ibid.).

From this systematic coding of discourse portions of all transcript data, the following major themes emerged (number of coded portions in parentheses):

1. Literacy is an English-based, school-learned mode of communication (46).

2. Roots and English are equally good (40).

3. African languages and culture are being undermined (28).

4. Campus is "crushing 'roots'" (25).

5. English is necessary to mediate diversity (22).

6. African languages sometimes mediate diversity (14).

Second Level of Analysis: Discourse Analysis

Overview. Discourse analysis refers to a variety of approaches for analyzing written or spoken language as text. In this study, transcripts of the focus groups and interviews were analyzed with a linguistic anthropological approach. Below, I describe this approach and how it was used in this dissertation, specifically:

- theoretical frameworks guiding its usage;

- methodological details of how it was applied; and

- historical linkages with other approaches to contextualize why it was chosen

From the axial coding stage, my goal was to move, as Maxwell has suggested, from "categorizing" to "connecting" research strategies (2005, pp. 98-99). Although the above axial codes gave me a firm sense of the broad patterns in the data, I did not yet understand how the data related to each other, such that more integrated patterns may emerge. With this in mind, I looked further at the excerpts contained under each axial code. I asked myself how the participants could both assert that the campus is "crushing roots" and that "roots were good," while also recognizing that what they were doing for themselves—getting a college education—was what their elders had very much hoped for. I searched in the data for signs that participants held these general attitudes and, further, for examples of how they were able to hold onto them. Next, I looked more closely at "undermining" and aimed to understand more about the phenomenon. I discovered that participants used strategies to manage the perception of undermining; but in turn, they also made statements about wanting not to be perceived *too* much as being anti-English. Thus, both "connecting" moves yielded the overall notion that "balancing" was the goal of the participants. I then returned to the data to look for patterns that reflected the participants' concerns about "balancing." What I found was that they were most concerned with 1) where they habitually located themselves and, also, 2) the perceived strength of their "roots" (which for some involved ethnic identification) as an aid in the process of balancing. From this stage, I made a plan to find representative excerpts for these findings, which were grounded in the "categorizing" and "connecting" strategies as proposed by Maxwell. In other words, the excerpts for the discourse analysis were chosen to illustrate findings that were generated by the questionnaire data,

compared then to the open and axial codings, and then based on a comparative analysis of how the axial codes may be connected in important ways.

Linguistic anthropological discourse analysis. Linguistic anthropological attention to oral discourse was born of the 1960s turn toward the functional and contextual aspects of language use. Historical precedent as well as contemporaneous influences from the United States and Europe shaped the field during this period.

The next and final step of the analysis involved applying the linguistic anthropological framework of language ideology, described in Chapter 2. This framework was used to analyze what participants reported about their usage of language (more specifically, linguistic code choices), language as an entity, certain linguistic codes as entities, stereotypes of speakers of particular linguistic codes, and so forth. Unlike the "language attitudes" framework,[67] language ideology brings a critical focus to how certain features of talk might index notions about language, languages, and speakers thereof.[68] Linguistic anthropology, with a nod to Marxian and Whorfian discussions, has, in the term "language ideology" placed explicit emphasis on the importance of linguistic awareness, consciousness, and reflexivity (Kroskrity, 2000, p. 5; Lucy, 1992, p. 117; 1993; Silverstein, 1979). Additionally, however, language ideology serves as a framework for analyzing the participants' talk about how the competing linguistic

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67 See Baker, 1992.

68 Silverstein, 1979; Irvine & Gal, 2000. Patterns of this sharedness will be explored more robustly through the lens of fractal recursivity (Irvine & Gal, 2000) and the compatible concept of metaredundancy (Lemke (1984/1995), cf. Bateson (1972/1999, pp. 132–33).

hegemonies of their home languages and English shaps their life choices, including their everyday linguistic code choices.[69]

For more methodological points, I refer back to my discussion of researching language ideologies in Chapter 2. These methodological points are important for understanding how I take justifications and/or excuses (Austin, 1956) for linguistic code choices to constitute code choice events, which in turn, constitute important *sites* of language ideological production.

Taking the framework of Susan Philips (2000, p. 249), metapragmatic discourse (i.e., talk about language use) is at once both a primary and secondary site, because the participants are both discussing specific or general instances of code choice (primary) and yet engaging in language practice in so doing (secondary). Sociolinguistic interviews are chronotopically artificial and a product of hegemonic scientific discourse. Yet they also give rise to opportunities for participants to reflect upon and express their thoughts and feelings and, in the case of focus groups, engage with others on topics from which they make important meanings; as such, they are genuine interactions, although variously structured by a moderator with themes in mind. In the individual and focus group interviews, then, the participants are generating data about what they "do with words," although those data themselves reflect language as social action, which, in the above framework, provides evidence of language ideologies at work.

In my analytical approach, I have attempted to link linguistic features of the text and patterns of language use. These included the use of metalinguistic and, specifically,

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69 Bourdieu, 1991; Eagleton, 2007; Woolard, 1998. Of special interest will be the "erasure" of African language literacy (cf. Cook, 2006).

metapragmatic labels and expressions, code-switchings and associated triggers, and disfluencies and implicatures (Fairclough, 2003, pp. 58–61). These features were reviewed because previous linguistic anthropological research suggests they can provide some evidence for language ideologies (Irvine, 1996; Silverstein, 1979; Simpson, 1997; Woolard, 1998). Most of these scholars, however, in the functionalist sociolinguistic tradition, would point out that ideology cannot just be lifted from the denotational meanings of words, and its analysis must be informed by a contextual understanding (Briggs, 1998, p. 230).

This point, moreover, brings up a distinctive aspect of linguistic anthropological analyses of context. Although post-Austinian functional linguistic traditions propose that talk is a type of *social action*, only anthropology requires a theoretical and methodological commitment to being *part of* the context (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992; Fabian, 2001). By extension, this means the so-inclined researcher is also a part of the creation of the text (e.g., interview and associated transcript) to be analyzed (Ochs, 1979).

This topic is of particular interest for this study, as is how discourse analyses approaches were used. Specifically, because the data in this study were gathered through fairly structured types of interaction over a brief period, rather than ethnographically, this limited the usage of the language ideology framework in two ways. First, there were fewer points of interaction over a long period of local immersion that could yield data to locate "sites" of ideological (re)production and explain how it would mediate the participants' changes in code repertoires and associated processes of identification (Philips, 2000; Silverstein, 1996). Second, limiting the research interaction to focus groups and interviews also truncates a key meaning-potential of language ideology: that

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language ideology is not just tangible in talk as social action, but in any form of social action.

Outline of discourse analysis process. To analyze the phenomena of concern in the discourse data, I adopted an approach comprising three basic parts:

1) The principle strategy was to find strong patterns of referentially communicated and semantically interpretable data in line with the axial codings and substantive categories, comparing participants by gender and place of residence. I have chosen some participants' discourse for more in-depth investigation to illustrate concentrated versions of patterns more diffusely observable across other parts of the data. These data roughly present a story of what the participants *say* is going on, which is aggregated to produce *consensus* of what they say is going on.

For example, in Chapter 6, I present multiple passages from participants across several groups, depicting how English is highly valued as a lingua franca in multilingual settings. I follow up with justificatory discourse examples and any discussions about management of social perceptions.

2) Building on the referential information in (1), I look for non-referential information in paralinguistic and (meta)pragmatic data that shifts the analytical emphasis from *what* the participants say about the world to *how* they say it, to their co-construction of the interview. I look for ways participants are consistently presenting themselves and positioning themselves through stances toward the object of discourse, the other participants, and myself. I look for stance accretion (Du Bois, 2002) and dis/alignment with any data found in (1).

For example, participant X may explicitly espouse a position that appears aligned with certain participants. But further stances across the interaction accrete to suggest a contrasting stable self-presentation or *persona* for X. I can then look at other participants' positionings across the data that support or challenge this persona.

3) I then organize findings from (1) and (2) to make arguments, while also looking for serious discrepancies and extreme cases that may usefully contrast with the above.

Potential limitations of discourse analysis. Any discourse analyst must assess the limitations of making statements about a person's thoughts, feelings, attitudes, beliefs, and so on—sometimes collectively referred to as "inner states" (Burling, 1964; Hymes, 1964; Chomsky, 1959; Silverstein, 1998, p. 125). Understanding the motivations and elements of choice from such data may be limited by a number of long-standing philosophical problematics (e.g., free choice, consciousness, the composition of the individual, realism vs. nominalism, theory of mind) to concrete technological, social, or political difficulties in the field. Ethnic identification, gender, social status, age, low competence in the local language—such divisions and obstacles may threaten the validity of a study.

Special attention was paid, however, to these dynamics in this research, especially given the recent history of high political conflict, not only on the UL campus (Jackson, 1975; Nkomo, Swartz & Maja, 2006; Nkondo, 1975; White, 1997) but in the country as well, especially regarding language in education.

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evidence, not methods; methods are only a way of getting evidence that can help you rule out these threats" (Maxwell, 2005, p. 105). That is to say, unlike "earlier forms of positivism," wherein certain methods were chosen to inoculate against such threats, qualitative research must rely on the data collected and the warrant it can provide before claims to validity can be made (p. 106). That said, Maxwell nonetheless contends that "methods and procedures are essential to the process of ruling out validity threats and increasing the credibility of your conclusions" (p. 109).

On this note, below I list some of the "validity tests" that Maxwell describes (pp. 109–14), which I found useful in this study:

- Intensive, long-term involvement (p. 110)

    —Although the data are based on only three and a half months worth of fieldwork, I had by 2008 already spent about a year on the UL campus, known the area and established ongoing relationships there.

- "Rich" data (p. 110)

    These may include:

    —Detailed verbatim transcripts of over 20 hours of audio data;

    —Photographs and maps added to my data set; and

    —Transcript data enriched by descriptive questionnaire data.

- Triangulation (p. 112)

    —This involves marshaling complementary streams of data to serve as evidence for responding to the research question.

- Quasi-statistics (p. 113)

—Many qualitative data have been able to be quantified, such as in coding the

free association data and developing substantive categories for the discourse

analyses.

- Comparison (p. 113–14)

    —Comparisons between male and female as well as village and non-village

    participants have been helpful in delineating any causal factors (e.g.,

    university attendance) as well as any major differences between groups.

Role of the Researcher

In my experiences on the campus and in the local villages, I was highly recognizable

because I was either one of the handful of students (among thousands) who was White, or

one of the very few White people to have visited a particular village a long time. Given

the prevalence of Afrikaner farmers in the region and Afrikaner families in Polokwane

(and the near complete lack of South Africans of British descent), I was assumptively

positioned many times, on campus and during fieldwork, as an Afrikaner man and was

often addressed in Afrikaans, by both Blacks and Whites. This meant that my role as a

researcher, hiring students to work for me, with an office and institutional connections,

was a completely expected one. All the same, among many Black students, I imagine that

the presumption of possible Afrikaner status did not help my social persona (though I

lack data on such phenomena). I became more and more aware of my positionings and,

thus, my identifications to those around me the more time I spent on campus, the more I

saw and experienced in the local area, and the more relationships I cultivated. From my

own experiences studying abroad in two countries and my own personal travel, armed

with a good amount of interpretivist philosophy and social theory, I probably understood

some of these positionalities better than most. On the other hand, I also had to realize that there were certain positionings I could not escape: as a White man, I indexed a lot more than I would probably have liked across a number of different kinds of interactional situations. It did not feel ennobling to be deferentially addressed in Afrikaans by elderly African men and women in remote, impoverished villages or on two occasions, approached by men looking for work in such villages.

Further, because of my relatively recognizable profile on campus, my promotion materials created in English only and (when speaking) my U.S. American Midwestern English accent, I was fairly easily able to establish myself on campus as an American (particularly because there were customarily a handful of exchange students from Europe on the campus). And because I introduced myself as an American (or was introduced by my local contacts as an American) and spoke relatively "posh" English, I was never, to my recollection, addressed by the participants in Afrikaans. My "posh" English, however, also continually positioned me as a relative elite. I attempted to render these power differentials explicit and productive, but sometimes I got the sense that due to "the weight of history" (G. De Klerk, 2002), this conscientization (in the Freirean sense) could only have limited effect.

Using English for the research activities, then, created some unease. If my Northern Sotho were better I could have gotten along without English quite well. Beyond avoiding the issues of awkward social indexicality, using Northern Sotho, often referred to simply (though problematically) as "Pedi" would have allowed me to talk with a much wider range of youth than recent high school graduates. During the 2005 BFI research I had noted the obvious wide gulf between the fortunes of the university students versus those

of their peers having dropped out of school; but it would have bolstered my sampling efforts, and thus the data, had I been able to use Northern Sotho. Not that using Northern Sotho in itself would have mitigated away problematic social indexicalities. To wit, most of the first faculty members of the University College of the North were Northern Sotho-speaking Afrikaner intellectuals (including the architect of apartheid education, Werner Eiselen).

Moreover, my own language ideologies most likely predisposed or even predetermined the participants' responses. Perhaps I felt more comfortable with those who spoke English with more fluency or ease; perhaps my reactions took on a congratulatory tone. It is possible that the participants felt proud of themselves for being able to participate in the research and to express themselves well in English. On the other hand, my lack of encouragement to speak Northern Sotho (despite my apparently unconvincing disclaimer that students could switch into Northern Sotho at any time) may have precluded more interactions in Northern Sotho or other African codes, and added to the sentiment among many of the participants that African languages were "undermined". That is, if the research were not limited to English, the participants would have likely felt more at liberty to occasionally code-switch into African codes, or to simply abandon English altogether. Perhaps my own language ideologies regarding the embarrassment of falteringly speaking Northern Sotho, or the desire to avoid the awkwardness of insisting I speak Northern Sotho when youth wanted to empower themselves with "practicing" English with me, prevented more usage of it in the actual research interactions. My halting attempts to use Northerno Sotho may have been appreciated by the participants, but I recognize that my ignorance itself was a form of prestige that may have irked the

participants, notwithstanding their motivation to practice their English in the interviews. And surely, the wide gulf between the keen necessity with which the participants were learning and using my language, English, and the fairly defeatist and phlegmatic manner in which I "rolled along" with the research without Northern Sotho created some kind of friction. Further, these ideologies were no doubt embedded in the survey materials and demonstrable in my interactions during the questionnaire sessions, whereby I read aloud each item to assist in completion. The task I envisioned in the forms was actually to get some idea of the participants' ideologies of language about these categorizations, but in fact the challenge of getting such data for me was to do so while minimizing the imposition of my own language ideologies.

Each focus group featured a wide range of emotional expression. Although I was leading the discussion, I did not discourage "leaders" from taking the floor from me, nor did I dissuade participants from argumentation and debate. All of the interactions took place in enclosed spaces—empty classrooms in local schools or the university, as well as, several times, in participants' houses. The discourse data I use to base my claims emerged from loosely structured interactions, according to the list of focus group topics, but conditions of the interaction, which I established, shaped the ultimate result of the data and by extension, the analyses.

So, what did I do about such power differentials? My approach was before anything, to take advantage of the kind of education that could sensitize me to such issues, and draw from my own experiences of similar types of power differentials due to relative age, social status, participatory role in a research interaction, lack of language expertise, etc. It also comes down to personal moral and political values (which are difficult to render

explicit and credible in a research report) as well as the degree to which I appreciated the power differentials because of prior cultural knowledge (a measure difficult to objectively assess).

In sum, then, the discourse data I use to base my claims emerged from loosely structured interactions and according to the list of focus group topics. But conditions of the interactions, which I established, shaped the ultimate result of the data and by extension, the analyses. In my analyses, I qualify my interpretations and claims by integrating the above insights.

The above reflections do not discount the kernels of authenticity in the questionnaire materials and focus groups, and the important patterns across the data, bolstered by a brief follow up visit during the last week of January, 2011. Analysis Chapters 5 and 6 comprise re-illustrations of these patterns by way of representative interactional sequences. As a White American male, however, I realize that my positionalities during the research were very salient in historically important ways in this part of rural South Africa, and part and parcel of the data that resulted.

Conclusion

This chapter explained how the dissertation data were collected and analyzed. Data were collected over a three and a half-month period in 2008 in the Mankweng area of Limpopo Province, South Africa. Quantitative methods and analysis provided data points and contributed to the development of themes to support and background the study's core qualitative methods and analysis. The study featured two levels of data analysis, whereby the first generated general and specific patterns and themes, subsequently analyzed through discourse analysis.

CHAPTER 4

Contexts of Linguistic Code Choice

The goal of this chapter is to account for the ideological contexts within which the participants of this study are making their linguistic code choices and the role of educational institutions in scaffolding these contexts. Specifically, I contend that three cultural and historical conditions are central to the participants' linguistic code choices:

1) English has historically been rarely spoken in the region, thus recent increases in English usage among high school graduates in the Mankweng area mark an important type of social change;

2) Western-influenced ethnolinguistic labels are still persistently used in the region, along with associated social differentiations;

3) Parents and youth tend to see little use in learning standardized African codes, and see using African codes in school as blocking English education.

This chapter aims to better establish that these three cultural and historical conditions central to the participants' linguistic code choices are in large part the language ideological legacy of missionary and apartheid educational institutions. Following the logic of my central argument in this dissertation—namely, that the participants want to successfully manage the social consequences of linguistic code choices—requires understanding the role of educational institutions in the scaffolding of the language ideologies that are mediating those choices.

Educational policies and practices were central to missionization and apartheid and to the formation of language ideologies. Western schooling was "a, if not the cultural institution of colonialism" (Hofmeyr, 1993, p. 51; cf. Althusser, 1971). From the mid-nineteenth century until the institution of "Bantu Education" in 1955, Christian missionaries provided nearly all formal education for Black South African youth (Hyslop, 1999, pp. 1–2; G. De Klerk, 2002, p. 33). Building on the historical literature, I discuss the compelling yet sparse amount of secondary historical evidence suggesting that Lutheran and Calvinist mission schools and, later, apartheid schools introduced and/or reinforced European ideologies of language standardization, literacy practices, and ethnolinguistic identification in the Limpopo region and in specific ways, the Mankweng area.

Bantu Education reinforced certain language ideologies that the Lutheran and Calvinist mission schools introduced. A common theological and political heritage, particularism, explains much of this continuity. The shared educational emphases on the restriction of English language learning, and the maintenance of ethnolinguistic identification through language standardization and literacy education, exemplifies this continuity across missionary and apartheid education (Horrell, 1969; Mawasha, 1969, 1986; Molteno, 1984). My argument does not imply that missionary and apartheid schools were solely responsible for the reinforcement and historical endurance of certain language ideologies; moreover, establishing the exact degree to which they were responsible is beyond the scope of this chapter. Intervening local political interests, as Harries has detailed in his 1989 study, are also important for understanding why and how certain ethnicizations (Brubaker, 2007) were developed and used (e.g., Tsonga-ness,

reinforced through Tsonga literacy education, was used for political consolidation). A future study may more strongly argue for similar uses of ethnicity in the Mankweng area among its denizens, who were identified by the apartheid government as part of the "Northern Sotho group."

I premise this chapter on the proposition that even a fairly basic understanding of the ways Protestant missionary and apartheid education shaped regional and local language ideologies (as provided in this chapter) is essential for understanding the orientations highly educated youth bring to increased access to English language education and media ecologies in the Mankweng area today. These orientations in large part determine when and how they are deciding to use English instead of Afrikaans, other African *linguae francae*, and/or their "mother tongue" for everyday language use—topics that are more fully investigated in Chapters 5 and 6.

The purpose of this chapter is to support the logic of my discourse analyses in chapters 5 and 6 on the role of language ideologies in mediating linguistic code choices and the leading role of those choices in "balancing."[70] I organize this chapter as follows:

First, I discuss particularism as a theological and then a central political concept for the apartheid government. Mobilized through missionary and apartheid language education, particularism served as a philosophical basis for both blocking access to

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70 To briefly summarize the contents of those chapters: Chapter 5 presents data suggesting that the participants consider location and perceived strength of "roots" (collective identification) as the most important factors affecting whether one "balances" well (or is perceived as doing so). Chapter 6 presents data suggesting that the participants are aware of how choosing one linguistic code rather than another in certain situations affects "balancing" or at least the perception thereof, and that they use the excuse or justification of "necessity" to manage these consequences.

English, promoting basic knowledge of Afrikaans, and constructing and using "standard" versions of African linguistic codes.

Second, I briefly discuss what is known concerning the history of two formative educational institutions in the Mankweng area: the Lutheran missionary teacher training seminary at the village of Mphome and the University of Limpopo (UL). I also discuss the Bantu Education policies that led to the construction of the university and had lasting effects on the local educational scene. Knowing these histories sheds some light on how Lutheran missionary and apartheid principles were enacted and had an important part in scaffolding the local language ideological contexts within which this study's participants are making their linguistic code choices.

Third, I place the educational oppression of Black South Africans in the form of underfunding of education and the restriction of English education in the context of other forms of political oppression. The purpose of this section is to describe the structural factors that have shaped the ecologies within which the participants of the current study are making language choices, while also showing how such structural factors were the results of ideology in action.

Finally, I discuss what little data there are on the structural factors of local expansion of code repertoires to include English among educated youth, including the degree of multilingual media usage and consumption, and the amount of English being used educationally, including, importantly, at the UL.

Through a survey of these topics, I aim to provide a critical historical illustration of the kinds of language ideological contexts within which the participants in the current study are interacting.

Particularism and Language in Education Policies

In this section, I bring together previously disparate socio-historical arguments to offer a suggestive sketch of educational institutions' ideological role in fostering the emergence of the three social facts listed above (the rarity of English usage in the area, the persistence of Western-influenced ethnolinguistic labels, and ambivalence toward using African language in education).

The Protestant theory of particularism—that God's creation was necessarily diverse, and thus human beings were divinely ordered in separate groups with their own distinct identifications—was prevalent among both Lutheran and Calvinist missionaries and served as a philosophical linchpin of apartheid (Bloomberg, 1989; Dubow, 1995; Naudé, 2005). Educational institutions in the Northern Transvaal/current Limpopo Province were originally religious vehicles but also served the political purpose of creating a resource for social differentiation that mitigated the regional consolidation of African political power from the late 1800s onward. Particularism has its roots in Calvinist theology, but by the time the apartheid government took power in 1948, secular versions of particularism were considered mainstream (Giliomee, 2003a; Kros, 2002). The coexistence of mainstream particularism with extremist particularism in the 1940s was a key aspect of apartheid's power as an ideology among both Afrikaner and English White South Africans (Dubow, 1995; Kros, 2002; cf. Giliomee, 2003b).

What necessitates attention to the Protestant roots of particularism in this dissertation are two facts: 1) the outsized influence of Lutheran and Calvinist missionaries in the Limpopo region and 2) not only the strong influence of neo-Calvinist theology on the leaders of the apartheid government, but the personal involvement of the top two

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apartheid education officials, Werner Eiselen and M. D. C. De Wet Nel, in the construction of Mankweng township and the University College of the North (now the UL).[71] It is the direct and intensive manner in which the leaders of the Protestant mission societies and apartheid education were involved in the ideological legacy of particularism, specifically through strategies of language education in mission and government schools in the Limpopo region, that begs attention.

Lutheran and Calvinist missionary societies were the most active of their kind in the Limpopo region in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Eiselen and De Wet Nel, both sons of such missionaries and members of the all-male, neo-Calvinist and Afrikaner Nationalist secret society the Broederbond, were especially active in both formulating and carrying out apartheid education policies in the region and especially the Mankweng area (see footnote 16). Particularism underpinned apartheid language in education policies intended to bolster ethnic politics among regional communities, and in this way, via "divide and conquer," prevented consolidated political resistance to apartheid. Eiselen's Commission on Bantu Education, then, strongly discouraged education in or of English, a language that could potentially facilitate African political consolidation in the Northern Transvaal. However, education in and of Afrikaans or African language standards—standards created and developed, notably, by Lutheran and Calvinist

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71 De Wet Nel was an important figure in apartheid history, particularly concerning education in the northern Transvaal region. He was a Broederbond member, co-writer of the Sauer Report that provided the first blueprint of the apartheid system (1947), and served on the Eiselen Commission (1953) and in several ministerial positions, including Minister of Education (1957). In addition, De Wet Nel presided over the Commission on the Separate University Bill in 1957-58 which set the stage for the establishment of the University of the North (UNIN) now UL (Nkomo, 1984, pp. 52-53). Hofmeyr (1994, p. 78) memorably recalls one of his nicknames in African communities: "the storming rhinoceros that cannot be stopped."

missionary societies—was prioritized (Harries, 1989; Maake, 2000). Thus particularism served clear political interests.

Upon their electoral victory in 1948, the National Party developed and enforced the political philosophy of apartheid, which systematized and officialized the ethnic differentiations that Lutheran and Calvinist missionaries cultivated. The scholarly literature clearly demonstrates that both missionary and apartheid educational institutions enforced certain European ideologies of language standardization, literacy practices and ethnolinguistic identification by 1) restricting or explicitly banning English education, 2) creating (through long-term, difficult linguistic work) standard "languages" and their written forms from diverse local varieties and equating this standard with a newly imagined "ethnicity" and 3) leading local populations to take these ethnicities and languages as indexical of an "essential identity" and evidence of a separate and inferior place in the political and, in some sense, divinely designed cosmological order.

These above-mentioned trends concerning language and its education have already been discussed at length by Harries concerning Tsonga (2001, 2007). The discourse data in Chapters 5 and 6 strongly suggest that the participants are dealing with the legacy of these trends. But further, what little is thus far known about the local history of education in the Mankweng area suggests similar dynamics at play. An additional dynamic that is important to mention is the sparse but compelling evidence that compliance of the local chiefs with Lutheran missionaries has engendered a substantial local openness to Western influences, which the relative flourishing of Western education and Christianity in the area demonstrate. This is discussed further below.

The Lutheran Berlin Missionary Society (BMS) and Calvinist Swiss Mission in South Africa (SMSA) provided virtually all of the primary and secondary education for Black South Africans in the Northern Transvaal from the 1860s through 1955. From their early regional work in the 1860s until the 1910s, both societies denied students access to English education in the primary grades (Rüther, 2002, p. 243), which was based on the particularist notion that local groups should cultivate their own sociopolitical spheres and synctertically integrate, rather than wholly adopt, European influences.

Each missionary society, however, approached their evangelical goals differently, and language ideologies figured prominently in these differences. The BMS church, for example, aimed to foster independent African churches, based on quickly training local pastors and encouraging Bible study in a standard version of the local African language rather than in German (Pakendorf, 1997, p. 264; cf. Kros, 2010, p. 17; cf. Van der Merwe, 1975). For the British colonial government in South Africa, the goal was not cultural separation, but rather assimilation. The Cape Governor Sir George Grey in 1855 expressed such a stance to Parliament: "Unremitting efforts should be made to raise the Kaffirs in Christianity and civilization… by the establishment of missions"; English education was seen to be a key part of this process (Rose & Tunmer, 1975, p. 205). Anglican missionaries thus tended to promote learning the language of Empire as practically, socially and economically desirable because it facilitated cultural assimilation (Malherbe, 1900, p. 94–96; Hartshorne, 1995, p. 308). To this end, Anglican missionaries aligned themselves with imperial strategy, and were compensated for it accordingly (ibid.)

The BMS, through Christian education in the local language, also encouraged the

reinforcement of *Volksthümlichkeit* or "Volk-ness" [72] (Rüther, 2002). A BMS missionary,

Karl Endemann, developed the first "Sepedi" grammar book and Bible (Zöllner & Heese,

1984, p. 19). While all Christian missionaries aimed to convert and civilize, the *focus* for

the BMS was dramatic conversion while maintaining cultural difference and African

traditions.[73]

From a distanced analytical point of view, the teleological conflict between Lutheran/

Calvinist particularism and Christianization is clear. Yet as Bloomberg (1989) and

Pakendorf (1997) point out, this contradiction was never fully resolved by the

missionaries or the apartheid government, which incorporated many Calvinist

particularist tenets, and regarding education, BMS approaches. Pakendorf (1997, p. 265)

writes that:

> The concept (of "Volk") lies at the heart of the peculiar paradox of German missions
> in particular: the attempt to change the indigenous people completely through
> conversion, while at the same time immersing oneself in their language and culture in
> order to preserve these.

Pakendorf's observation is well supported by other critics of apartheid ideology

(O'Meara, 1975; Dubow, 1989, 1995; Kros, 2010), who suggest that the logical

incoherence of the particularist-yet-Western modus operandi later found flawed

expression in apartheid ideology.

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72 *Volksthümlichkeit* roughly translates to "the quality of being a particular Volk," or "Volk-ness,"
what today could be translated as "ethnicity."

73 To highlight the contrast in missionary philosophies and approaches, Kros describes how the BMS
publication *Die Brücke* "tended to lampoon the English missions' attempts to turn Africans into English
gentlemen" (Kros, 2010, pp. 16–7). Cf. Giliomee, 2003a, pp. 381–82; Rüther, pp. 216–17.

One specific and important example for this study is that the aforementioned philosophy of preserving local "Volk-ness" was a direct forebear to the Afrikaner National Party's apartheid policy of lengthy *Modertaalonderwys*—mother tongue education—for Black South Africans (Kros, 2002, 2010). English language education policies were eventually relaxed by the BMS and SMSA in the 1910s and 1920s (Rüther, 2002, p. 220), but the apartheid government reversed this Anglicizing trend. The government stopped funding missionary schools in 1955 (Horrell, 1969, p. 120) and changed the language in education policies for "Bantu" schools, extending the missionary standard of four years' worth of mother-tongue medium instruction to eight years. As described above, and detailed in numerous studies on the history of South African language in education policy, enforced "mother tongue" education was fiercely resisted by Blacks in urban areas and eventually (though to a lesser extent) by those in rural areas as well (see Hartshorne, 1987 and 1995 for review, and Mda, 2004).

The lead designer of Bantu Education policy, Werner Eiselen, was particularly influenced by "Volk" particularist philosophies popular among BMS intellectuals, notably Gustav Warneck (Kros, 2010, p. 72).[74] These philosophies meshed well with complementary Afrikaner neo-Calvinist particularisms, rejecting the *gellykstelling* (equalizing) deemed typical of English missionaries while championing *apartheid* (apart-ness) philosophies and policies (Bloomberg, 1989). The role of neo-Calvinism in the development of apartheid is trenchantly debated by the eminent historian Hermann Giliomee (2003a and b), but a weakness of Giliomee's argument is that he pays little attention to education policies (cf. Giliomee, 2009) which the designers of apartheid

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74 On Warneck, see Dubow, 1995; Giliomee, 2003a; Naudé, 2005.

attended to with the utmost seriousness (Bloomberg, 1989), a weakness heretofore not emphasized in the critical assessment of his arguments.

The data in Chapters 5 and 6 reaffirm the persistence of the legacy of these ideologies among a new generation of language users from Limpopo. And so do official state ideologies of language, as embedded in both the South African Constitution (1996) and language in education policy (1997). I discuss this topic further in the fourth and final section.

Formal Education in the Mankweng area: The BMS Mphome Mission and the University College of the North

This section provides historical sketches of two formative local educational institutions: the Lutheran (BMS) mission station at the village of Mphome (5km from Turfloop), and the University College of the North (now the UL).

Two recent interviews in the village of Mphome (1/25/11), along with a B.Sc. thesis by Mokgawa on the Lebowa government (2000), a historical piece by former UCN student and professor Abraham Mawasha (2007), and a recent interview with former UCN professor Percy Mokwele (1/26/11), strongly suggest that the good relations established from 1878 onward between the BMS mission and the area chiefs, the Mamobolos, laid the groundwork for a general chiefly openness and even favorability toward Western religious and educational influences.

One example of this is the openness of local chiefly leadership to the construction of the university itself. The apartheid government initially had difficulty in gaining chiefly approval in the region for the construction of the University College of the North in the late 1950s. The acceptance of the Mamobolos—and thereby, other subordinate local chiefs—allowed the government to establish both the township of Mankweng (taking the

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first name of one of the Mamobolo chiefs at the time) and the university. Both developments have indelibly shaped the area. Although the university started out as a "demonstration project" of apartheid tertiary education (McCusker & Ramudzuli, 2007), it eventually served as a hub of regional anti-apartheid resistance, playing a central role in the national Black Consciousness and anti-apartheid resistance movements from the late 1960s forward.[75]

BMS Mission Education in the Mankweng Area: The Case of Mphome

An important reason why English education for Black South Africans has never been widespread in the area is because of close ties between Lutheran and Calvinist missionaries and the successive regional governments, starting with the Afrikaner-led Transvaal Republic (ZAR). The BMS, after a slow start in the Cape and Natal colonies, developed close relations with the ZAR from the 1860s onward and grew enormously in the ZAR during the 1870s through 1910 (Delius, 1984, p. 118–19).[76] The BMS was the most active missionary society in the Northern Transvaal from the beginning of missionary activity there in the 1860s through the 1970s (Du Plessis, 1911; Hofmeyr, 1993; Rüther, 2002).

A major focus of the BMS missions, due to the centrality of Bible teaching to their work, was literacy education. BMS missionaries placed great emphasis on teaching how

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75 See Jackson, 1975; Nkondo, 1976; Nkomo, 1984, Lekgoathi, 2009. The UL was the seat of many important events of student activism in the 1960s and 1970s, and several of its graduates played a central role in the resistance against apartheid, notably O. R. Tiro, who was a pioneering opponent of Bantu education and mentor of a leader of the Soweto uprisings, Tsietsi Mashinini (from "Tiro Biography," UL Library archive). See Appendix E.

76 Kirkaldy underscores the preeminence of the BMS in the Northern Transvaal: "The total of 475 mission stations established in South Africa between 1737 and 1904, 169—more than a quarter—belonged to German societies. … (I)n some areas, notably in the Transvaal Republic (ZAR), where the British were viewed with great skepticism, German missions were for a long time practically the only mission societies present" (Kirkaldy, 2005, p. 17).

to read the Bible in a standard version of the dominant local code(s), as it was considered essential to the dual goals of conversion and "civilizing" (Hastings, 1994; Harries, 2001, 2007). According to Lestrade, "Literacy in African languages was promoted to varying degrees by (Protestant) missionaries, but was never considered anything but a means to evangelical ends" (1934/1967, p. 107; cf. MacKenzie, 1993, p. 55).[77]

Most scholars agree that this missionary activity of conversion and education, regardless of intent, went a long way in either solidifying existing social distinctions or creating altogether new ones (Harries, 1988; Hofmeyr, 2004; Peel, 1995). Patrick Harries' work on the history of the Swiss mission's language and literacy education efforts in the nearby Tsonga-Shangaan area of Limpopo Province details the broad-ranging consequences of this education for the indigenous people of the region (cf. Jeannerat et al., 2010). In some parts of South Africa, including Limpopo, missionary education was well received by the growing petite bourgeoisie (Harries, 1989) and considered a means of social advancement.

Protestant mission societies envisaged that schools would serve not just as sites of learning and gaining knowledge; as Hofmeyr has pointed out in her historical work on literacy practices in BMS-prevalent villages in the Northern Transvaal, schools were

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[77] Phaswane Mpe and Monica Seeber have mentioned that BMS schools taught English (Mpe & Seeber, 2000, p. 16). I propose, however, that if the may have prematurely drawn this conclusion from Hofmeyr's work (1993, p. 52), that the BMS "was teaching in English and Sepedi by 1897," and thus this policy "stood in sharp contrast to the National Party government" as the BMS were "encouraging and promoting active learning in both Sepedi and English" (Mpe & Seeber, 2000, p. 18). A closer consideration of the ideological traditions of the BMS, and the reliance on one source may be in order. Rüther's account describes how the BMS reluctantly acceded to popular demands for English due to fear of losing converts to rival missionary societies (2001, p. 243–45). Even then "they introduced English as a subject to advanced students, whereas primary and religious education was still taught in the vernacular" (ibid.). Importantly, this account is congruent with other work on the BMS of Delius (1983), (Giesseke, 1986; Pakendorf (1997), and Kirkaldy (2005).

major tools of colonization and thus social control of Black South Africans. For the BMS,

however, this control was only partial: unlike the LMS and Anglicans, the BMS did not

necessarily intend to "Europeanize" Black communities. "The classroom was envisaged

to be the platform on which missionaries and Africans would devote themselves to the

creation of Christian communities *rooted in African culture*" (Rüther, 2001, p. 222, my

emphasis, cf. 230). In their use of Bible teaching, a major goal was to *localize* the Bible

(Hastings, 1994, p. 279; Maake, 2000; Mears, 1934/1967).

In 1878, BMS missionary Rev. Carl Knothe established the second-largest South

African BMS mission station and teacher training seminary at the village of Mphome,

just a few kilometers from the current UL campus (Giesseke, 1986; Poewe & Van den

Heyden, 1999; Van der Merwe, 1975). The BMS also established three other BMS

schools in the area, all of which closed in 1954.[78] Thereafter apartheid-era state and

community schools provided primary and secondary education. Little research has been

done on the actual educational practices of the BMS at the Mphome mission and its

outstations, and any detailed discussion here is beyond the scope of this chapter.[79]

Although attendance at mission schools was not widespread, mission schools became

part of the local social landscape from the late nineteenth century forward (NMF, 2005,

p. 36; Rüther, 2001, p.17; Zöllner & Heese, 1984). The Mphome station served as a

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[78] The Mphome mission station itself closed in 1974. According to White (1997, p. 70), "The only high school in the vicinity prior to Turfloop's establishment was a secondary school under Chief Dikgale." According to the map from Van Warmelo, 1935 (cf. Berthoud, 1886; Krige, 1937) this was next to the Mphome mission station and the BMS outstations of Leschoane and Khoare, according to older accounts from Richter, 1924. See Appendix B.

[79] See primarily Harries, 2007, p. 11, 99, 125, 173, but also Delius, 1986; Giesseke, 1986; Kirkaldy, 2005; Mashale, 2009; Poewe & Van den Heyden, 1999; Rüther, 2001 and Van der Merwe, 1975 for more on the BMS' work in the Northern Transvaal.

central node for local outstations, including one in the former center of the Mamobolo chiefdom (which still covers the current Mankweng area), Tlatlhagkanye (meaning, "one stone on top of another" in the local Sotho), and on the current campus of the university (Mokwele, 2008; cf. White, 1997, p. 72).

After the Mphome station closed in 1974 it transitioned into its own Lutheran Church, and today, it is the head church of the circuit, which spans a 100-km radius and comprises a dozen dioceses. Its impact on the local area has not been systematically explored, but two interviews conducted for this study and available literature on the history of the BMS in the region strongly suggest that it had a powerful influence on establishing discourses of "civilization" and linguistic and social differentiation in the area. More research would be needed to bolster and elaborate upon these suggestions.

Protestant missionary work never resulted in widespread schooling in the northern Transvaal nor broad distribution of African language literacy practices; mission schools, whether on farms or stations, were not uniformly distributed in rural areas (Jeannerat et al., 2010; NMF, 2005, p. 36). However, in her work on Lutheran missionaries in the late nineteenth century Transvaal, Rüther proposes that:

> (A)lthough a tiny minority of people converted to Christianity for purely spiritual reasons, the majority of Africans in the Transvaal encountered Christianity, missionaries and communal response to the new faith as a social experience. Missionary attitudes toward land acquisition, their relationship with traditional authorities and the degree to which they accepted African ways (influenced) African people's dispositions towards missionaries and Christianity (2001, p. 17).

Implied in this last sentence—namely that "Missionary attitudes … influenced African people's dispositions towards missionaries and Christianity"—are the language ideologies bound up in such dispositions (cf. Harries 1988, 1995, 2001). Acording to the

available secondary research, it appears that would-be African converts considered

learning to read and write the missionary standard of African languages relatively less

valuable than such skills in English or Afrikaans.[80] Apartheid education only intensified

and worsened the reputation of African language learning as a tool of ideological

denigration and political oppression.[81] Black South African parents have been

demanding English language education since British colonization in the late 1700s for

exactly the same reasons as they do today—social mobility—and historically they sent

their children to English-medium schools if they could afford it.[82] Thus mother-tongue

education advocates in their current push to implement an additive multilingualist

language policies (i.e., including the eventual addition of English) have their persuasive

work cut out for them (Alexander, 1999; Heugh, 2008).

    As mentioned above, Lutheran and Calvinist missionaries proselytized in many

villages across the Northern Transvaal; and conversely, no other missionary societies

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    80 For an account of Henri-Alexandre Junod, SMSA missionaire par excellence, see Junod, 1905, p. 2 ff.; see also Lestrade, 1934/1967, p. 106; cf. Harries, 2001. According to Nhlanhla Maake, "reading is generally a culture that is foreign to African communities" (Maake, 2000, pp. 137, 152; cf. Oliphant, 2000, p. 124).

    81 See Hartshorne, 1995; Horrell, 1968; Kros, 2010; cf. Giliomee, 2009. It is worth noting that this oppression was felt because African language learning was perceived as limiting access to English. But it was also associated closely with all of the other aspects of Bantu Education. For example, the push to develop African language materials and their consumption (Maake, 2000, pp. 141–43) co-existed with clear problems: school overcrowding, underfunding, lowered teaching and learning standards, and double the years of mother-tongue medium instruction from four to eight years. See Christie & Collins, 1984, p. 179; Hartshorne, 1995; Horrell, 1969; Kros, 2010; cf. Giliomee, 2009.

    82 See Rüther, 2001. Her description for the value of English among rural Black South African parents in the 1870s could be seamlessly applied to today: "English was considered a language which would make available opportunities of a capitalising colonial economy to Africans, guaranteeing them the pursuit of desirous, prestigious and ambitious vocations" (Rüther, 2001, p. 241). The BMS, for reasons explained in section 2.3, was opposed to English education from the beginning. However, according to Rüther, the BMS had to allow for English instruction in secondary schools after the second Boer War to qualify for British government support available after 1904 (pp 242–43). Moreover, they had to compete with other missionary societies for students, and their "restrictive policies" were a liability (p. 245). Cf. Hastings, 1994; Maake, 2000 and Prinsloo, 1999.

were as active in that part of the country, largely due to the anti-British animus of the

Transvaal Republic government (Delius, 1984; Van der Merwe, 1975; cf. Kros, 2010, p.

17). Thus the particularist frameworks of language-as-culture-as-nation were crucial to an

anti-English education agenda, which was congruent with not only the apartheid state

idelogy, but Bantu Education as a system—with the University College of the North

acting as a model for tertiary education within this system.

Bantu Education designer Werner Eiselen had a personal hand in integrating these

ideologies into apartheid policy development.[83] He was the son of two BMS

missionaries, born on the BMS' central mission station in the region, Botshabelo; he also

spent summers at the Mphome mission station (Kros, 2002, 2010; Pugach, 2004, p. 844;

Zöllner & Heese, 1984).[84] He served as the first head of the Lebowa Bantustan

government, as Commissioner of the Lebowa Territorial Authority (the headquarters of

which were located on the campus of the university), and was named Chancellor of the

university itself in 1970 (Mawasha, 2006, p. 71; Mokgawa, 2000, p. 12).

Eiselen's deep personal history with the BMS, his academic training with former

BMS missionary linguists Meinhof and Wangemann (Kros, 2002, p. 58), and close and

longstanding involvement in Afrikaner nationalism are all crucial to understanding the

eventual design and execution of apartheid education policy. As Kros points out in her

biopic of Eiselen, "[H]e consciously tried to link the evolving ideas of apartheid with the

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83 Recalling the ideological overview provided in the last section, it is important to also note that the Herderian influence of Romanticism was also profound on the (Calvinist) Christian Nationalism of Van Prinsterer and Kuyper, and subsequently, of key Afrikaner nationalists and eventually leaders of the National Party. This dual intertwined intellectual heritage is overlooked in most of the major scholarship on the history of apartheid, and rarely fully explained when it is not overlooked (e.g., Dubow, 1995; Pakendorf, 1997).

84 See fn 16; Mashale, 2009, p. 26; Mokwele, 2008; Rüther, 2001; Van Der Merwe, pp. 193-196.

philosophies of the missionary society to which his parents belonged" (Kros, 2010, p.

14).

Bantu Education and the Establishment of the University College of the North

> Because the new approach (apartheid) is relatively unusual for the Bantu,
> who for years have become accustomed to sit next to the road and make
> no personal contribution to the development of their own community,
> there is still a measure of hesitation and uncertainty. … It is obviously a
> matter of education that will not deliver results overnight but slowly lay
> foundations for creating their own robust development.
>
> —Werner Eiselen, 1956[85]

The central tenet of apartheid was separate development. Afrikaner nationalists, like

their British colonial predecessors, generally held that not only were there fundamental

differences between Black and White South Africans (whether framed in terms of

culture, ethnicity, or race), but that, further, Blacks needed European trusteeship,

implying certain kinds of inferiority (cf. Giliomee, 2009, p. 197; Hoernlé, 1939; Nkomo,

1984, p. 47).[86] Christian National Education (CNE) incorporated these general ideologies

within a neo-Calvinist framework and served as the model for Bantu Education (BE)

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85 Translated to English from the original Afrikaans with assistance from Rolf Stumpf. During my
Mankweng-area field research in 2008, UL librarian Thoko Hlatywayo insisted I read the December 1956
issue of *Bantoe* to understand the beginnings of the university. *Bantoe* was a publication of the Department
of Native Affairs, written in Afrikaans, English, and Northern Sotho. The December 1956 issue focused on
an extraordinary meeting of chiefs from the Turfloop area that took place two months prior, on October 11
of that year. Mrs. Hlatywayo insisted I see the location of the meeting, and she directed me to it, a large fig
tree, now located on the campus of the university. A further description of this event is provided in an essay
by Abraham Mawasha, a member of the first cohort of the UCN (Mawasha, 2006).

86 British colonial administrators set many ignominious precedents. Segregated schooling, forced
removal to native reserves, pass books, the emphasis on technical and agricultural rather than academic
education for Blacks—all of these apartheid-like policies were British colonial precedents. See Rüther,
2001, p. 216 for a discussion of the role of uniforms in the maintenance of this superiority complex among
the British colonial administration.

under the apartheid government.[87] The National Party elite understood that schooling provided a means to control the acquisition of valuable skills and the means of cultural reproduction and knowledge.

What was Bantu Education (BE)? It was a comprehensive educational framework based largely on the paternalist, particularist, and segregationist tenets of Christian-National Education (CNE) (Nkomo, 1984, pp. 44–45). CNE was a product of neo-Calvinist Afrikaner nationalism, encapsulated in the following quote from the founding document of CNE (Bloomberg, 1989, p. 26):

> The teaching and education of the native must be based on the European's attitude to life and the world, more particularly that the Boer (Afrikaner) nation is the senior European trustee of the native. … (Moreover,) native education should lead to the development along Christian-National lines of a native community that is self-supporting and provides for itself in all ways.

BE constituted an explicitly secular but implicitly Christian National model of social engineering. It aimed to limit and define ethnic collectives, much in the same way as did the Lutheran and Calvinist missionaries who formulated and codified local indigenous linguistic codes in the nineteenth century Northern Transvaal.

The apartheid government used its education policy, or BE, as a powerful tool of social and political control of indigenous South Africans. Restricting access to empowering education such as English language education, as discussed in the last section, was a strategy to oppress Black South Africans and contain the so-called "black threat" *(swart gevaar)*.[88] While Whites were expected to master (and thus reap the social benefits from) both Afrikaans and English, non-Whites were encouraged to restrict their

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87 CNE was a model of education based on neo-Calvinist theology and Afrikaner nationalist principles that served as a basis for Bantu Education.

88 See Brits, 2000, p. 83; Nkomo, 1984, p. 46; Rose & Tunmer, 1975, p. 201, 212ff.

ambitions to mother tongue standard proficiency and only the most basic functional

competence in Afrikaans and English (Rose & Tunmer, 1975).

Education was not just a policy matter for many leaders of the National Party (NP); it

was also personal. Many members of the NP leadership were social scientists or sons of

ministers or missionaries, and many were teachers who made education (particularly

Afrikaans education) a priority.[89] One third of the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB), which

fed the ranks of the NP, were teachers (Bloomberg, 1989, pp. 52–3). Following from

above, the general rationale of BE, similar to the European Protestant missions discussed

in the last section, was to foster so-called "development" along one's own lines

(*eiesoortige ontwikkeling*), so as not to compete with "Europeans" (Kros, 2010, pp. 16–

17). BE did not have a smooth history, however. Internal conflict among the NP and the

Afrikaner community over the aims of apartheid and particularly the role of BE

ultimately led to incoherent and self-destructive BE policy decisions. I suggest that the

establishment of the University College of the North in 1960 was a prime example of

these dynamics at play.

According to recent research from geographers Brent McCusker and UL faculty

member Marubini Ramudzuli, the university has, since its inception, supported the

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89 Members of the AB included social scientists Eiselen and De Wet Nel as well as the most ambitious
leader of the National Party during the apartheid years, Henrik Verwoerd. For more on South African
anthropology, see Sharp, 1981; Kuper, 1987; Gordon, 1988, and a brief assessment in Kros, 2010, p. 31.
For more on South African anthropology, see Sharp, 1981; Kuper, 1987; Gordon, 1988, and a brief
assessment in Kros, 2010, p. 31.

continuous growth of its home, Mankweng township (McCusker & Ramudzuli, 2007).[90]

Mankweng was planned and created together with the university as part of an explicit

strategy of the NP government, in large part a creation of Eiselen and De Wet Nel (cf.

Nkomo, 1984, p.58; Rose & Tunmer, 1975; White, 1997):

> At nearly the same time that Bantustan policy and betterment policy were becoming crystallized, the Tomlinson Commission recommendation (of 1955) to create 'Bantu towns' was being executed in the Mankweng area.[91] The town of Mankweng and a 'Bantu university' were established in 1959. From the perspective of apartheid planners, its proximity to Polokwane (then Pietersburg) and its central location with respect to the three major northern Transvaal Bantustans [Lebowa, Gazankulu, and Venda] made it an ideal site for the establishment of a Bantu university. A small residential area was planned for lecturers. The first buildings were constructed on the Turfloop farm in 1959 through alienation of local land rights in coordination with the local chief (McCusker & Ramudzuli, 2007, p. 59).

The authors describe how "the university became a 'demonstration project' of various

administrators with large amounts of capital pouring into the institution at various points"

(ibid.). This meant that planning had to be meticulous and methodical:

> Archival research at the National Archives of South Africa has revealed that this process, like the betterment schemes, was highly planned. Early sketch maps detail the university and the residences in the town of Mankweng. The planning documents were quite extensive and include details such as the location of light fixtures in dwellings, the number of water taps per street, and differentiation of residences by class (McCusker & Ramudzuli, 2007, pp. 59–60).

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90 See McCusker and Ramudzuli (2007), and Nkomo (2007, pp. 68-9). I have been unable to locate exact growth statistics for the local area. However from my first fieldwork in the area in 2005 until fieldwork from June–September 2008 through January 2011, two new strip malls, two large food stores, and one new petrol station have been built, as well as dozens of new RDP houses just east of Ga-Mothapo and north of Mankweng Hospital.

91 See Houghton's 1956 report for the liberal South African Institute for Race Relations (SAIRR).

The decision to construct the town and university together was consistent with apartheid policies.[92] For example, Molteno described how BE would complement Bantustan policies: "Bantu Education was to prepare young Africans psycho-ideologically for the position the Bantustans placed them in physically and politically" (Molteno, 1984, p. 93; cf. Collins & Christie, 1984, p. 174).

Apartheid policies did not sprout *ex nihilo* but rather were built upon the precedent of colonial and Union governments. A key apartheid strategy was to "re-tribalize" by rehabilitating preexisting *native reserves*; again, education was deemed central to the success of this strategy (Rose & Tunmer, 1975, p. 288; UNCAA, 1970). The Union government's Land Act of 1913 strengthened native reserve policy by legislating that Black South Africans outside of the Cape Province not only needed to stay on these reserves but that as a group, they could never own more than 13% of the total land mass of South Africa. At the time of the law's passing, Black South Africans only owned 7.3% of the total land mass of the country, despite constituting 78% of the population (UNCAA, 1970, p. 2). As Kros (2002, p. 67) describes, echoing Collins & Christie (1984): "The new Bantu Education had to be conceived as a part of a general socio-economic development programme that would revive the reserves and in so doing introduce a new era of productivity and cultural dynamism."[93]

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[92] The Holloway Commission of 1954, tasked to explore options for "training of non-Europeans", contained a proposal submitted by the University of Pretoria (Afrikaner stronghold and home to many AB members) suggesting the establishment of a university in the northern Transvaal stressing the national heritage of the Bantu but which will be Afrikaans in orientation" (Nkomo, 1984, p. 57).

[93] The native reserve policy instituted by Natal colonial administrator Theophilus Shepstone in 1846 designated small tracts of land (usually on poor quality soil) for Black Africans to inhabit (McClendon, 2004, p. 346).

Enhancing the reserves was a logical next step toward creating sustainable *separate* living areas for Black South Africans. In the same year the Land Act was passed, several chiefs located near the native reserves overseen by Chiefs Johannes and Moshate Mamobolo (cf. Van Warmelo, 1935, Krige, 1937) sold their land to an Afrikaner farmer.[94] This land, surrounding the current site of Mankweng hospital, was originally called Tlathlakganye ("place where rocks are piled on top of one another") but renamed Turfloop ("land at the river bend"). The government later bought the Turfloop farm for constructing the UL campus and Mankweng township—another step toward the goal of enlarging and "developing" the reserves.[95]

The universalizing missionary message of "civilization" and its attendant privileging of Christianization and schooling seems to have won out in the area, no doubt a consideration on the part of Eiselen as he proposed an alternative location for the university (Mawasha, 2006). As the story goes, Chief Moletshe, located northwest of Pietersburg refused to welcome the construction of the university in his area because he feared it would promote Westernization. This was of little consequence for Chief Mamobolo, due to the long-time acceptance of the BMS mission in the area (Krige, 1937, p. 335), a fact that, according to Percy Mokwele, Eiselen surely knew:

> AB: So what effect do you think Eiselen had on the decision to place the university at Turfloop?
>
> PM: Oh he had everything to do with it.
>
> AB: Especially since his ties to the BMS and Mphome.

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94 From interview with A.P.P. (Percy) Mokwele at Turfloop, September 9, 2008.
95 See Mawasha, 2006, p. 66; McCusker & Ramudzuli, 2007, p. 59; White, 1997, p. 45.

PM: Yes, as you know missionary families used to travel between mission

stations and he spent time there as a child. He knew the area quite well.[96]

To recap from above, Mokgawa (2000, p. 12) points out that the Mamobolos were

also acquiescent to Eiselen and De Wet Nel's plans for the area to be known as

Mankweng (the first name of a former Mamobolo chief, meaning "I hear you").[97] It is not

unreasonable to propose, then, that the lack of strong "Pedi" ethnic identification in the

area served as a precondition of the subsequent construction of the university in the late

1950s, and the current prevalence of English usage among educated local youth.

The decision to build the university and the town together was also the result of

extensive debates and government rulings, namely through the Sauer Commission of

1947 (on the "native question"), the Eiselen Commission of 1951–1953 (on "native

education"), and the Tomlinson Commission of 1950–1954 to decide on land policy, viz.

the "native reserves" (Houghton, 1956).[98] According to Kros (2010), the Bantu Education

Act of 1953 and the Tomlinson Commission's 1955 report were meant to work together

as a blueprint for the establishment of self-sustaining separate Black and White societies,

the goal of "Grand Apartheid" (p. 113). De Wet Nel, a key member of the Eiselen

Commission, had asked that more land be provided for these new "homelands" (or

"Bantustans" as they were dubbed in the Commission's report). Thus the

UCN/Mankweng township complex would both enlarge the total area of the local

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96 From interview with A.P.P. (Percy) Mokwele at Turfloop, January 27, 2011.
97 This translation of "Mankweng" was provided by an elderly man living in Mphome village on January 27, 2011.
98 Although the Bantu Self-Government Bill establishing the "homelands" or Bantustans was passed in 1959, Norval points out that contradictory evidence exists for the precise moment in which the possibility of such self-governing 'homelands' was achieved (Norval, 1996, p. 142-151).

reserves (e.g., Dikgale, Mamobolo) and serve as a test for Eiselen's education plan and its

compatibility with the new homeland policy.[99]

Yet Verwoerd, in advocating for tertiary BE was pushing the central logic of

apartheid to its convoluted and self-destructive end. Recalling Dubow's point (echoed by

Kros) that the ideological complex of apartheid was flexible enough to contain

contradictions—contradictions readily observable through an analysis of Kuyperian neo-

Calvinism (Bloomberg, 1989; Naudé, 2005). This flexibility ultimately proved to be a

fatal flaw. The following excerpt from Giliomee (2009, p. 193) illustrates Verwoerd's

approach to educating Black South African youth (emphasis mine):

> Unlike many supporters of the National Party, Verwoerd did not consider
> well-educated Blacks a threat as long as they directed their aspirations to
> their traditional "homelands." When members of his constituency
> questioned the wisdom of establishing new Black university colleges, he
> replied: "We shall have to negotiate frequently with [Blacks] in the future
> over many issues, including education and politics. It would be better to
> negotiate with people who are well informed and educated." […] It
> remains a mystery how Verwoerd could think that Blacks would restrict
> their aspirations to the homelands.

Planners of the UCN, such as Eiselen, as discussed above, envisioned that it would

serve as an engine of "separate development," but it was rooted in a flawed moral and

conceptual framework.[100] The globalization of today's UL campus is a point of

significant irony. Eiselen envisaged the development of a modern albeit separate "Bantu"

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99 One could understand the establishment of the UCN as an experiment in social engineering; the research specialty of National Party leader and PhD in social psychology Hendrik Verwoerd.

100 At the time of UCN's establishment, there was not much "schooling community" to speak of in the area, according to White (1997, p. 72). The decline of BMS schooling and the institution of apartheid laws in 1955 defunding missionary education no doubt had something to do with this (see Horrell, 1969, p. 120). White, however, claims a more general "negative situation with roots in an alien and imposed learning and teaching environment" (ibid.). White's analysis, however, takes little account of other local historical factors. For an alternative take based on historical data, see above, as well as Rüther, 2001, ch. 9.

society, though in a world still yet without the hybridizing forces of global capitalism, mass media diffusion and digital networking. Further, Eiselen's personal vision for the UCN was that it would be a crucial potentiating apparatus of social separation, not economic integration. Compare Eiselen's blindness to such hybridization with the foresight of his contemporary anthropological colleague Malinowski, who accurately predicted it (Kros, 2002, p. 59; cf. Malinowski, 1958).

The UL campus today has become a globalized educational and social community, where mostly students from Limpopo come to learn and experience a different way and pace of life, to experiment and participate.[101] Its modern infrastructural trappings contrast strikingly with adjacent villages: it is separated by a tall gate and four 24-hour security posts. The campus features steady electricity, running water, cafeterias, paved roads, free computer and Internet access, landscaped grounds, and a policy of English as the official institutional language. As of 2006, 74% of the students came from rural Limpopo villages; 9% from rural areas outside of Limpopo, 14% from suburban, urban, or township areas in South Africa, and the remaining 3% from outside of the country (Mulder, p.c., 2008; Nkomo, 2007, p. 161). Thus for many of the students, the campus is relatively comfortable, a drastic change from their everyday, and in combination with cultural diversity, its city-like conditions surely pose an adjustment challenge for many of its mostly rural village-originated student body.

In sum, the Mankweng area has been no stranger to Western forms of education, attendant ideologies, and the contradictions and tensions therein. Given the strong

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[101] For more on student life on the campus, see Nkomo, 1984; 2005; Nkondo, 1975; Oxlund, 2010; White, 1997.

influence of Eiselen on the construction of the university and the BE policy as a whole, and the strong presence of the BMS in the area, it is plausible to consider that BMS notions of European cultural and spiritual stewardship have influenced regionally prevalent language ideologies. Further, one can easily posit that the BMS' proto-apartheid policy of reinforcing *Volksthümlichkeit* by teaching exclusively in the "mother tongue"[102] laid some groundwork for the negative conception of African language education as an oppressive barrier to accessing prosperous "Western" ways of life—a negative conception generally reinforced by BE.

Language Choices amid Structural Forms of Oppression

From the seventeenth century forward, White hegemonies in South Africa put in place structural conditions and ideological dynamics that fostered certain understandings about language and speakers thereof and therefore sociocultural differentiation generally.[103] This is important for backgrounding the discourse analyses about changes in code repertoires and code choice, as arguments for using or learning English are often met with critiques of English linguistic imperialism. These structural factors are especially important because the English language is still a foreign language to many indigenous South Africans, and the access to English education has always been limited, especially in the Limpopo region.

Colonialism and missionization either directly caused or contributed to the disintegration in many parts of South Africa of the chiefdom, historically the essential

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102 In German, *Müttersprache*, later in Afrikaans, *Modertaal*.
103 See the Welsh Commission Report, summarized in Rose & Tunmer, 1975, pp. 233–34, which explored the future of African education and by extension, "the broader question of the future place and role of Africans in society" (Krige, 1997, p. 504).

social unit of most rural African communities (Harries, 1989; Krige, 1937; Ntzebeza, 2005; Schapera, 1934). In the Northern Transvaal region land was seized from chiefs, and thus social units were fractured (Delius, 1988; Hofmeyr, 1993; James, 1999). In addition to direct forms of political control through armed conflict, British colonial administrators also wielded indirect social control through geographical and social ordering. They created censuses, formulated maps, established outposts, and built infrastructure to facilitate trade, all of which influenced social organization.[104] The British colonial government's Bureau of Native Affairs established settlements or "reserves" for "natives," a policy that set the precedent for Bantustan policy (Horrell, 1969, 1973; see footnote 30 on Shepstone; Brookes, 1924). Land Acts after Union (1913, 1936) and the Urban Areas Act of 1923 allowed for the wholesale government theft of land from indigenous South Africans, forcing many men and women to leave their own land and their families to work on others' farms or in faraway mines, or work within urban areas carrying a pass book at all times (Bank, 1994; Brookes, 1924; Paterson, 2005).

Marxist scholars have stressed the foundational role of labor cost control in such oppressive policy formulations, which aimed to restrict access to capital of all kinds—monetary, social, linguistic—to Black South Africans (O'Meara, 1975; Wolpe, 1972; Legassick & Wolpe, 1976).

Part of this cost control was limiting the form and content of education, such that it would keep labor costs low and contain political liabilities; the following statements from colonial and missionary leaders bear this out. Henri-Alexandre Junod, head of the SMSA,

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[104] See Comaroffs, 1991; Cox et al., 2003; Hofmeyr, 1994; McCusker & Ramudzuli, 2007; cf. Van Warmelo, 1935.

explained, "[T]he aim of learning English is to learn the words which he will want in relation with his White master" (Junod, 1905, p. 3). Langham Dale, the Cape Colony Superintendent General of Education, expressed concern in 1891 over the results of Grey's earlier (1855) strategy of "civilization" and assimilation: "Knowledge is power even to them, but it may be a power for ill" (Rose & Tunmer, 1975, p. 212). Congruent with the work of Paterson (2005) on late nineteenth and early twentieth century industrial education in the Cape Colony, a consensus was building around that time period that "book learning" was a waste of effort, or echoing Dale above, potentially "dangerous."[105] In 1892, historian G. M. Theal proposed that Anglican missionaries teaching reading and writing in English were stoking the possibility for trouble:

> Practically, it seems to me that there are a very large number of natives on the frontier who attend these mission schools and are taught to read and write, and they become really unfit for other work, and that class of person is increasing, and they are doing no good to themselves and no good to the country (Rose & Tunmer, 1975, p. 214).

If Theal and Dale's apprehensions above tell us anything, it is that there were concerns over the inherent "power of knowledge… *even to them*." Indeed the learning and usage of English proved to be an important tool in the struggle against White rule, evidenced by the careers of John Dube, Sol Plaatje, and other early South African intellectuals who formed the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912.[106] This potential

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105 This theme of "danger" has resonance in Afrikaner theological defenses of apartheid – the *swart gevaar* or "Black peril," particularly of becoming politically and/or biologically equal to whites (*gelykstelling*). Bloomberg, 1989, pp. 16–17, 22; Brits, 2000, p. 83. Kros, 2010, p. 87–89; Pauw, 2007, p. 107.

106 Another important example can be found in Delius' *The land belongs to us*, a history of the Pedi polity in the ZAR in the late nineteenth century. Delius discusses the case of Johannes Dinkwanyane, a Christian convert who organized a community of Africans resisting colonial and missionary land claims (1984, p. 158 ff.).

of schooling, and particularly English education, to pave the way for economic and political enfranchisement was lost neither on the Protestant missionaries in the Northern Transvaal, nor the apartheid government, with which these mission societies shared a substantial number of theological and philosophical tenets. Although Giliomee (2009) and others (Hartshorne, 1995; Horrell, 1969; Hyslop, 1999) clearly show that access to formal education for Africans skyrocketed as a result of BE, English was actively discouraged and eventually mandated away in 1974 (Mda, 1997; 2004)—an important reason why English has remained so uncommon a linguistic resource in Limpopo.

The language-in-education policy of the apartheid government, though based on UNESCO standards, was ill received by most Black South Africans as a denial of the benefits of education in English, the national and global language of power (Alexander, 2000; De Klerk, 2000; Kallaway, 2002).[107] During apartheid, Black learners were required to learn in their mother tongue for eight years, and then could learn in English *or* Afrikaans.[108] But in 1974, the government passed the *Afrikaans Medium Decree*, mandating that in African schools, Afrikaans had to be used as a language of instruction for at least half of the curriculum after grade 7 (Mda, 1997, p. 369). The political resistance of Soweto schoolchildren in 1976–77 to this policy resulted in a series of street riots in which scores of youth were injured or killed (Rebusoajoang, 1979, pp. 238–39;

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107 "Mother-tongue" education, endorsed by UNESCO in 1953 (while the Bantu Education Act was being passed) aimed to shore up ethnicity-based group identification (UNESCO, 1953).

108 In the mid-seventies, the mother tongue policy was scaled back to four years; in 1979 it was further scaled back to three years (G. De Klerk 2002, p. 33). Many learners left school after eighth grade, however, especially in rural areas—usually for work reasons. Black students would then learn in Afrikaans or English, however in urban areas this would usually be in English (ibid.).

cf. Hartshorne, 1995, p. 312). These now-infamous events of June 16, 1976, gave the

language in education issue a new sense of immediacy.

Noting the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement in the late 1960s and 70s

instructively underscores that by the time of Soweto in 1976, Blackness, not tribal

identification, had become a powerful rallying category for solidarity against apartheid.[109]

This nationalist and anti-pluralist rationale explains one strategic reason why the ANC

championed English as a *lingua franca* among Blacks in South Africa, over and above its

essential utility as the passport for collectively rejoining the world community

(Alexander, 2000; Louw, 2004).

As mentioned above, Black South Africans generally judged the development of

standardized African languages in the same light as the development of African

homelands: as a form of blocking access to power (Hyslop, 1999).[110] The 1996

constitutional decree for nine official African languages was somehow meant to empower

Black South Africans post-apartheid, but other trends; namely the longstanding desire for

English education, national unity, and detribalization (in the context of historical

resistance to mother tongue education), have contravened (Louw, 2004).[111] The Harare

Language Workshop in 1990, the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) of

1992, and other meetings on language policy suggested a highly flexible language

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109 This was not a consensus; see Alexander, 2003, pp. 11–12. See Hirschmann, 1990 for an overview, and Sharp, 1996 for a critical assessment.

110 The proliferation of African language textbooks and readers had been taken mainly as political oppression. See Dean, Hartmann & Katzen, 1983; Maake, 2000; L. Maree, 1984; Oliphant, 2000.

111 See V. De Klerk, 2000; "local ambivalences," Harries, 2001, p. 422; Heugh, 2008; for parents concerned about kids leaving school under Bantu Education, see Hyslop, 1999, p. 78; NMF, 2005, pp. 94–5.

policy.[112] The consensus from all of these efforts was to continue the apartheid English-Afrikaans dual official language policy, while promoting a Black Consciousness-inspired multilingualism (Alexander, 2003). The final result of nine official African languages disrupts a long ANC history of African nationalism and anti-tribalism, and reflects the durability of ethnolinguistic categories reinforced by various European hegemonies adhering to particularist principles.[113]

The jury is still out on how relevant the language policy is for education in rural areas. According to the NMF report, historically, "rural communities had divided responses to schooling" (NMF, p. 36).[114]

According to an unpublished report (Babson, 2007) from my work in South Africa for the BFI in 2006 with 100 ABET[115] students in Limpopo (including the Mankweng area), African language education is closely associated with inferior education and economic stagnation—this is supported by the NMF study as well as DeKlerk (2000) and others (see Alexander, 2003, for review). A key reason may be that the standard versions are not very relevant to everyday life in most African communities. If such standard versions of local languages only exist in written forms developed by European missionaries (namely

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112 This refers to the Kempton Park talks on the transition to ANC power (ibid.; G. De Klerk, 2002) per the De Lange Report of 1981, (Hartshorne, 1995, pp. 314–5).

113 It is important to contrast the ANC's official "non-racial" stand on ethnic differentiation with that of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which has been explicitly pluralist and based on Black Consciousness principles (Sharp, 1996, p. 100).

114 Molteno (1984) says in his classic overview of the history of education for Black South Africans that "Black people from the outset were implacably opposed to Bantu Education. Even before its implementation, people perceived it as part and parcel of the imposition of passes, Bantustans and the whole repressive apparatus" (Molteno, 1984, p. 96). The NMF report covers a range of reasons for parental ambivalence about education, including conflicts with gerontocratic values, fear of brain drain, and skepticism about relevance of academic education to local needs. See pp. 9, 36, 39–41, 44–47, 53. See also the classic "red v. school people" debate chronicled in Mayer's *Townsmen or Tribesmen* (1964); See James, 1999, p. 70, and Ngwane, 2001, pp. 403, 423 for review of relevant literature.

115 ABET stands for "adult basic education and training".

the BMS and SMSA) and do not correspond to sociolinguistic realities in Limpopo, what is the point, one may ask, in using them educationally or enshrining them as "national languages"?

The gamut of apartheid education policies—the 1948 Sauer Commission's extension of the years of "mother tongue" instruction at the expense of English,[116] the Eiselen Commission's report in 1953 enforcing the tenets of CNE, the increased government investment in African language literature (Maake, 2000; Oliphant, 2000)—all were guided by the same particularist principles, put to hegemonic ends (De Wet Nel, 1959). The literature above suggests that Black families knew that BE was oppressive, but were also loathe to turn down the huge government expansion of educational provision (Giliomee, 2009). Further, several recent studies (Biseth, DeKlerk, 2000; Halmarsdottir, 2005; NMF, 2005) as well as the data of this study analyzed in Chapters 5 and 6, suggest these factors may explain a historical precedent for the ambivalence toward African language policy today—i.e., that written African language standards are fine, but they are unnecessary and economically disincentivized.

In conclusion, the history of Western schooling for Black youth in South Africa is one marked by the tension between creating the desire and aspirations for the full benefits of education while forcibly controlling access to such benefits.

English and African Language Use in Local Historical Context

Two important changes since the end of apartheid have been the increased availability of English education to youth and the reported subsequent uptick in youth usage of English. Yet no systematic study of such an increase in either English language education

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116 See Brits, 2000; Giliomee, 2003b, pp. 386, 388–90; and Kros, 2010, pp. 54–58, p. 88 and 111.

or in youth English language practices in Limpopo Province has been conducted. Nonetheless as Bangeni & Kapp (2007), Mesthrie (2008a), Rudwick (2008) (and many others reviewed in these articles) have underlined, English has solidified its place as a so-called "youth language" in South Africa. A point of interest for this study, as highlighted in the introduction, is that this applies not just to urban areas but also contexts variously labeled as "rural" (cf. Makoni et al., 2007).

As explained above, the presence of the UL in Mankweng renders this absence of work on expansion of code repertoire to include more English among youth particularly puzzling. English has been spoken on the campus of the university since the 1960s, particularly by the many students attending from urban areas (Jackson, 1975; White, 1997). This usage has likely increased since English was made the sole official business language of the university in 1995 (e.g., all classes are taught in English, all official correspondence is in English, etc.) (White, 1997, p. 103). English is also used as a bridging language for its multi-cultural student body. However, numerous reports suggest that English in the Mankweng area has, until very recently, been less frequently used than varieties of Northern Sotho and other more "Gauteng"[117] codes such as Tswana and Zulu, or varieties more common in urban townships such as Scamtho.

Suffice it to say that there has been a rather rigid "functional differentiation" between English vs. African language use until recently. The local system of functional differentiations of English and African languages in use that is emerging from this

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117 The name of the province containing Johannesburg and Pretoria and large townships such as Soweto and Hammanskraal.

history, how it is changing, and how it mediates participants' language choices will be explored in Chapters 5 and 6.

The English language was long highly restricted to formal settings in the region, including the Mankweng area, even up to the end of apartheid. As highlighted above, most usages of English and Afrikaans in South Africa have historically been restricted to formal (e.g., schooling or employment) interactional contexts, nearly always involving Whites, especially in rural areas (Alexander, 1999; Kamwangamalu, 2003; Lestrade, 1934/1967, pp. 106–08). I quote leading language in education expert Neville Alexander, consulting for the NMF study on rural South African education (NMF, 2005, pp. 94–95):

> Most rural schools in South Africa are monolingual because of the continuing regional concentration of languages and the local or village concentration of speech varieties. In only a very few cases is regular contact with English and/or Afrikaans prevalent. It is also true that most [primary school] teachers who are prepared to live and work in rural areas tend to be those who are less articulate in the languages of power and high status, i.e. English and Afrikaans. What this amounts to, therefore, is that there is neither an English-speaking environment nor any good first-language (or proficient second-language) English role models in most such areas. In brief, the possibility of extramural reinforcement is minimal or totally absent.

The lack of English in schools or in daily experience is especially true for most of the Limpopo region, though this is changing noticeably in urbanizing areas such as Mankweng township. Similar to Protestant mission education before 1955, BE in the region promoted African language and remedial Afrikaans education at the expense of English education (either as subject or medium) (Louw, 2004, p.321; Rose & Tunmer,

1975, pp. 247–48).[118] Because of the regional prevalence of self-identified Afrikaners, however, English education in the region has been even scarcer than other rural areas in the country until quite recently post-1994.[119] As mentioned in Chapter 2, most homeland governments modified their language in education policies in the 1960s and 70s to promote English language learning from grade 4 on (Hartshorne, 1995, p. 378); lack of qualified teachers, however, has prevented effective implementation of this policy from the apartheid period into the present day.[120] The quality of rural education during apartheid was consistently appraised to be of a very poor quality, mostly due to underfunding and mediocre training (Seroto, 1999, p. 4).[121] This may explain why, despite the very high number of Lebowa matric exam takers in 1990, for example, the failure rate (64%) far outstripped the pass rate (36%) (Seroto, 2004, p. 158). As Christie and Collins have written (cf. Molefo, 1986), the impoverishment of the African "Bantu" system of education was deliberate, especially regarding language:

> In a situation of poorly qualified teachers, lack of facilities, and a system of automatic promotion, it is not likely that academic standards would be high. And, although the purpose of language instruction was undoubtedly to facilitate communication in the language of the employer, it is unlikely that such a rudimentary exposure would result

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118 The Grace Dieu Anglican mission in Pietersburg (now Polokwane) provided English medium education in the area from 1906–1948, and some of its graduates either moved to the Mankweng area as part of forced removals to the Lebowa Bantustan, students of the University of the North, or lecturers (Mokwele, 2008). For the BMS English language education policy, see Rüther, 2001, pp. 243–46. The BMS taught English at higher grade levels after the end of the second Boer War in 1903. The SMSA would follow suit (Jeannerat, personal communication). Research on this topic is ongoing.

119 This pro-Afrikaans policy may have played out differently in the northern Transvaal than in more Anglophone areas such as Johannesburg or Natal because Afrikaans has long been the most common "white" language in the region. This regional linguistic dominance of Afrikaans is traceable to Afrikaner settlement from the "Great Trek" in the early 1800s; nearly all white South Africans in the northernNorthern Transvaal have historically been Afrikaner (Giliomee, 2003b; Pollock & Agnew, 1963).

120 See NMF, 2005, p. 95. The Lebowa homeland, including the Mankweng area, adopted a similar policy in 1971; cf. Hartshorne, 1995.

121 See Heugh, 2000, pp. 24–25 on a key effect of decreased years of L1-medium education post-1976: drastically reduced matric rates.

in mastery, and this in itself would perpetuate the ideology of inferiority, and the social relations of domination and subordination" (Christie & Collins, 1984, p. 179).

As discussed above, Marxist analyses have stressed that the apartheid system could not simultaneously maintain the homelands as dependent labor pools while also encouraging development into economic self-sufficiency, and by implication, establish links with the outside world. This was yet another self-defeating paradox of the apartheid system. And the plain and stubborn result is that Limpopo Province still largely comprises vast rural expanses dotted with pockets of high population density, and villages situated on non-arable land with few local economies.

For the Black Limpopo families formerly denied English education, a "stampede" (De Swaan, 2001) of sorts for English has provoked the question of social consequences: will English be a "killer language" and render other local linguistic codes obsolete? (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001; cf. Diouf, 2003, p. 7) Or will the next generation have other plans? Willy nilly, there is no better economic alternative for youth than to heed interpellation ("calling into," Althusser, 1971) into the national neoliberal economy. This is not an entirely new dilemma, as discussed briefly above. That the university "runs on English," to paraphrase a participant, poses both a tremendous opportunity and significant challenge to UL students. Few in the area have ever received a substantial English education pre-apartheid, before or after 1955 (when funding for missionary education was officially cut; Horrell, 1969, p. 120). Yet there is also the desire to hopefully "go forward" with English and academic skills in hand without, in the words of one of the study participants, "losing one's roots." This tension—between dreaming exciting new dreams one's parents could not, and holding on to "home" and "roots"—lies at the heart of this study, as evidenced in the next two analysis chapters.

CHAPTER 5

Factors in the "Balancing" of Linguistic Code Choice

> A tree can turn to the brighter light … so so does it mean that that part is forgetting its roots? No, it needs to continue its existence. I will die with my culture. It's change man, we need to accept changes. Those who lived in those times are regretting they didn't learn English.
> (Participant 17, p. 5/6)

This excerpt from an individual interview with a UL student uses vivid imagery of roots, trees, and sunlight to describe his current place in life. He says in the strongest terms that he is committed to his (Venda) "culture" for life, while also being open to change. He is not alone among the participants. As will be shown in the next two chapters, nearly all of them profess a dual desire to hold onto their "roots" while "turning to the brighter light," a reference to adopting a so-called "modern," "Western" life-model. What has been indisputable from my previous work in Limpopo with numerous adult learners was that they wanted their juniors to stick to their roots but by all means, learn English.

To review from Chapter 4, few have studied the legacy of hegemonic European models of social differentiation among youth in Limpopo Province, and virtually no study concerns the role of language practices therein. Important related policy legacies, particularly of education remain relatively unexplored. Enactment of colonial and apartheid social policies in Limpopo uprooted families, re-zoned villages, forcibly

removed people from their ancestral lands or out of South African cities into barren "homelands," systematically under- and mis-educated Black African children, and led to violent conflicts. Looking at how high school educated youth are increasing their usage of English in a former "Bantu Town" such as Mankweng and environs sheds some light on these legacies while responding to other recent foci of research interest, such as youth identification post-apartheid and digital literacies among youth in postcolonial societies.

The fundamental finding of this dissertation study is that most participants, among the few high school graduates in the region, consider a "balance" between "sticking to roots" and "going for English" desirable. Not that "balancing" increased English use with continuous use of African languages—and managing how these uses of language may identify (one to) or position (one with) others—is any simple feat (Malefo, 1986).

The participants' responses, metapragmatic discourse, and interactional moves[122] suggest that they are both talking about "balancing" and working to do it in the interviews themselves. Following from the description of the methods in chapter three, deciding what code to use involves foreseeing and then managing ("balancing") the *indexical potentials* generated by pursuing two sometimes competing motivations, namely to:

- Hold onto one's "roots" and
- Put oneself in situations where English will likely be needed

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[122] As explained in the methods section, both discourse analyses (in this and the next chapter) take as data not just what is explicitly said, but how participants position themselves toward others and vice versa.

As suggested by the introductory citation of Mphahlele, the following discourse analysis suggests that the participants recognize the potential challenges and opportunities entailed by pursuing these motivations. Taking the above theme as a starting point for analysis, I explore what the participants' discourse may suggest about the following:

- How does the strength of one's roots affect balancing?
- How does the location of where one resides and works affect balancing?

Sociolinguistically, pursuit of the above motivations requires making code choices starting from certain historically scaffolded, socially shared functional differentiations of languages-in-use. For example, English in South Africa, and particularly in Limpopo Province, has long been associated with and used for written communication, as well as with asymmetric White/Black labor-based interactions, or with elite lifestyle genres (NMF, 2005, p. 94; Rüther, 2001, pp. 241–47).[123] Thus until recently—given its limited availability—English has been associated with cultural prestige and socioeconomic and political privilege and therefore exclusive to institutional settings where certain interactions require English (ibid.; Alexander, 2000; Mawasha, 1986, pp. 24–5; Malefo, 1986, pp. 92–3). As discussed in Chapter 4, among Black South Africans in the region, parental demand for English language education has generally been high for many years, and new policies have resulted in an accelerated push for more of it. Moreover, concerning African languages in use, the "standard" varieties learned in school have also

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123 It is worth recalling here that the current Limpopo Province comprises a land area which used to contain three Black "homelands" or "Bantustans." Today the provincial population is still over 95% Black African.

long been associated with writing and written communication but simply not considered useful by most (Maake, 2000).

Accordingly, the data of this study strongly suggest a pattern well established across many African societies: that the African language varieties(s) learned from birth and used in daily local interactions have been primarily used in (and associated with) *spoken* communication. More specifically, what this means is that the data reflect a strong association of speaking a language and group identification; thus linguistic code choice in *spoken* interaction is regarded as central to the semiotic (re)production of "roots."

Considered alongside the oft-mentioned increasing usage of English in *spoken* interactions among themselves and their peers, participants' English code choice events[124] are far from trivial. The participants appear to be all too aware of the important tensions of balancing, which inhere in the indexical potential of *speaking* with a particular linguistic code to strongly identify oneself. Code choice events—including instances of codeswitching and reports thereof—can serve as *sites*[125] of ideological production, maintaining the potential to index someone as possessing whatever qualities of English are ideologically attributable to people. Motivations 1 and 2 above, therefore (sc., hold onto one's "roots" and put oneself in situations where English will likely be needed) may sometimes compete and generate indexical potentials, which need to be managed, whence the participants' penchant to opt for "balancing."

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124 I use the term "code choice events" to encompass 1) codeswitchings, 2) metapragmatic descriptions of situations where certain code choices may be necessary, and 3) rationalizations about such choices. There are few instances in the data where participants codeswitch; the majority of the data I have would fall under categories (2) or (3). See methods chapter (3).

125 I take actual code choice events as primary sites of ideological production and descriptions thereof in this study as secondary sites (Philips, 2000, p. 245; cf. Kroskrity, 2000, Silverstein, 1998). These issues are explored more fully in the first section of this chapter than the second.

These domestic and sociolinguistic considerations, coupled with the post-apartheid effects of normal freedoms of movement for all and the increased urbanization of rural townships like Mankweng, have begun to blur the above historically straightforward picture of where, when, and with whom certain linguistic codes should be used. The result is that the historically scaffolded functional differentiations are changing with the times, and Mankweng-area youth appear to be driving this change, as scholarly precedent would suggest. As both analysis chapters will show, the participants' responses and discourse suggest they are finding "balancing" role models in new institutional and social contexts and through popular culture, and leading the usage of new digital technologies for communication.

Theoretical Framework

The purpose of this chapter is to present analyses of how the participants, in their own words, manage the complications of "balancing." I specifically focus on code choice as a non-referential index of sticking to roots (viz. by choosing to use one's "home language") or "going for English" (by choosing to use English). I use the term "balancing," taken from the discourse of participants 15, 16 and 36, to describe the sort of pragmatic juggling act of code choices and the potential indexicalities that participants must manage.[126] The *indexical potentials* both generated in interactions and typical of

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126 More data are necessary to make a deeper inquiry into the indexical potentials generated by stylistic/register variation of language in use; in this study I focus on code choice. Code choice is just one kind of non-referential indexicality that serves to change our alignment and positioning with others. See Goffman on "footing", as cited in Woolard, 2004, p. 86; See also Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 157.

particular *indexical ecologies*[127] can have important consequences for identification, semiotically endowing an individual with a particular *persona*. That is, an individuals' code choices—never fully their "own"[128]—function as non-referential indexes of stances, attitudes, and ideologies that in turn index something about them.[129] Attention to balancing thus means attention to the cultivation and evaluation of personae and to the semiotic mechanisms of identification.

I combine the terms *genre* and *lifestyle* to provide a theoretical handle on how using certain codes indexes a person as living their lives according to coherent *genres,* which in Hanks' terms constitute "modes of practice" (1996, p. 246).[130] *Lifestyle genres* can be considered categories of indexical potential, with code choice being a principal type of activation of this potential (Eckert, 2008).[131] The following from Monica Heller (cf. Auer, 1995) illustrates this connection between code choice and what I call lifestyle genre well:

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127 I define indexical ecologies as interactional situations and environments predisposing certain kinds of indexicality. I prefer this term to "context" because it reflects the fundamentally indexical nature of meaning-making (more generically referred to as "communication"), names this process, highlights its dynamism, and does not limit agency to human intentionality; and ecology is a broader and more processually inflected term preferable to environment or context. One of the first mentions of this view of ecology applied to language use can be read in Voeglin & Voeglin, 1964, p. 2, quoted in Haugen, 1972, p. 328–29.

128 See Garrett, 2005, p. 335 on the Bakhtinian perspective on agency in language choices, of which code choice is but one type. See also Irvine, 2001, p. 25 fn3.

129 See "indexical orders" in Silverstein, 1996, p. 268; cf. Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck, 2005, p. 200).

130 See Zhang, 2001 on "Chinese yuppies" and the linking of speech styles to lifestyles. As cited in Eckert, 2003, p. 50.

131 See Koven, 2007 for review. Cf. Silverstein, 1996 on indexical orders and Eckert, 2008 for a synthesis of variationist sociolinguistic perspectives and the Silversteinean/Peircean semiotic approach that Agha applies. Eckert's piece, which draws upon Silverstein's "orders of indexicality" (1996), provided the clearest inspiration for my theorization of the linkage between non-referential indexicality and what I am referring to as lifestyle genre.

> The juxtaposition of codes entails the juxtaposition of two semiotic systems; these can also be seen as (at least) two different ways of organizing worldview, symbolic and material resources, and cultural, economic, and political practices (Heller, 1995, p. 374).

The two major lifestyle genres that emerge from the data are, somewhat unsurprisingly, "English" and "roots", fitting the directive of "stick to roots but go for English."[132]

Notithstanding the linguistic nd experiential limitations of the study outlined in Chapter 3, both survey and discourse data suggest that participants make sense of their own language practices and the link thereof to identification by way of this dichotomous set of lifestyle genres: "roots" (e.g., African, local/rural, Black, traditional, spoken word) and "English" (e.g., non-African, translocal, White, modern, "written" word). "Balancing" means managing the often competing[133] non-referential indexical potentials inherent in these lifestyle genres, a process which entails real social consequences for identification.[134]

That is not to say that this dichotomizing corresponds to reality: a great deal of ideological work is going on in such a formulation. Thus the coherent division between English and roots as lifestyle genres and the ostensibly neat correspondence thereof

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132 I propose that the usefulness of the term "roots" is that in fact it is more descriptive of the broad range of social semiosis (performance, dance, dress, visual art, music, production/consumption etc.) that coheres around language. See "diacritica" in Barth, 1969, p. 14. See also Keane, 2003 for ideologization of how such types of semiosis work together, and cf. Gell, 1998 and Lemke, 2000. To reiterate from the introduction, focusing on language ideology reflects a "linguicentrism" built into the study, yet I use semiotic ideology (Keane, 2003) to look at why, in all of my conversations, even when left to meander and take into account other semiotic modalities, the topic always returned to language, particularly spoken language. In fact this study was meant to be a study on literacy practices, but it became clear how central speaking was to making things happen in life. So in this data participants deemed language practice as the most powerful mode of indexical realization. I use semiotic ideology to make sense of how this may be.

133 See Bakhtin, 1981, in Woolard, 1998, p. 21; Gal, 1998.

134 See Bucholtz, 2002, p. 536–43; Comaroffs, 2005; Koven, 2007; Nuttall, 2004; Rampton, 2003; Shaw, 1994.

between English and home language cannot be taken at face value.[135] Nonetheless, in this

data set, the participants consistently *do* make such correspondences, both in their

discourse but their interactional moves and positionings, and in so doing, ideologically

(re)produce the indexical link between code choice and lifestyle genres.

At the same time, however, the data suggest that the participants are not captive to

such a formulation. I propose across both this and the next analysis chapter that the

participants may be using these genres as reference points while forging a new category

of indexical potential (and thus, of lifestyle genre) through new patterns of code choice.

As Susan Gal has observed, changes in code repertoire such as language shift "only occur

when new generations of speakers use new connotations of the linguistic variants

available to them in order to convey their changing identities and intentions in everyday

linguistic interaction" (Gal, 1979, p. 21).

This innovation, which goes against the "presupposed," can be a "major vectorial

force in formal linguistic change" (Silverstein, 1996, p.267; cf. Irvine & Gal, 2000, p.

47). That is, the data suggest that not only are participants using English more, but in new

contexts and in new ways: changes that represent an expansion of linguistic code

repertoire and that invariably affect English's functional differentiation from African

languages in use. These changes are undoubtedly happening amongst others not captured

in this research, such as incorporation of other languae practices. Yet even as they

challenge preexisting language ideologies through adaptational reconfigurations of their

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135 As Woolard suggests, "each and every particular (linguistic code choice) is not necessarily best
understood by direct reference to different social worlds associated with the two languages" (2004, p. 79).

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code repertoires, how they manage the resulting indexical potentials remains to be investigated.

Chapter Overview

This chapter focuses on exploring how the participants pursue the dual motivations described above—to both put oneself in situations where English will likely be needed while holding onto one's "roots"—and manage the indexical potentials generated in the process. I do this by assessing their discussions of, first, holding on to "roots," and second, the likely English code choice events that serve as *sites* of ideological struggle.

Concerning motivation 1: "roots" is a complex conceptualization referring to participants' sociocultural backgrounds and ties of continuity to the present, anchored in the family and local community life but also, occasionally, linked to translocal, "imagined" ethnicized communities (e.g., "we Tsonga people").[136] The first section explores how participants reflect on the capacity of using the home language (or as often termed, the "mother tongue") to mediate between these two levels of enracination, so to speak. That is, even if participants describe "roots" mostly in terms of their family relationships, they talk about how important their "mother tongue" is to the creation of those relationships.[137] In this next section's analysis of motivation to "stick to one's roots," both levels of enracination are discussed but with particular attention to the

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136 See discussion of "community" in literature review, Chapter 2.

137 The term "mother tongue" is itself a metalinguistic affirmation of this language ideology, to the effect that ethnicity to some is a genetic trait evidenced by the "mother tongue" spoken from the earliest infancy. For linguistic anthropological work on language socialization and language shift, see Kulick, 1992 and Garrett, 2005. From the discussion in Chapter 4, it is clear that the active and ongoing regional evangelism by three Protestant missions from the 1870s through the 1960s, the segregationist policies of the Union government, and the Calvinist-dominant NP's grand apartheid policies all established some form of particularist and Herderian ideology of sociocultural differentiation among many in the region.

following theme: the purported "lack of Pedi roots." A consistent theme in the discourse of both those who identify as Pedi and those who do not is that Pedis "don't know their roots".[138] I pick up from Chapter 4 about how these stances may have been scaffolded historically and how they vary by participants' local perspectives. Although it could be argued that having "too much" roots or roots that are "too strong" could inhibit "balancing," I focus here on the potential difficulties of balancing with little/no/weak "Pedi roots", because it is a prominent feature in the participants' discourse.

Further, concerning the second focus of the chapter (location as a factor in linguistic code choice), a number of structural features of the participants' living environments prime for the usage of one code or another. For example, the urbanization of Mankweng and its proximity to the regional capital; the increased provincial household prevalence and usage of radios, televisions, and mobile phones; the geographical diversity of the UL students; and the relatively new post-apartheid potentials for mobility, both social and spatial (e.g., students going to school in town and returning to the Mankweng area speaking more English) all predispose youth to use English as they are able. This fairly new potential for mobility and semiotic hybridity arises against a historical background of the National Party's (NP) long legacy of categorizing Black South Africans by essentialized ethnicities, and homogenizing group identification through ethno-nationalism and forced removals. Accordingly, linguistic practices were generally understood as serving strictly different functions according to people and place: for example, because most available employment was located in town (usually Pietersburg,

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138 As notable in excerpts 1j.-1l. and 1m., this "lack of roots" is just as much, if not more, of an interest to non-"Pedis" as it is to "Pedis".

[now Polokwane,] or Johannesburg) and through White business owners, one had to know and speak Afrikaans (Junod, 1905; Lestrade, 1938; McCusker & Ramudzuli, 2007). The durable legacy of this localization of linguistic functional differentiation is still highly present in the data: when one goes to town, one must be able to speak English, when one is at home, one should speak one's "mother tongue."[139] This is, no doubt, related to the fact that most villages and zones in the Mankweng area have not changed enough demographically and economically since the end of apartheid to *completely* shift the structural conditions for this functional differentiation. Youth, such as the participants in this study, were likely the first in their families to graduate from high school; unemployment is still very high; and few Black Africans in the region own their own transportation.

In sum, the household and the village are still places where use of English is relatively foreign, although part of occasional code-mixing; in town, however, it is expected as a language of wider communication. The adjacent university upends these expectations: its gated, modernized campus features "urban" infrastructural characteristics providing the living and working environment for about 15,000 students. It requires English for institutional functions while virtually none of its students or staff speaks English as a first language. Investigating area participants' discourse for assumptions about UL students' language practices, and the UL students vice versa, provides insights into how code choice events can serve as sites of ideological production.

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[139] Or as one participant has informed me, "father tongue," meaning that one normally inherits the traditional "tongue" from the father, not the mother. The consistent use of "mother tongue" in the data is some evidence that a European ideology of language socialization is common among the participants.

I argue that exploring these two motivations underpinning "balancing" (putting oneself in situations where English will likely be needed, and holding onto one's "roots"), debated and discussed at length by the participants, provides an important window into participants' code choices and thus into the research question of how participants are expanding their linguistic code repertoires to include more English and the effects thereof on their processes of identification.

Analysis

How Does the Strength of One's Roots Affect Balancing? The Case of "Pedi-ness"

A common theme in the discourse data is that Northern Sotho speakers ("Pedis") have "no culture" or "do not know their roots." But this must be considered in the sociohistorical context of the construction of ethnic identification according to European social engineering in the region. Namely, as described in Chapter 4, missionaries working in the area shared operational philosophies of ethnic particularism, which in turn were also shared by the founders of the apartheid government who used them to establish a broad set of extremist segregationist policies. This ideological continuity was facilitated by local chiefly collusion (Mokgawa, 2000, p. 12–14; Harries, 1989). The participants' discourse describes their inheritance of this particularism and how they are recreating or rejecting the ethnic group identifications it cultivated.

Most participants' discourse about "roots" suggests that the ideological link between language and group identification is established early in life through language socialization in the family and their local communities. Yet the data also suggest that whether this ideological link holds varies depending on ideologies dominant in the home and surrounding community. Thus for some, "roots" simply means "family heritage,"

while for others, it includes village, regional, or ethnic group identification. The end result is that for some participants, "roots" means any mode of identification that can encompass "home" and "tradition" and denotes an according genre of lifestyle; for others, however, roots have little importance or are even derided as irrelevant.

For example, maintaining "roots" may not involve participating in traditional "tribal custom" forms such as music and clothing—it may simply mean a keeping a connection to one's family and using the home language with them. However, this still leaves open the question of whether one can have "weak" roots and still sustain responsibility and motivation for cultural reproduction and continuity—and thus "balancing." Further, it also calls to mind the special place of linguistic practice in cultural continuity and invties inquiry into participants' reflections thereupon. "Roots" appear to involve linguistic practice at their core, in either a constitutive or vehicular sense; that is, language practice as either constituting roots or a serving as a vehicle for transmitting them. Even if participants claim that "roots" are based more on family relationships or group membership or shared aesthetic and ritual heritage, linguistic practice is an immanent part of all of these social activities. Any discussion of roots, therefore, necessarily involves linguistic practice and ideologies thereof.

The following is an excerpt from an interview with two female participants, both UL students of math and science education from Limpopo Province. The interview took place toward the end of my research time in 2008. Participant 32 is from outside of Burgersfort, near the Mpumalanga border, and participant 33 is from outside of Moletshe, northwest of Polokwane. In this part of the interview the topic of "roots" comes up, and I want their thoughts as self-identifying Pedis on the by-then common refrain that campus

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(or the students) was "crushing roots." The conversation broadened to cover related issues about Pedi identification and ethnicity in particular, the meaning of "roots," and responsibility for maintaining them—themes prevalent in other parts of the data. The following excerpt is taken from pagepages 16–19 of a 34-page transcript (noted at the end of the excerpt as <u>underlined</u>). Passages in **bold** are those marked for further discussion.

<u>Ex. 1a</u>

01 -- A: So some guys around here have said "oh those guys at the university

02 -- they're crushing their culture." What do you think of that?

03 -- 32: I think that English does not destroying our culture only if you as a person

04 -- you don't it will depend how do you take it...**if you wanna abuse your**

05 -- **culture you'll go for English and do what others do but if you know your**

06 -- **roots you'll stick on them.**

07 -- 33: The one problem here is that if at home you don't have a granny, is it

08 -- 32: (overlap) a grandmother then...

09 -- 33: (overlap) and who really knows her roots...if she's not old enough if

10 -- you...if I can have a granny...so I won't know what my roots…because even if

11 -- she's between her 60s and 70s, she don't even know herself her roots, **so how**

12 -- **will I know my roots if my mother don't know her roots? So that's the way**

13 -- **we are raised up nowadays...so people are not practicing their roots.**

14 -- 32: Naw I was saying *gore*[140] even my mother who have grown up at other

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140 *gore* = the conjunction "that"

15 --   village and not at Moletsi so we didn't get too much in those things of

16 --   Sepedi

17 --   33: (overlap) the cultures

18 --   32: **just growing up I don't even know many things about my culture**

In lines 4–6 above, participant 32's statement raises an important question about what "going for English" means for her, especially because she opposes it to "knowing your roots" and thus "sticking on them." Throughout the next few lines, "roots" and "culture" (line 32) are lumped together, suggesting they are taking "roots" to mean not an anchor of family relational history, but rather an anchor of the broader notion of "culture." This is problematic, as both of them explain that no one passed along such cultural "roots" to them (lines 7–13). Continuing the discussion, I ask if they had heard of a Pedi cultural organization on campus, an equivalent to the Venda and Tsonga group:

19 --   A: Yeah yeah so I guess one thing that's interesting is that uh like here at the

20 --   university there's a a Venda organization

21 --   32:(overlap) culture

22 --   A: And a Tsonga one, is there one for Pedi?

23 --   32: I I I never

24 --   **33: (overlap) I I never heard**

25 --   **32: (overlap) never heard of that one**

26 --   33: No they are people they are staying I think they know their culture and

27 --   their roots, they are the people who are practi- is still practicing that and

28 --   **even the attire what to wear even if you can ask me what Pedis wear *eish* I**

29 --   can just go there here and there and **I'm not sure about what you're talking**

30 -- **about**...maybe it's some of the things I just copied from ...other peoples they

31 -- say this and then I just say that but I'm not sure if that'sthat's true.

They both explain that there is no Pedi cultural organization; and 33 explicitly says that even if there were one, she would not know what attire to wear (lines 28–29: "*eish* I don't even know what you're talking about"). She assumes the purpose of such an organization is to sustain an essentialized, fetishized form of culture that clearly has little relevance for her, nor for 32, given her response (line 32, "I never heard of that one"). Spontaneously, 32 offers her opinion of why there might not be a campus Pedi cultural organization:

32 -- **32: I think the the the reason of being lack of Sepedi cultural organization**

33 -- **here is because we don't know our...culture**

There is historical precedent for both the lack of "Pedi culture" as well as the lack of such ethnic enculturation in the home (James, 1999). Considering the historical sketch of Pedi ethnic identification in Chapter 4, the lack of "knowledge" of "our culture" is understandable; and considering the lack of enculturation through the female members of the family (lines 7–13 above), perhaps even more so. Participant 33 interjects:

34 -- 33: Pedis are isolated...even in our class, they are **the Swatis**

35 -- 32 **they used to go together, and Vendas they used to go together...**

36 -- 33: **they don't want to mix with other cultures**

37 -- A: the Swatis?

38 -- 32: Yeah (laugh)

39 -- 33: yes exactly **the Swatis in our class they have an attitude toward Pedis** they

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40 --   can'tcan't **there are others who don't even want to talk to you...**she can just

41 --   look at you

42 --   32: laugh

43 --   A: laugh

44 --   33: and just look away, even in the morning she don't even want to greet you

45 --   32: **we want them to accommodate our culture and be accommodated**

46 --   In modern time time...even as we Sepedis (?) **when we are together we use**

47 --   **English language but we are Pedis**

The adjective "isolated" to describe Pedis is unusual, as the area is described as "Pedi-speaking," and about 80% of the students self-identify as "Pedi speaking." However, as discussed in Chapter 4, there are difficulties with using "Pedi" as an ethnic label. Both participants agree that the Swatis and Vendas "go together [and] don't want to mix with other cultures" (lines 35–36), e.g., "Pedis". Indeed, "the Swatis in our class they have an attitude toward Pedis" (line 39). Against such exclusivity, 32 calls for mutual acceptance rather than ethnic prejudice: "we want them to accommodate our culture and be accommodated" (line 45). But in what seems an odd twist, she follows up directly with "in modern time …when we are together we use English language but we are Pedis" (lines 46–47). This calls into question exactly *what* should be accommodated; what of "Pedi"-ness constitutes "our culture"? The run up to this description of "using English even when it's just us Pedis" was that (line 33) "we don't know our culture." Continuing:

48 --   A: Yeah

49 --   32: **So that seems *gore* we don't value our language**

50 --   33: **(overlap) our culture**

51 --   32: **(overlap) and culture**

52 --   33: (overlap) exactly

The verb has now moved from not *knowing* one's culture (line 33) to not *valuing* it (line 49), and in comparison with the groups mentioned above. Following these remarks, participant 33 renders explicit what has been implicit in the discourse in lines 49–51 above, namely that language and culture are considered to be closely linked, if not equivalent.

53 --   A: so what do you think of that?

54 --   32: na I think

55 --   33: (overlap) **I think we can just have a positive attitude**…**the old grannies**

56 --   **maybe they**

57 --   32: (laugh)

58 --   33: (laugh) **maybe they can just raise up from where they are now** and

59 --   **maybe *they* can form some sort of organization** so where we young people

60 --   if I want to learn my roots or my culture and even the government can

61 --   help them to do that... they can help them have an a charity what-what

62 --   where they can...**but they can do that**, so that we can learn our roots from

63 --   a young age.

64 --   A: Uh-hm, uh-hm

65 --   33: If I don't know my culture my roots but my child I wish she could

66 --   learn that – from who if I don't

67 --   32: that's something **we can think of**

68 --   33**: they have to make something** (pp. 16–19/34)

The students clearly have a complex ethnic consciousness and awareness of how cultural politics play out in their social relationships on campus. Several patterns in the discourse of these two participants can be discerned; namely that:

1. Compared to other ethnic groups, Pedis have no "roots" to "crush" so to speak;

2. Even if Pedis do claim "roots," they take an ambivalent stance toward them;

3. Those with a weak sense of "roots" use English more (and for longer sequences) than those with self-professed "strong" roots;

4. Although "roots" are said to come from the father's side, women appear to have a large role in cultural preservation—likely because many fathers have to work and live outside of rural areas.

These patterns are congruent with those found in parts of the discourse data where Northern Sotho languages such as, especially Pedi (as well as Pulana, Lobedu, etc.), are consistently described as relatively "undermined," "weak," or "diluted." Participant 32 speaks for a good number of participants when she says, "I think the the the reason of being lack of Sepedi cultural organization here is because we don't know our … culture" (lines 31–32). This situation is not limited to the Mankweng area, either. Participant 6, a first year student from Mamotintane (a village adjacent to the campus), said in a separate interview four weeks before the one above that according to one of his friends there was barely any interest in the Pedi cultural group at the University of Johannesburg:

Ex.1b.

01 --   6: My friend who is in Malaysia now, who was in UJ, was attending University of

02 -- Johannesburg but before he was trans trans transferred to Malaysia. There were

03 -- groups there were groups at school there were Venda group, they are, eh Tsonga,

04 -- Pedi, Xhosa, Zulu, ja so **I "Soo have you joined the group yet?" "Ja I've joined**

05 -- **the group but it seems that it not those they they the Pedis are not much**

06 -- **interested in in joining." I said, "how many are you? He said "21." "21? You**

07 -- **mean the whole school?"**

08 -- Both: (laugh)

09 -- 6: I guess that there that's one other problem that's one other problem I guess

10 -- that being **embarassed** or something

11 -- A: But does that exist here?

12 -- 6: **Here? Here it doesn't exist because most of them most of the people they**

13 -- **speak Sepedi but, ah (pause) only if they were groups formed** or could might

14 -- manage if some people are interested but most of them **they they speak they**

15 -- **they do speak Pedi, they speak Sepedi**.

Before commenting further on the above excerpt (which I take up after excerpt 1d. below), several macrosocial factors for this so called "undermined" and "weaker" status deserve mention:

- First, traditionally Pedi–speaking areas are among the most urbanized in Limpopo Province,.

- Second, Pedi is a dialectal variant of Northern Sotho.[141]

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[141] These urbanizing areas include the capital Polokwane, but also Mankweng and environs, and other rural towns such as Bochum, Seshego, and nearby Moria.

The urbanization aspect has mostly to do with colonial and apartheid land tenure policies; the linguistic situation has a separate but interrelated history. Referring back to Chapter 4, the BMS was instrumental in creating Pedi as the dominant lingua franca among related Northern Sotho languages. This inclination to raise Pedi to a higher level of usage by the BMS missionaries was based also somewhat on the historical dominance of the Pedi Kingdom in the region (Delius, 1984). In effect the dialect of Pedi came to metonymically stand for all other Northern Sotho dialects in the region, but it did not crowd them out.[142] Thus to this day, the umbrella term "Pedi" blankets a wide range of regional Northern Sotho dialects. In national language policy discourses, Northern Sotho and Pedi are consistently interchangeably referenced, even in official literature.[143] This historical taxonomic confusion and contestation offers a partial explanation for why "Pedi" has lost much of its significance as a "tribe." From an outsider's perspective, the "Pedi tribe" is a shadow-term, a categorization that might have made some sense 200 years ago but today has little correspondence to any ethnological status quo outside of its traditional "cradle": Sekhukhuneland. Beyond this particular area, however, Pedi could be understood, using Brubaker's term, as an "ethnicity without a group" (2002, p. 178).

It is not that self-identifying Pedi participants do not care about "roots"; it's just that in discussing roots with them, one understands that "roots" need not include ethnic group

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[142] They were clearly not as successful as Junod et al.'s efforts with Tsonga (Harries, 1988). BMS missionary Karl Endemann "introduced Sepedi to the world" when he published Versuch einer Grammatik der Sotho in Berlin, 1876. Werner Eiselen's father, Gustav, worked on the first translation of the Bible into Sepedi (Zöllner & Heese, 1984, pp. 19–20).

[143] See Louw, 2004 and Beukes, 2008 for further detail on the 1991–1993 Kempton Park talks and a critical assessment of the current language policy, and G. De Klerk, 2000 for supporting background information. See Alexander, 2003 for an authoritative and brief overview of the development of language in education policy in South Africa.

identification. .”Most participants view some sense of African group belonging as key to their own processes of self-understanding, But because code choice is considered central to (re)producing "roots", the question of how using Pedi does not iconically link speaker to imagined group membership remains. One need only recall the participant from Mamotintane in 1c above, who says that those living in his area, "we are lost, you don't know actually your … original language."[144]

To further explore the link between "Pedi"-ness and identification, we turn to the discourse of participant 19, (below), a UL student from nearby Mentz, challenging the view that one can "stick to roots" while "not knowing any Sepedi" (line 7 and passim). He also asks, however, if hypothetically, he could speak English as a *first language* and still "call (him)self a Pedi" (line 4). Crucially, however, he implies that an "English environment" has a causal role in people no longer "knowing Sepedi" (line 10), highlighting the influence of community in shaping indexical potentials and thus conditions for linguistic code choice:

Ex. 1c.

01 --   19: You know I I don't think that you know I I would say that maybe if

02 --   you are the student I'm going to say that I'm I'm a Pedi ne? My first

03 --   language is English... You know I I may come from a Pedi family, but

04 --   uh, uh, my first language is uh, English. Do I do I have to call myself a

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144 In one such chat with a member of the university administration, he shifted from the topic at hand (my permission to conduct research on the campus) to broader issues in South Africa and Black-white relations. "At least they know where they're from and have traditions, unlike us Westerners." Not only could this view be challenged by the classic "invention of tradition" literature cited inChapter 5 and the literature review, but here in the data, namely in the discourse of participants 31, 38, and others.

05 --   **a Pedi, or a English name an English person?** … **So I don't think I**

06 --   **would call myself a a Pedi** or or a while I know I speak English here

07 --   and I don't even know any Sepedi….**There are some people who who**

08 --   **at some stage and they don't even know Sepedi**, they are originally

09 --   Pedi...they are -- maybe some just learned from em equivalent [?], **you**

10 --   **know they went to an English environment** … you know**, so it's like**

11 --   **maybe yyou don't know yourself right maybe? Y y you how c- how**

12 --   **like are you going to identify yourself?** Are you going to say that you

13 --   are a Sepedi speaking person or are you going to say you are an

14 --   English eh speaking person? <u>(p. 33/35)</u>

Clearly there is more evidence here for the strong association across the data between speaking a language and the (re/)production of ethnic identification, particularly one's "first language" (line 4, above)." Participant 19 above is claiming that even if you are born speaking Pedi you can perhaps lose Pedi identification if you speak more and more English—you may have to use "an English name" (line 5). This is in contrast to participant 36—a self-identified Tswana-speaker and an outspoken proponent of the "stick to your roots but go for English" strategy. She "doesn't believe that an African person say, 'I forgot my language'" (line 5):

Ex. 1d.

01 --   **36: I don't believe *gore* an African person say "I forgot my language."** It

02 --   just doesn't happen like that…maybe the smaller (?) kids but even then.

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From this stance, however, participant 38 does not address the influence of her own "roots" strength. That is, she does not explain whether it derives from strong family influence or her self-ascribed Tswana ethnicization, which has a wide reputation as being "stronger" than Pedi. Nor does she address the influence of community in shaping indexical potentials and thus conditions for linguistic code choice.[145] Participant 36's Tswana identification, I suggest, plays a part in her stance here. Tswana is not considered an "undermined," "northern" language; in fact although structurally similar to Northern Sotho variants such as Pedi, it has a relatively high status among African languages. It raises the issue, following above from participant 31's frustration with Pedi's relative "weakness" as an ethnic identification, of the role of the supposed "strength" of roots and, therefore, the argument that one can "stick to their roots." In other words, would it not be easier to stick to one's roots, so to speak, if such roots are, at the level of ethnic group identification, generally more highly esteemed, and less susceptible to ideological *erasure* (Irvine & Gal, 2000) by even more esteemed ("uplifted") and "urban" languages such as Zulu, Xhosa, or English? Participant 30 noted, in his experience in Gauteng in Pretoria where many people speak Tswana, that "people like it so much…like Sotho Sotho [meaning Southern Sotho] maybe it's more flamboyant or something" (p.2/37).[146] In an informal conversation with participant 17 and his girlfriend, she remarked that she found the Tswana accent "sexy."

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145 Cf. participant 19 above, "an English environment" (line 10).
146 See Louw's (2004) useful description of what he calls "Gauteng culture" (pp. 329–30).

In sum, colligating various insights from the excerpts above, I argue that the feasibility of double-voicing the inherited "stick to your roots but go for English" metapragmatic directive is linked both to the ideologized "strength" of a particular ethnicized identification as well as the strength of one's ties to "home"—whether defined as the household, village, both, or otherwise.

Thus Pedi's relatively weaker place in this hierarchy is one source of indexical potential predisposing a relatively "weaker" sense of ethnic identification. Tswana's ideologized strength lies both in its occasional aesthetic/sensual desirability, but also its prevalence among Black Africans living in Gauteng, and thus its status there as a kind of mesolect between English and Pedi. Its position as a mesolect in Joburg, however, rises to a kind of acrolect in Mankweng, albeit, specific to indexical ecologies and orders. That is, Tswana as a genre of coolness and desirability among certain youth is an important kind of strength, lending some support to Mufwene (2002) and Makoni et al.'s (2007) claims that in some cases, changes in code repertoires to urban(ized) African codes are just as socially and politically significant, or even more so, than those to English.[147]

Returning to 19's discourse in 1c above, and the discourse of 36: would 19, a self-identified Pedi, feel threatened by a potential loss of roots if he identified as Tswana, like 36? This question illustrates both the political economic and recursive aspects of language ideological construction: the dominance of urban languages, with more speakers and more capital behind them, replicates itself in other indexical ecologies (Philips, 2004). As mentioned above, participant 36 "can't believe" that someone might

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147 This status as "sexy" and "cool" appears from the data to be most relevant for male speakers, though this cannot be well established from the data.

have no choice but to lose their roots to an "English environment" as depicted by 19—

"*gore* (that) an African person say "I forgot my language" (Ex. 1d, lines 4–5). The

following situation of participant 30 in Mamotintane would appear foreign to her: He

describes a situation of struggling to "serve two masters": "we are, it's like someone

who's in Joburg…**we** are lost **you** don't know actually your … original language." By

contrast, the UL participant 36 appears to be "rooted," so to speak, by Tswana.

Turning now to the theme of traditional leadership and cultural reproduction, the

participants' discourse above points to the fact that ideologies are sustained at various

levels of social organization, from youth to elders, chiefs and ancestors (Ngwane, 2001;

cf. Mayer, 1964; Mönnig, 1967; Ntsebeza, 2005). But chiefly power varies considerably

in the Limpopo region (NMF, 2005, p. 33–34, 125). Participant 30, a self-identified "half

Venda, half Pedi," describes Venda chiefly power in his father's home village as far

stronger than in his own village of Mamotintane adjacent to the campus. According to an

impromptu recorded dialogue with a female 25-year employee of the university, the most

prominent local chief in the Mankweng area, Mamobolo, "let the culture go. … [H]e

didn't push it. Pedis here in Mamobolo area they forget their culture."[148] This statement

was congruent with my larger understanding of the role of complicit chiefs in the success

of apartheid in local rural areas (Mokgawa, 2000; Ntzebeza, 2005; Ramudzuli, p.c., 2011;

White, 1997) as well as their enormous power over schooling decisions there (NMF,

2005, pp. 125–27; Seroto, 2004).[149] This is also congruent with earlier anthropological

work by Krige (1937, p. 333) who described the local Mamobolo chiefs as "amenable to

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148 This is similar to what Cohen noted in his fieldwork in Nigeria: "a decreasing influence of the
chief to force individuals to act in conformity with the corporate interests of the community" 1968, p. 185.

149 Note about Bantu articles here…

Christianization." The decision to place the university in the area was welcomed by then-chief Mamobolo, who was part of the band of chiefs joining the Lebowa Territorial Authority, headed by Werner Eiselen (Mokgawa, 2000, p.12).[150] Chiefs were important middlemen between local life and Pretoria. But the enormous failure of the Lebowa government was a direct result of a two-faced collusion with and rejection of Pretoria's directives. The chiefs were fabricated or bought and paid for, but Lebowa also remained dependent on the apartheid state, which did not fit into Pretoria's nation building mission (Mokgawa, 2000, pp. 48–49; cf. Anonymous, 1991; Ferguson, 2006). Both trends further weakened the "national" *fasces* of Lebowa (despite all of the nationalist trappings such as flags, seals, capitals, emissaries, etc.) and did little to bolster a sense of "Pedi"-ness (Mokgawa, 2000; cf. Ferguson, 2006). Both waning chiefly influence and increasing urbanization since the institution of the university in 1960 have manifestly laid the groundwork for increasing English language usage in the area (cf. McCusker & Ramudzuli, 2007).[151]

Several key conversations with non-participants lent support to this existing data, and bolstered the impression that young people in the region were "losing their roots". One afternoon (in late August of 2008) outside of my office, I overheard discussions that, over a period of a half-hour, grew into a loud demonstration. I decided to take a break from my computer and take a look. It was a SASCO demonstration in support of Jacob

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150 See also Bantu/Bantoe, No.12, 1956 for an illustrated, bilingual Afrikaans/Northern Sotho account of the opening of the university. I am indebted to University of Limpopo librarian Thoko Hlatshwayo for her assistance in finding this and additional historical documents.
151 Ironically, the fear of this very outcome is what deterred chief Moletshe from accepting the initial offer from Pretoria to have the university established there.

Zuma.[152] I approached a bystander to ask what was going on, and if he would agree to talk with me about the subject of my research. The demonstration was making its way across campus, and it was loud, so we lagged behind it. I used the sound recorder on my cell phone to conduct the interview.

The hour-long conversation was wide-ranging and descriptive, and confirmed much of what I had heard before. But the political tone of his discourse was distinct from most of the participants', as was his no-holds-barred defense of his "roots," coupled with criticism toward most other students for speaking English *while also* forgetting their "roots." He suggested that too many students and youth in the area were speaking English as a result of White rule that promoted English and held Pedis back from building their ethno-political strength.[153] Below the SASCO representative describes his take on the matter:

Ex. 1e.

01 -- R: (laugh), yes, as I was saying, here at university, they allow people to have their

02 -- cultural organization…you will be som.. you will be surprised that even some of

03 -- the students they are challenging those, eh those cultural organizations.

04 -- A: Oh, really?

05 -- R: **Eh, some are saying "that is tribalism"**

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152 As discussed in the background chapter Chapter 4, SASO (later SASCO) has an important history not only at the university but nationally, as a hotbed of anti-apartheid student activism. This made the campus a major resistance stronghold in the 1970s and 80s, a site of considerable military and police brutality against students and faculty against apartheid.

153 The historical precedent for this position cannot be denied, but curiously, as explained in several studies (see Delius, 1984; Hofmeyr, 1993, James, 1999), white hegemonies also expanded the regional extent of Pedi identification.

06 -- 　A: What are some of the cultural organizations?

07 -- 　R: Uh, we have ... a Tsonga one, we have Venda one, that is for the Vhavenda

08 -- 　tribe.

09 -- 　A: OK

10 -- 　R: *Ee*, so it is unfortunate in Sepedi, in Sepedi we don't have.

11 -- 　A: Yeah... I've actually heard that that uh, some people say that the Sepedi, uh

12 -- 　like their ethnic

13 -- 　R: Yeah, yeah

14 -- 　A: like, identity is not that uh, together in some way...

15 -- 　R: Yes, I think this thing has happened because of we have different tribes I

16 -- 　think it's started by different tribes of Ba Pedi... we have BaTokwa,

17 -- 　BaHanwawa...eh…BaLobedu, you see?

18 -- 　A: Yeah

19 -- 　R: Yeah I think it happened like that because this Sepedi…is differ by

20 -- 　pronunciation…the person who's from Molobedu, when he speak he's different

21 -- 　from the one who's from Sekhukhune…different with the person from Sebayeng,

22 -- 　from Moletshe, Motokwa, you see?

23 -- 　A: Sure sure

24 -- 　R: Yeah I think that's why I'm saying they don't have a home, they don't have

25 -- 　one group…unlike the Vhavenda… Venda's only one Tshivenda, that's why

26 -- 　they can group themselves. (pp. 3–4/10)

The first observation is that he is right in pointing out that the ideologization that "Pedi…don't have a home, one group … unlike the Vhavenda" (lines 24–25). Although as mentioned in excerpt 1j, this "home" is usually figured as Sekhukhuneland, but for the Pedi *dialect* and not "Pedi" as a lingua franca tying together various Northern Sotho dialects and so-called "tribes." When referring to Lobedu, Tokwa, and so forth as "BaPedi tribes," he is applying a politically specific mereological framework. "Building up" the Pedi "tribe" in Sekhukhuneland may more accurately refer to his sentiment, though he would surely be dubbed a tribalist for such a suggestion. In the ANC-dominated post-apartheid South Africa, tribalism is frowned upon by most in favor of a far more inclusive democratic and pluralist vision of nationhood (Wilmsen & McAllister, 1993; James, 1999). In fact later in the interaction he does qualify himself by framing his intense interest in and even reverence for "roots" as part of a new multicultural era in South Africa:

Ex. 1f.

01 -- **R: We were agreed that all we are unity,** all of us here, we are now a

02 -- democratical country we are unity we are one, but we must no for**- each**

03 -- **and every person must not forget his culture or her culture.** (p. 4/10)

Harkening back to Chapter 4, this discourse appears to reflect the tensions between nationalism and "tribalism" with which the participants are grappling. From an egalitarian pluralist democratic point of view, every individual has the right to identify with a particular social group. Yet this section has aimed to underscore that the

metadiscourse of "roots" as timeless and ineradicable is highly contingent on historical and political factors that, which have constructed, and continually sustain, ethnicities and languages as such (Makoni, 2003). As Patrick Harries has reinforced,

> Ethnicity is very much a colonial and post-colonial phenomenon; the product of the process of socio-political modernization that accompanied economic development. Ethnicity is not primordial, and far from being static, is a highly mobile and changeable form of self-identification (Harries, n.d., p. 1).

To claim then that one would be "lost" without the belonging of roots is highly suggestive of what's being left out of the equation. It can be inferred that the essential function of roots is to ground and orient one in a changing world. And if speaking one's first African language is ideologically taken to be the primary way to do that, this consensus re-centers our attention on voicing and social relations. To double voice is to reaffirm certain social relations, to index non-referentially the acceptance of a metadiscourse and specifically a metapragmatic directive that has an orienting and grounding function is one's life. However as many studies of ethnic affiliation have shown (e.g., Vail & White, 1989), the semiotic potential for such affiliation to be taken as, or develop into, "tribalism," parochialism, or some other form of exclusion and even enmity for it to be appropriated by others or elaborated by oneself for other sociopolitical means is always there. Thus Harries' cautionary note asis a nod to the scholarly tradition upon which it rests.

Village and family level enculturation are crucial to processes of ideological reproduction. As I have mentioned in reference to my previous work across a number of villages in Limpopo, a common refrain among adult (ABET) learners was that as precious as their languages were and as important as it was for youth to learn and use

them, it was crucial for them to "go for English" and be successful (Babson, 2007).[154]

This stance, however—that young people should stick to their roots but *focus* on improving their English and becoming financially successful—leaves open the question of what "sticking to roots" really means. One particular point of interest in the excerpt just above is in lines 57–58. The participants back off from responsibility to start their *own* cultural group: "*they* ("grannies") can form some sort of organization. …" For them a "positive attitude" (line 54) is enough. Neither 32 (lines 15–17) nor 33 (lines 11–12) reported receiving any clear directive from their parents or grandparents to "stick to their roots." Perhaps this is why participant 32 conflates "abuse your roots" and "going for English" in line 6: the process of cultural reproduction whereby they could develop strong "roots" never happened. Thus 33's somewhat plaintive and defensive rhetorical question in line 11: "how will I know my roots if my mother don't know her roots?" This underscores an interrogation of agency for taking up one's "roots": on the one hand, 32 posits it as an individual choice; on the other, 33 counters that one cannot choose what is unavailable. Caught between being labeled a "roots-hater" and a backward traditionalist, 33 opts for, as mentioned just above, the neutral "positive attitude"—which I will argue later is part of a "third way" modeled on a category of lifestyle common to the neoliberal post-apartheid Zeitgeist, displayed by various stars and television shows, such as *Generations*, depicting what Louw (2004, p. 329) calls "Gauteng culture."

The cross-generational gaps in the reproduction of "roots" as well as differences in geographical distribution reflect to varying degrees of fidelity the imprints of social

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154 These ABET learners, however, represented a sample of those who already had a positive impression of education and English. I did not have the opportunity to talk to those who did not.

engineering under colonialism and apartheid. As will be discussed concerning 30 and 31

later in this chapter, the splintering of families under apartheid has greatly affected

processes of cultural reproduction, and created certain gendered challenges. Reviewing

the data on parental occupations in the questionnaire (Item 8), the number of absent or

deceased fathers, not to mention those who may travel for work, reflects a burden on

young men to mimetically and thus performatively reformulate their roles at various

societal levels, including the family. For young women, the calculus may be even more

complex (James, 1999). Considering the aggressive neoliberal policies of the Mbeki

government onward, female participants are just as likely to express the need for English

to get a good job as the male participants, but have also emphasized feeling pressured to

speak English even among fellow African language speakers.

In the excerpt below, two participants, 30 and 31, from the village of Mamotintane

discuss the theme of "roots." Participant 30 has recently returned to Mamotinane from

two years at the University of Pretoria to transfer to the UL due to lack of funds.

Participant 31—30's second cousin, is four years 30's junior at 19 years old—had also

been planning to enroll at the UL in January 2009. [155] They both suggest that the

aforementioned issues of family splintering have rendered Pedi roots particularly

"diluted" (line 19):

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[155] The cousin of these participants (at whose house the interview took place) has discussed with me at length in a recorded interview the changes there over the past 20 years—integration of pastoralists into the money economy, familial migration from nearby municipalities and regions, and a loosening involvement of chiefs in local affairs, trends that are supported by two studies (Mogkawa, 2000; McCusker & Ramudzuli, 2007). Three additional interviews, one with a 25-year employee of the university, another with the university librarian, a 35 year employee, and A.P.P. Mokwele, a retired professor who started teaching there in 1965, all added additional background information about the background of the area.

01 --   30: Yeah **they're the most proud Pedis I know… yeah those guys (from**

02 --   **Sekhukhune)**…

03 --   31: eh yeah

04 --   30: **they talk their language**…but it's quite different, ya know the

05 --   **tone,** thei their Pedi and thi **this Pedi** *this side***, it's quite different.**

06 --   30: eh **Pedis around Mankweng here are the one who mix too much**,

07 --   bit of Tswana here and there…you know, other languages, yeah so...

08 --   sort of blend into each other

09 --   31: (overlap) like here at Mamobolo area Mankweng…it's like we are

10 --   it's like we are **it's like someone who's in Joburg**…**we are lost** you

11 --   don't know actually your .. **original language**… if you can... listen... me

12 --   talking and a a person from Sekhukhune, **you will hear the d-d-**

13 --   **30: (overlap) difference**

14 --   31: (overlap) difference (p. 4/37) [...]

The metapragmatic commentary of both 30 and 31 here is vivid and detailed,

contrasting and categorizing one type of Pedi as localized to Sekhukhune—particularly in

terms of "tone" (line 5, lines 11–12))—and another type of Pedi localized to "this side"

(line 5), "here at Mamobolo area Mankweng" (line 9). But part of this contrasting is

expressing an explicit attitude about Pedis "around here": they "mix too much," like "we

are someone who's in Joburg…we are lost, you don't know actually your original

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language" (lines 10–11). The "most proud Pedis I know… talk their language" (line 1, line 4). 30 further ties language practice to types of people:

15 --   30: But she (my grandmother) sh just tells me that no, you know what? Pedi

16 --   people they are very shallow.

17 --   A: Oh

18 --   30: In general they are very shallow. They **don't know… what they believe**

19 --   **in…who they believe in, ya know like their beliefs are like diluted you**

20 --   **know**

21 --   31: **They don't really know what's their... actual rrroot**

22 --   30: Yeah

23 --   31: **where they come from…**

24 --   A: Pedis

25 --   30: Yeah, Pedis

26 --   **31: it's like... most of us, our parents from Sekhukhune and Tzaneen**

27 --   they combine their language…**that language is too deep, it's like, when their**

28 --   **pronouncing… if it's like *kgosi*, the *kgosi* like y y you… I don't know how**

29 --   **to put it but, yeah we are just mixting up, mixed people like**

30 --   30: (overlap) Yeah especially if somebody's from Uganda…Bujambura

31 --   All: laugh (p. 8/37)

Mamotintane village is across the road from the university, and the urbanization of Mankweng has shaped Mamotintane in parallel. Participants 30 and 31 compare the

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"pride" (line 1) of the Pedis in Sekhukhueland (about 80 miles to the south) who "talk their language" (line 4) with that of the "Pedis this side, around Mankweng here … who mix too much" (line 6). They describe people in their village and area as ethnologically "mixed," who "don't' know their actual root" (line 15, line 7). Thus the ironic position of being a youth in the Mankweng area who is concerned about "roots": even if one wanted to "stick to roots," these roots are described as "mixed up," and "diluted," and not a reliable resource for ethnic identification. In light of the historical trends of questionable chiefly leadership and urbanization fuelled by families migrating to Mankweng from nearby areas for service provision, such remarks are understandable (McCusker & Ramudzuli, 2007, pp. 67–69). That Pedi is considered this way, especially by Mankweng area youth, is one ideological indicator of language maintenance trouble that could adversely affect the process of "balancing." Referring back to the self-identifying Tswana participant 36 in excerpt 1d, "strong roots" are a prerequisite for good balancing: "otherwise," in the words of participant 16, a self-identifying Tsonga UL student, "you are lost."

But what makes "strong" roots? One can describe this as consolidation of groupness by a process of ideological purification of the following hybridities: 1) code-mixing (combining Pedi with other languages, such as English, Tswana, Tsotsitaal, etc.), 2) having too many varieties spread out geographically (as in the case of Northern Sotho varieties), or 3) speaking a linguistic form that is geographically and morphologically *far from* the "pure" variety (Makoni et al., 2007, p. 42). Participant 6 describes the various kinds of "Pedis" and their geographical locations:

Ex. 1h.

01 --   A: ... What do they speak on Turf and ya know around the campus?

02 --   6: Eh you know eh it's kind of like strange you know cause **the Sepedi**

03 --   **we speak is different is different if you go to Tzaneen** they speak if you

04 --   ask they will tell you you speak t- Selobedu, **it's got has got a different**

05 --   **accent,** you find that when when you have to say, as I can say, "pass

06 --   me the cup," in Sepedi maybe I can say "pass me the *selesho*" when the

07 --   Lobedu people come they say *seloseho*. **Different.**..**You go to**

08 --   **Sekhukhune, but one other kind of Sepedi, different than ours**, then

09 --   you go to Bochum, and this is **another kind of Sepedi.** They speak

10 --   another kind of Sepedi different from ours, then you go to Bochum,

11 --   they speak another kind of Sepedi, **then you go Ga-Mamobolo, that**

12 --   **side of ours Mamotintane** we speak another kind of **Sepedi. It's kind**

13 --   **of strange** but that's how maybe I think we do it really.

For example, according to the following excerpt, to enregister a "deep Pedi" is to position oneself as from the "traditional rural home," in this case the rural subregion of Limpopo called Sekhukhuneland—*fons et origo* of all things Pedi:

Ex. 1i.[156]

01 --   31: There there's a mixed language they use in mines they use this language,

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156 See same excerpt as 4c in Chapter 6.

02 -- Fanagalo, *ga mina, ga wena* those thing they mix that [one?]. **It's like us here,**

03 -- **but if you go to Sekhukhune, you find those people**

04 -- **30: it's** *pure*

05 -- **31: are… it's** *pure* **Sepedi**

06 -- **30:** *pure* **Sepedi**

07 -- 31: If they're writing they say that that they said they they can call this, OK, a

08 -- porridge, **but when they translate to their language, it's different**. .. Like, we

09 -- used to say, **when we call fish, you say, it's** *hlapi*, here we say *titaphi*, but

10 -- here **when we write we call it** *hlapi* **and they call it** *hlapi*,.. **you see there's**

11 -- **lots of tone there.**

12 -- 30: **Yeah but we write this is in the same way… but ...written language is**

13 -- **the same but ..spoken language is different**

14 -- 31: **different**

15 -- 30: **Yeah…that's the problem…**it's like when you write or we talk or we say

16 -- "phone." It's like, you write, "f-o-n-e"

17 -- but when you write it, "p-h –"

18 -- 31: (overlap) you see?

19 -- A: Yeah

20 -- 31: that's how we pronounce it (p. 5/37)

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Speaking "deep Pedi"—in the example, using *hlaphi* instead of *titaphi* for the word "fish"—thereby indexes the only Pedi "pure" authenticity and ethnic roots available.[157] It raises the question: Can you live away from this wellspring of cultural authenticity and still credibly pull of an authentic Pedi identification to oneself and others? The participants' image of strong "roots" carries many connotations: an imagined tethering to one place, a binding of tethered others in this place, and the physical earth—the primordial depth of which is never imagined as anything but unlimited—providing the fastening and nurturing mechanism for these roots. This definition varies importantly from the fetishized, objectualized conception of roots prevalent in the talk of participant 33 above, which draws on images of customary art forms. Moreover, it points out a central difference in the semiotic construction of identification. This difference is discernible in participant 6's commentary above in excerpt 1b, lines 14–15 and 1d above between language use as producer and index of a strong enough "root," and the material and performative qualia which work together (through semiotic ideology) as a sign-bundle of fetishized "culture" (Keane, 2003). For 33, roots are a bit of a spectacle, chunks of ossifying indexical potential that should just be placed in a museum somewhere.[158]

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157 On "linguistic isolationism" see Bucholtz, 2003, p. 404; McLaughlin, 2001, p. 163; Milroy, 1987. One irony is that participant 33, from a village in the Sekhukhuneland area, described her own attachment to and/or knowledge of her own ethnic "roots" as practically nonexistent, underscoring the recursive projection in this interaction as a site of ideological production.

158 This sentiment is clearly expressed in the discourse of participant 30 from Mamotintane:

A: (overlap) books, so it survived then, ya know? But but does the presence of books and does the presence of, ah, cell phones and email – does that, does that present a challenge in some way to the language?

30: Not really you know … I don't think so, because not that much of a challenge to us, cause like we just learn preserve it. We can just put that language in, ahehe, let me say, in a museum.

31: hehehe

30: [?] because like just like English itself, ne…it is evolving, it's not like the way it is 2,000 years ago.

This is very different than understanding "roots" as something that can be maintained through keeping the language and speaking it regularly, and especially at home with family, neighbors and always with elders. Previous research suggests that changes in code repertoire such as language shift and ideological denigration often go hand in hand (Fishman, 1991; Gal, 1979; Meek, 2007). Understanding what constitutes maintaining "strong roots," then, is central to understanding participants' views on code choice and its role in "balancing" multiple beneficial types of ethnic identification simultaneously.

The term "roots" has been fairly consistently used in the dialogue to denote a monocultural self-understanding, with Herderian overtones—a self-understanding which could be contrasted to those discussed in studies of multilingualism highlighting the production of linguistic and sociocultural differentiation (and how the connection between the two is ideologically constructed and maintained).[159] However, as the dialogue of participants 32 and 33 above also shows, one of the major tensions Black South African youth must negotiate today is that between ethnic "pride" and national unity (Stevens & Lockhat, 1997; Comaroff, 2004, pp. 5–6). The ANC has half-heartedly embraced pluralism. At the time of planning the new government in the early 1990's, ethnic diversity was far too associated with the NP's apartheid-based pro-tribalist "divide and conquer" strategy.[160] At the 1991–1993 Kempton Park talks establishing a new official language policy, the momentum was far more in favor of national unity through making English the one and only official language (Louw, 2004, p. 327). But the main

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159 E.g., Irvine & Gal, 2000; Koven, 2007; Woolard, 1998

160 As Gerda De Klerk has pointed out, "the 1989 Harare Declaration sketching a vision for a peaceful settlement in South Africa contained no references at all to language," likely because English was assumedly going to be the national language, and the ANC had "more stark and pressing concerns" (2002, p. 35).

reason this did not happen was trenchant resistance from Afrikaans language activists—not pro-pluralism. How could you then have the same language policy under apartheid, favoring the two dominant "White" languages? Thereafter the eleven-language policy was adopted. Thus the production of ethnicities under colonial and apartheid social policies left a legacy whereby ethnic pluralism could likely be construed as an impediment rather than an aid to reconciliation and democratic nationhood post-apartheid, or rather than a revalorization of African cultural identification.

An informal interview with the president of the university's Tsonga cultural club afforded me the opportunity to delve into these issues. In our discussions it turned out that during my first research project in Limpopo in 2005, I had been to his home area, near the villages of Dididi and Tshitomboni, near the former boders of the Gazankulu and Vanda homeleands. I remember the area well because the village in which we were conducting interviews could not be readily categorized as either Tsonga or Venda. In my conversations I got conflicting answers: "we speak both here." In the vein of Alfred Gell's usage of Peircean *abduction* (1997) our group and I tried to cobble together some conclusion about whether the village was Venda or Tsonga from observations of clothing, architecture, accent, etc. Our semiotic ideologies of Vendaness or Tsonganess were just not cutting it (Keane, 2003). We circled the village several times in our *combi* van, talking with people, getting a slightly different answer each time. It was a lesson—at that time my first real lesson in understanding the messiness of ethnic differentiation, and upon further research, how this messiness has been exploited for a wide variety of political purposes.

I talked with the Tsonga cultural group president (who did not participate in the rest of the study) about literacy at first. But as in just about every other interview, the topic veered quickly into language and culture broadly speaking. I was interested in his thoughts, as a self-identified Tsonga, about Pedis and their culture (or lack thereof). What followed was an interesting metalinguistic commentary rife with elements of a language ideology that to me at that point had been well established; namely, that Pedis did not like to speak their language or practice their culture (that is, if they subscribed to such a thing):

Ex. 1j.

01 --   TC: **Cause, eh, one I know, Pedi people they don't like their culture...**

02 --   A: Yeah I I've heard that very much

03 --   TC: **They don't like their culture**

04 --   A: Why why do you think that is?

05 --   TC: *Eish* **I don't know** because Pedis originally from Lesotho...but at

06 --   Lesotho *ne*? They do their culture Sotho culture. **Sepedi's not a language**

07 --   **actually.** Sepedi come from Sesotho, Northern Sotho

08 --   A: Uh huh right, right

09 --   TC: They don- that that is why I think they don't p-p-prefer to like their

10 --   culture…

11 --   A: Because?

12 --   TC: **They don't have original culture**

13 --   A: they don't have original culture

14 -- TC: Yeah, you there's a S-Selobedu[161] … in in Sesotho there's four

15 -- languages, understand?

16 -- A: Yeah

17 -- TC: Sotho, Sesotho's original, Selobedu, Sepulana, from Bushbuckridge,

18 -- uh...Tswana one one of 11 languages and ... Sotho and Sepedi, they are

19 -- different, and Selobedu, in Molobedu, near Tzaneen...**so Tsonga we're**

20 -- **speaking one language, there's no other languages**

21 -- A: in Giyani

22 -- TC: Giyani, and Buchbuckridge, we are speaking same language...**people**

23 -- **from Venda, ne? They speak two languages**, it's Tshivenda and

24 -- Xitsonga, they speak two languages fluently (p. 10/29)

In this brief excerpt my interlocutor manages to take, among many other stances, three of those taken by the two students in excerpt 1a; namely:

- Pedis have no "roots" to "crush" so to speak, in contrast to other ethnic groups;

- Even if they do have "roots," Pedis take an ambivalent stance toward them; and

- Those with a weak sense of "roots'roots" use English more (and for longer sequences) than those with self-professed "strong" roots.

Later in the discussion, he offers the following:

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161 The Lobedu group was the subject of intense ethnological interest on the part of Werner Eiselen (1928/29) as well as the nephew of Jan Smuts, J.D. Krige, and his wife, Eileen Krige, both noted anthropologists (Krige & Krige, 1943).

01 -- TC: **We Tsonga people, we speak many languages**...but the sometimes

02 -- maybe while in the (?) or somewhere we don't want to speak the language

03 -- if they speak Sepedi we respond in our language, many Pedis they

04 -- don't want to speak any language, maybe 80% of the campus they don't

05 -- want, 80% or 90% of the campus they don't want to speak any language,

06 -- speak only Sepedi and English. Then you can go anywhere and ask this

07 -- **question** You speak Tsonga, Venda, Swati? Myself I speak four

08 -- languages: Venda, Swati and Pedi... and Zulu in the campus... **but many**

09 -- people they people de ey many Pedis they refuse to speak any

10 -- language but **many Tsongas**...if he-they refuse to respond in Sepedi

11 -- maybe I I don't' know why...but myself I respond in Sepedi, because I

12 -- notice many Pedis they **don't know how t- to speak Xitsonga**... that's

13 -- why I respond in English or Sepedi, their language...(?) **it's easiest to**

14 -- speak Tsonga meanwhile they (?) they don't speak our language.

(p. 19/29)

His estimate of the demographic mix of the campus is different than recent data

(Nkomo et al., 2007 has it at more like 65% Pedi, p. 151), but his suggestion is clear:

Pedis barely care about their "own language," so to speak, let alone other African

languages. And because there are more of them on the campus, they exert a lot of peer

influence (see third section) over language practice. He elaborates on this theme below,

providing a rich contrast between Tsonga material and performative culture and Pedis' lack thereof: simply, "Pedis don't have culture" (lines 6–7 below):

Ex. 1l.

01 --   TC: **I told myself that eh I have been told that don't throw away your**

02 --   **language and your custom and norms**...**so even I can speak English I prefer**

03 --   **to speak in my first language Tsonga** and do culture and playing cultural music

04 --   in my room ... (pause) eh, and these things, ne? Many people they ask you why

05 --   do you play this music? **Especially mop- many Pedis they ask why do you play**

06 --   **this music?** It's irritating us or whatever... you see? **Cause Pe- Pedi Pedi people**

07 --   **they don't have culture** so they don't want me to play our cultural music.... **So to**

08 --   **read more English, I- I think it's good but I can never throw away my**

09 --   **culture. My culture's my culture.** I play eh music from America **but** I play

10 --   Tsonga music.

11 --   A: Yeah you know I've never heard any Pedi person say "here's some Pedi music"

12 --   TC: They don't have music they don't have cultural music ...**they play maybe**

13 --   **kwaito but that is common**...to Xitsonga, Zulu and Sotho they only play eh

14 --   kwaito music...so we we play cultural music and with some drums, drums yeah

15 --   A: Yeah so

16 --   TC: and cultural food...

17 --   A: yeah

18 --   TC: and some are using traditional beer. (p. 27/29)

TC's double-voicing of the "stick to roots but go for English" metapragmatic

directive in the first few lines could not be clearer. The excerpt is taken out of a

discussion on reading and writing in Tsonga: he does describe earlier that "we" don'tdo

not write in Tsonga very much because it is impractical but also there'sthere is a sense of

"inferiority" that goes along with it. So he concludes that "although reading is good I can

never throw away my culture." He proceeds to bolster this impression by reemphasizing

his love of Tsonga music, which Pedis find "irritating," unsurprising because they "don't'

have culture" anyway (lines 3–7). He cites Pedis' love of *kwaito* music*,* the Soweto-born

hybrid of the South African styles of *mbaqanga* and bubblegum, and the American styles

of hip-hop and Chicago house, which represents a quintessential example of the post-

apartheid hybridization and re-valorization of so-called "authentic" African forms.[162] But

to his credit he admits that this taste far from particular to Pedis —*kwaito* and house at

the time of the research were the two most popular kinds of music among youth in the

area.[163]

Recalling my experience outside of Tshitomboni (near the home of TC) in 2005, I

cannot help but be reminded of Barth's (1969) supposition that "ethnicity" functions most

robustly at boundaries in order to sustain them (cf. Jackson, 1974, Pratt, 1990). In an area

where Tsonga and Venda ethnic affiliation is indeterminate, it is interesting to imagine

that those who live there might have cultivated a heightened ethnic consciousness. That

TC was both from the Tshitomboni area while also being the head of the Tsonga cultural

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162 a word in the "anti-language" Isicamtho (a current form of Flaaitaal/Tsotsitaal), which means
"good, hot or kicking" sounds, with connotations of the ghetto and gangster lifestyle in sections of Soweto.
Appropriated from the Afrikaans word kwaai, meaning "angry", "hot." See Mhlambi, 2004, p. 118.
163 I will discuss these themes at further length in the discussion section.

club adds some credibility to this idea. He professes that in Ex. 1c, lines 19–24, Tsonga people only speak one language, across a wide geographical area ("whether in Giyani or Bushbuckridge"), while Venda people "speak two," Just spending a day in Tshitomboni contravened such as notion, as did the very fact that it took us several conversations with locals until *we decided* that it was just a "mixed" area, but primarily Venda. Further, he contradicts himself in saying that Tsongas only speak one language, and then in 1g line 1, that "we Tsongas… speak many languages," He expresses pride in his expertise in speaking multiple languages: unlike those Pedis, who only speak Pedi (and perhaps English).

What TC likely means to say above is that Tsonga as a language does not have dialects, which makes his roots strong (per the above equating lack of hybridization with strength); and further, his choice to speak other languages is just that—a choice, and one that does not supplant Tsonga but adds to a repertoire of codes to use.[164] Unlike Pedis who have "no culture," he is not overwhelmed by cultural diversity but embraces it. This recalls the Jungian model of roots, as "always there" and providing an anchor to allow for the performative appropriation of other modes of identification.[165] The language/culture schema he presents here, inevitably partial, is fraught with complexity and semblant contradiction.

All of this complexity means neither chaos nor some immanent but mysterious order to be discovered, necessarily. For this analysis however it lends credibility to the anti-

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164 See Harries, n.d., pp. 16–17 on the "standardization/purification" of local dialects into the Thonga (the current Tsonga) language.

165 "Life has always seemed to me like a plant that lives on its rhizome. Its true life is invisible, hidden in the rhizome. The part that appears above ground lasts only a single summer. … What we see is the blossom, which passes. The rhizome remains" (Jung, 1965, p. 4).

primordialist work of Harries (n.d., 1988, 2001, 2007) on Tsonga identification, and other

work on similar processes in the region (James, 1999; Vail and White, 1991; cf. Herbert,

2002). This work has shown that the production of ethnicities in the region has

historically been based in conflicts and contact against the primordialist assumption of

geographic isolation (Barth, 1969; Pratt, 1990). Clearly the Tsonga club president is

expressing his self-understanding as Tsonga, and in doing so, distinct from Pedis. This is

logically unsurprising: to build up distinctiveness you must emphasize difference.

The historical perspective of Harries is a useful counterweight to functionalist

accounts of ethno-genesis and -continuity (e.g. Barth, 1969, Leach, 1954). Barth

proposed the valuable and now widely accepted thesis that ethnic groups (and their

consciousness as such) are products of contact, not isolation (1969). But the historical

anthropological work of Harries provides the crucial insight that the Calvinist

particularism of Swiss missionary Junod and his Calvinist bretheren created the Tsonga

ethnicity (Harries, n.d.; 1988). A clearer example of these phenomena can hardly be

found than present day Limpopo Province, a region that used to comprise three

Bantustans and still has numerous pockets of very high population density as a result—

Mankweng and Sebayeng rural townships being prime examples (Cox et al., 2004; Delius

& Schirmer, 2001, p. 9; Horrell, 1973; McCusker & Ramudzuli, 2007). It is no wonder

that many youth in the area and particularly those on campus have such interest in talking

about language and ethnic identification.

However, the sociolinguistic and anthropological investigation of how certain

ideological formations such as ethnicity perdure or change continues. In a processual,

habitus-based model, both structuration and agency within formations such as culture or

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ethnicity can still be regarded as vital and consequential. This also applies to group-ness, according to Rogers Brubaker: "The alternative to the substantialist idiom of bounded groups is not an idiom of individual choice, but rather (as Bourdieu never tired of emphasizing) a relational, processual, and dynamic analytical language" (Brubaker, 2003, p. 5).

It is with this in mind that I have been addressing the issue of code choice and "roots," Tacking back to a functionalist perspective, what do the participants *get out of* "roots*"*? The short answer is *belonging*. However, returning to the question raised by exploring the discourse pf participants 32 and 33, if "roots" in essence is collective affiliation, is "ethnicity" necessarily part of "roots"? That Tsonga ethnic identification is so recently constructed yet strongly *felt* and *lived* as real; that Pedi ethnic identification was and is not; that Zulu is the dominant African language in South Africa today—all of these stances have compelling historical and political economic origins and implications. But this analysis asks about the relationship between these origins and implications, which structure the array of choices available, the ideological mediation of such choices taken individually, and the parameters of possible consequences. How much agency do the participants have to choose ethnic affiliation or opt out of it? What is the role of strong or weak ethnic affiliation in language maintenance?

The data suggest that participants, whether commenting as a self-identified Pedi or otherwise, regard Pedi "roots" as weak or unsubstantial, and particularly in the Mankweng area, which makes claims to Pedi "roots", or grounding one's self-understanding in such roots, problematic. This would suggest that whether they like it or not, they don't have much of a sense of shared presupposed Pedi "groupness" to work

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with, which would provide a sense of shared social connection and us-understanding. Ethnicity—which is a processual formation perhaps better understood, per Brubaker, as "ethnicization"—is fundamentally *shared*. The lack of shared "ethnic roots" among so many youth identifying as Pedi thus limits for them the influence of "roots" on linguistic code choice to the domestic/kinship realm (rather than also including the groupist/tribal realm). In the example of Pedi, we have a good deal of evidence to suggest that language's enormous *potential* to indexically reproduce such sharedness, and shared rootedness, is not realized. Looking through a phenomenological lens back to early theories of nationalism, Renan's *plébiscite quotidien* provides a useful reminder of the accumulated effects of individual choices in the (re)construction of social formations such as ethnicity (Renan, 1882).The code choices that Pedi youth are described above as taking do nothing but bolster the ideology that Pedi youth's ambivalence or just apathy towards their "roots" is either hastening the decline of "Pedi culture" or evidence of its obsolescence.

On this note, a final excerpt underscores that even widely shared ideologizations of, say "Tsonganess" as "strong" or "Pediness" as "weak" are *continually evolving*. Participant 17, a self-identified Venda and staunch advocate of the "stick to roots but go for English" directive, had this to say about Pedis, but ultimately about Vendas and himself:

Ex. 1m.

01 --	A: People have told me that Pedis are not into their background…

**02 --	17: You know what I think about Pedis I think lots of them adopt**

03 -- English because **somehow their culture is not very rich** I might I cant

04 -- say or put it like that, like, hm, they don't **they don't really care much**

05 -- **about** this, ya know, **they're like those people who are like in cities,**

06 -- **towns**, like Joburg, those kinds of things...even you y- ou can hardly find

07 -- someone *gore* le – who can t- try to tell you I'm speaking to(?) I can't do

08 -- this because it's against my culture. **They tend to do everything, you**

09 -- **know. Whatever comes their way, they they don't have any problem**

10 -- **with that**.

11 -- A: Pedis?

12 -- 17: Yeah, that's what I I I think about them **they're so ignorant** ja they

13 -- don't they don't know.

He first characterizes Pedis as a group as people who "don't care about their culture, they're like those in cities and towns, like Joburg" (lines 5–6). They're "so ignorant ja they don't know" (line 11), they hardly ever say "I can't do this because it's against my culture" (lines 5–8). But then he curiously backs away from Venda as being much different:

01 -- A: Yeah, it seems like you're saying it's different than Venda or?

02 -- 17: **I mean Venda man ah *eish*...(?)** but now nowadays...it'sit's all

03 -- changing you know it's not like before, it's changing now...urbanizations

04 -- and **stuff**, ya know people are moving to towns and they tend to forget any

05 -- other thing. **There's no no culture that you can still say uh it's 100%**

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06 -- **guided by the the the the chief,** ja the traditional things now. People are t

07 -- ending to forget that, ***they don't we*** no longer believe in that.

In response to my question about if he thinks "it's different than Venda" he replies, "I mean Venda man ah *eish*? … but now nowadays … it's all changing" (line 15). And who does he think may be driving the forgetting of "the traditional things" (line 18)? In his words, it's ambiguously worded, "*they* don't *we* no longer believe in that" (lines 18–19). He is taking the strong stance that Pedis are notoriously "adopting English…like those in cities and towns" and "don't really care about culture" (lines 2–5); at the same time, he is asserting that he and contemporaries are at the threshold of an overall de-tribalizing trend, whereby chiefly influence is waning across the board (lines 17–18). This excerpt then underscores the common view among the participants (see examples above) that Pedis don't know or care about their roots, and exhibit this collective stance through their comportment. Yet it also suggests that, per line 7 ("they don't we no longer believe in that") some Venda youth themselves maintain this same stance.

There is an important constellation of stances here that builds a clearer picture of the pro-"roots" persona: someone who aligns their actions with "their culture" (line 8), who is not "like those in cities" (line 5), or "ignorant" of their culture (line 11).

At the same time, as asked above in the discussion for excerpt 1d: how would a pro-roots persona be possible for self-identifying Pedi participants? The data suggest that Pediness itself, perhaps "diluted" (Ex. 1g, line 5), has little value for the non-village participants as "roots."

This contrasts minimally with the village participants, yet starkly with the two self-identifying Tsonga participants, one Venda participant, and one Tswana participant. On the other hand, the participants' discourse above suggests that for most, *family* ties provide "roots," as do domestic customs and routines. "Pedi" ethnicization appears not to be a core feature of "roots," in the same way as it appears to be for others who identify ethnically (cf. Ex. 1a, lines 34–36). The effect then is that although one might non-referentially index—thus *position*—oneself to others as "Pedi" when one uses a language taken up by others as Pedi, this is by no means a window into a speaker's intentionality; this topic is taken up more fully in the next chapter.

The rural-urban divide persists in many forms today in contemporary Africa, and illustrating how this binary dynamic is rapidly changing *through the actions of youth such as these participants, particularly their linguistic code choices* is a major interest in this dissertation.[166] Pedi as a linguistic and "tribal" identification is considered weaker than Venda or Tsonga, among others, and I have outlined some of the historical reasons for that both in the local area and in the region generally. This perceived weakness is both specific to particular historical consequences and part of a major trend of urbanization and use of more English. How participant 17 positions himself through his stances above provides evidence of how he is using a strongly rooted ethnic identification for balancing, in a way that, previous excerpts suggests, self-identifying Pedi participants generally do not.

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166 See Cohen (1974), Cook (2002), Diouf (2003), Geshiere & Gugler (1998), Makoni et al. (2007) and McLaughlin (2001).

An additional example of this stance can be found below in the discourse of participant 36, a self-identified Tswana who also feels a strong sense of roots, and that this strength allows her to "balance her things," Her stance here in the focus group discussion with her fellow UL peers exemplifies her strongly "pro-roots" persona, in contrast to participant 38:

Ex. 1n[167]

01 --   38: […] I think language and culture it's jus- i- i- i- i- it's- it's

02 --   important in the sense that … it helps us identify ourselves. It helps one to

03 --   identify helps one to identify between people to say I'm Black I'm

04 --   Pedi she's Black and she's Zulu but then there's nothing much to it. But with

05 --   English, there's *much*.

Participant 38 here is laying out a very explicit stance: there's "nothing much to" (line 4) using "(African) language and culture" (line 1) other than "it helps us to identify ourselves" (line 2). Its non-referential indexical value of socially differentiating between types of Africanness ("I'm Black I'm Pedi she's Black and she's Zulu," lines 3–4) appears to be the only functional value of African language and culture to her. English, on the other hand, offers her far more than this type of identification "with English there's *much*" (line 5). Participant 38 has experienced a lot of resistance to her "pro-English and anti-roots" stances throughout the focus group. Thus it is no surprise that 36, perhaps the most "pro-roots" participant, jumps in to respond:

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167 See excerpt 2l in the next chapter, which picks up where this excerpt leaves off.

06 --   A: Hm… yeah?

07 --   36: Ne **we are not crushing English and uplifting cultural languages. We are**

08 --   **just saying all of them should be at the same level. As much you are…**

09 --   **greating English be great in your**

10 --   **?: (overlap) mother's tongue**

11 --   36: **mother tongue... don't let anything go sideways**

12 --   A: OK

13 --   36: **balance your things**… we are- yes! English is very important, it's very

14 --   important to ALL of us, it's VERY important…but **you were born Sepedi just**

15 --   **love yourself like that.**

16 --   44: (overlap) use Sepedi language

17 --   **36: But... go for for for civilization, go**

18 --   ?: Yeah

Here, participant 36 offers an alternative to the zero-sum calculus of participant 38:

you needn't give up English or your roots; "all of them should be at the same level" (line

8). A faint sign of alignment from another participant (line 10) also reflects the generally

high level of support 36 has received from others for her stances throughout the focus

group, which is also recognizable throughout the data. That is, most participants appear to

support the directive to "balance" by sticking to roots *by speaking your mother tongue* all

the while "not crushing English and uplifting cultural languages" (line 7). I have noted

that, from the participants' discussions of their family lives, this appears to be a

consensus among most of their elders (cf. Babson, Wagner & Sirinides, 2006; Babson, 2007). It is a kind of "double-voicing" of this metapragmatic directive, congruent, perhaps, with her status in the focus group as a kind of leader: "don't let anything go sideways…balance your things" (line 11). A further connection that 36 makes is that between "undermining" as 38 appears to be doing and "self-love." To 36, 38 is not "loving herself" by undermining African language and culture through limiting its function to social differentiation. The assumption here by 38 is that 36 considers speaking her "mother tongue" as crucial to self-expression and definition as she (38) does: "you were born Sepedi." That is, one is born speaking a language and thus having a culture, and if one rejects their value, they are in some ways rejecting themselves. Unlike 38, 36 grew up with both a solid familial and ethnic basis for "roots." Participant 36's response does not take this fully into account (which is unsurprising since they had never met each other before the focus group).

Participant 38 does not share the same assumptions about the connection between language, culture, identification and self-regard as 36. 38, whose father is Zulu and mother is Pedi, did not grow up with a strong connection to either ethnic identification, a fact that further bolsters the "hybridization = weakness" ideology above concerning ethnic identification. To her, ethnicity doesn't matter at all—not even as a label of differentiation ("but then there's nothing much to it," line 2)—so why should "balancing"? But 36, proudly Tswana, takes her indifference as a sign of self-rejection: "you were born Pedi, just love yourself like that" (lines 12–13). This assumption is a strong sign of her ideology of inborn ethnicity. This offers an additional piece of

evidence for the claim that the stronger the perception of one's "roots," the more confident one is likely to be about the prospect of "balancing."

So the contrast between the two participants is fairly clear: 38 presents a zero-sum model of alternately belittling African "language and culture" (line 1) and "uplifting" English; 36 presents an "everyone wins" model, which appears positive. But 43, a UL student from the nearby village of Mentz, problematizes this picture of "balancing"-as-happy-medium by describing it in terms of having a particular kind of persona, known by what I have understood to be the generally negative social label, "coconut" (line 21). She provides a striking clarification of what balancing means to her, and perhaps other participants: "we are trying to be coconuts, we are talking English, whereas outside we are Black" (lines 28–29). Inasmuch as *speaking* a language (as opposed to reading and writing it) is considered strongly constitutive and definitive of ethnic identification, this was a significant assertion.

19 --   43: (overlap) you know

20 --   36: (overlap) go

21 --   43: there's this thing called coconut

22 --   A: Hm yeah?

23 --   36: (laugh)

24 --   43: It's brown outside…and inside it's White

25 --   A: right

26 --   43: So us

27 --   Multiple: laughs…

28 --   43: **we're trying to be coconuts, we are talking English, whereas outside we**

29 --   **are Black.** (p. 36/38)

From this excerpt, it must be asked: how far can the "coconut" analogy be taken, in terms of its inside/outside White/Black connotations (cf. Mesthrie, 2008; Rudwick, 2008)?[168] Does this signal a balanced engagement with the lifestyle genres of "English and "roots," or not? Unfortunately, this was mentioned at the end of the focus group, and the subject was quickly changed, as silence fell on the group briefly after her comment. Who is the "we" 43 is speaking for?

In this conversation that started out as a discussion about literacy practices, such a statement highlights the degree to which language use and ethnicization are ideologically bound in this multilingual place. Beyond this straightforward claim however lie the more difficult questions that the study could not address in its scope. The data available in this study do suggest, however, that "coconut" here does signify a kind of "balance"; but more research would further illuminate whether or not this is the case.

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168 "Coconut" is a label often derogatorily leveled against Black South Africans who appear to some to be "too white." It was not the first time I had heard the term, and the themes associated with this word were common in the data. The focus group discussion in which I first heard the word (the campus females focus group, see excerpt 1j, previous chapter) was jovial, and laughter, albeit awkward, was my first reaction to the word.

How Does the Location of Where One Lives and Works Affect Balancing?

Identification and The Portability of Indexical Potentials

Inasmuch as different languages are more likely to be spoken in different places with different people, achieving an even distribution of such opportunities is considered important to "balancing," Yet just as with "roots," the geographical mapping of linguistic functional differentiation has an important basis in European hegemonic history. Colonial laws severely limited land tenure and mobility of Black South African citizens, and the apartheid government only intensified this oppression, forcibly removing many from urban areas to rural "homelands" (Delius & Schirmer, 2001). Under apartheid, forced removal and relocation of Black South African citizens into non-sovereign "homelands" made a largely fabricated, primordialist ethnicity an official badge of individual and group identification. Space, language, history and group identification all shared the same ethnic label.

Further, labor relations were strictly regimented toward White "trusteeship," such that a Black person's relationship with a White person was legislatively and indeed operationally segregated. This segregation was reinforced through language ideological practice: Afrikaans was taught and learned in schools, but only in later grades, and only enough to satisfactorily communicate with one's (usually White) boss. The apartheid system of separate development deemed English either useless or dangerous, though this sentiment was hardly new among White European hegemony, as explained in chapter four.

An overall effect of these social policies has been that English has not been widely spoken in the region (Mawasha, 1986), and until fairly recently, that has not started

changing. Thus a fairly rigid geographical mapping of linguistic functional differentiation

has obtained: one always speaks this language with these people over here for certain

purposes, and that language over there with those people for other purposes. One

participant (15, in ex. 2f. below) makes the example of speaking Pedi at home but

English in town at his school. This pragmatic compartmentalization gives him confidence

to indeed "balance" genres of lifestyle, as long as he lives in his village and works in

town.

But area and campus youth share some disagreements on how to achieve this

"balance," given the diversity on the modernized campus of the university, a situation

that challenges the "rural-urban" divide, and indeed those geographical boundaries of the

former apartheid homelands and colonial reserves and locations (Van Warmelo, 1935;

McCusker & Ramudzuli, 2007). If globalization and urbanization can be broadly

understood as accelerated economic and social diversification and expansion, the

Mankweng area is a key regional site of such processes. The gradually increasing

mobility and educational attainment of youth in the midst of rapid urban growth in

Polokwane and Mankweng and simultaneous continuation of rural economic stagnation

has destabilized the above mappings.

The result is that the influence of living in one community or another on structuring

indexical potentials must be rethought. That is, the data suggest that the balancing

scenario discussed by 15 later in this section in excerpt 2f.—that he can maintain a

"balance" with the two lifestyle genres as long as they are spatially anchored—cannot

apply to non-village participants, because the campus is supposedly "like Joburg." As

more English is spoken by more Limpopo youth, this anchoring and thus mode of

balancing may be further destabilized. This section subsequently explores the participants' discourse about code choices in this time of change.

The following are two metapragmatic descriptions from two separate UL focus groups. In both excerpts, participants 43 and 16 use the phrase "it depends" (2a., line 1; 2b., line 5), which signals a sensibility for certain indexical orders and ecologies, an awareness of the kinds of people, places and settings that may combine to present particular situations that indicate a particular code is more appropriate. In the first excerpt, participant 43, a UL student from nearby Mentz, describes a fairly distinct mapping of linguistic functional differentiation:

Ex. 2a

01 --   43: **I would say it depends on who you are with**…and you're talking with…so

02 --   **if you're it's your mother at home…you actually feel comfortable when**

03 --   **speaking Sepedi.** But then if it's someone, **maybe you are looking for a job or**

04 --   **something, you feel comfortable speaking English**.

In the above case, linguistic code choice is clear and distinct, and diglossically compartmentalized not only by function but by location.[169] In this case, the term codeswitching, defined by Woolard as "an individual's use of two or more language varieties in the same speech event" would not apply; linguistic code *choice* is a more apt descriptor, as it suggests (but does not *confirm*) more ability to reflect and plan, therefore

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169 See literature view chapter (2) on diglossia.

more intentionality.[170] As discussed in chapter four, however, and highlighted above in the introduction, participant 43's approach to code choice is consistent with historical precedent. The following excerpt however depicts a more complicated calculus; when similar topics were covered in his focus group, a UL student from Nkowankowa in the Tzaneen area described in further detail how he might make his code choices:

<u>Ex. 2b</u>

01 -- 16: Ah living at home, living at home, like if I can get a chance tto speak and like,

02 -- there are these **Indian guys**…they do.. the they they do try to speak Xitsonga,

03 -- and **they know the basics, good morning, how are you, I'm fine**, those

04 -- things….When I have to communicate with them, I would speak to them in

05 -- English. […] OK, eh, for me to speak a specific language **it depends where we s-**

06 -- **uh, uh... in the circumstance or the environment I'm in. If I'm at home, as a I**

07 -- **said, it depends who I might be talking to actually.** If I can speak to him, I

08 -- choose I can speak to him in English, I can speak to him in Sepedi, but if I'm

09 -- speaking to my parents I speak to them in Xitsonga, and sometimes I I do love

10 -- um teasing them with some Sepedi words. […]

In participant 16's experience, "home" is not a hermetically sealed-off indexical ecological bubble. He emphasizes that he is able to speak whatever code is appropriate, and/or whatever code he can get away with using. "If he can" speak to someone in

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170 See Woolard, 2004, p. 76, 84; cf. Duranti, 1993; Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993, ch. 4 and 5.

English at home, he will (lines 7–8); he is able to speak in Sepedi if need be. Finally, syllogistically, he just speaks to his parents in Tsonga because he is supposed to; but going against this metapragmatic presupposition, he "teases them with some Sepedi words" (line 10).

Doubtless, participant 16 adjusts his pragmatic decision matrix from situation to situation. For example, while on the UL campus, he reports a very different set of criteria (see Ex. 2i., next chapter). But in recent years, urbanization has brought similar changes to his home township in the Greater Tzaneen area, Nkowankowa. It is similar to the Mankweng area: rural yet peri-urban, densely populated and well connected to major routes. Though primarily considered a Tsonga area, Nkowankowa's proximity to the Lobedu heartland and Tzaneen (a town slightly smaller than Polokwane) has disposed it to modestly increasing demographic diversity. This is part of a larger trend: post-apartheid, economic liberalization has increased both internal and external immigration in South Africa (Cox et al., 2003). Indian merchants doing business in rural service hubs like Tzaneen and Mankweng marks a trend nascent at the time of this research (June-September, 2008). Participants 30 and 31 from nearby Mamotintane describe a similar scene in Mankweng:

Ex. 2c

01 --   31: even [?] **Indians, Indians where you where there's shops they say**

02 --   **"Thobela, le kae, ke mo?"**

03 --   30: So if you…

04 --   31: And I'm very much interested, reason being, if I know your language, I

05 --   know, I'm 100% sure, **if I'm talking to you, with your mother's tongue, you'll**

06 --   **be more convinced.**

07 --   30: And it's easier to do business, ne?

08 --   A: Yeah, yeah – it's a new si, it's a yeah

09 --   **30: Yeah you have to learn English to do business with the world! But**

10 --   **they're learning Pedi to do business with the Pedis...**

The image of Indian merchants setting up shop in Mankweng struck me as unusual, as I saw very few during my stays there over a three-year period (2005–2008). But it supports the image of Mankweng as a growing, globalizing, rural (now semi-rural?) township, where Pedis do business in Pedi, where English is not needed and can even, in the case of the merchants, be assumed as a liability. They are clearly choosing in an instrumentalist fashion to learn and use the local Pedi, even if a somewhat ornamental smattering, to help their business.

A UL student from the same village as participant 43 (Mentz) also describes commerce-driven language learning and negotiation. Mentz is located next to Moria, home to one of the largest independent African churches on the continent, the ZCC (see footnote 39). He describes a market scene involving African immigrants selling goods by the roadside along with Afrikaner farmers travelling in for the day to sell fruit.

Ex. 2d.

01 --   You know **I got to meet different people from different countries as well**, you

02 --   know. There are these people, you know like I don't know how you call them,

03 --   refugees or whatever.

04 --   A: Oh, refugees, yeah.

05 --   19: Yeah, they are there and there are people **Zimbabweans and Mozambicans**

06 --   **and there are also these [??] they sell things**, you know. Like farmers, Boers,

07 --   like **Afrikaners** people, they come there and they sell fruits and whatever, ya

08 --   know. It's like maybe... [?], tho those people, ne? **They will try to learn eh one**

09 --   **language to communicate with these people they are saying things to**. You

10 --   know, and and as one of those people that also **try to learn their language** the

11 --   language that they speak you know, just to communicate with them…**but in**

12 --   **most cases if you if you don't under - if you don't understand each other**

13 --   **then**…**you use English in those cases.**

    The above excerpts present many themes to explore, but the key point to emphasize here is that increased regional economic activity and immigration post-apartheid, leading to notable growth of semi-rural service centers such as Mankweng (and to a lesser extent, Tzaneen and Tzaneen-area townships such as Nkowankowa) has complexified code choices in mutliple ways. Understanding more about how the participants conceptualize these changes and weigh them as part of their code choices—is important because, as excerpt 2d shows (almost superfluously), increasing English use is an effective way to adapt to increasing sociolinguistic complexity. As the immigrant merchant examples show, however, positionality matters not just in terms of being in town or in a village, but also in terms of what your motivations are for being there in the first place.

As the previous section indicated, however, motivation to put oneself in situations where English will likely be needed was reported to potentially conflict with the motivation to hold onto one's "roots." The following excerpt from participant 45, a UL student from outside Moletshe (north-west of Polokwane), illustrates the deeply ambivalent stances characteristic of a good number of the participants, as reflected in the survey data:

Ex. 2e

01 --   45: Because… most uhm (s.o. clears throat)… **let me say children living in town**

02 --   **most of them they don't speak Sepedi they all speak English and, the other**

03 --   **ones eh living in rural areas they talk Sepedi all the way…classroom, home,**

04 --   **everywhere,** they speak Sepedi. **But then those ones living on um urban**

05 --   **areas…they they they the [?] think that they are more higher than everyone**

06 --   **else and there's competition amongst them…everything is just a disaster so…**

07 --   Multiple: laugh

According to her reflections here, Pedi is spoken by children everywhere in rural areas, but in town they speak English, with social consequences: "there's competition among them…everything is just a disaster" (line 6). Her frame of reference includes her home village outside of Moletshe as well as Polokwane and Mankweng. Her concerns center on the potential loss of stability from leaving a familiar environment where the order of things, so to speak, is predictable. She takes the stance that speaking English and living in town enjoin a kind of competition and status-jockeying that typifies urban life

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(and likely the lifestyle genre of "English," see line 2). As shown above at the end of last section, however, participant 45's stance aligns with another participant's (38), who openly questions the legitimacy of "roots"; thus any clear persona as an "underminer" or "uplifter" was not clearly forthcoming analytically. 45 appears to want to both relinquish and hold on to "roots": on the one hand, she is not content to stay in her village where they "speak Sepedi all the way" (line 3), but nor would she be content, it appears, to live in an urban area where "everything is just a disaster" (line 6). But, as 16 and 43 affirm above (and 30 in the last excerpt of the chapter), the rural home is very different from the campus: from infrastructural features (e.g., paved roads, steady electricity) to its city-like melting pot of social diversity and accordingly broad panoply of linguistic practices, especially those in English.

Participant 37 underscores below in vivid detail her own struggles with the same competing motivations as 45, and her experience (and reproduction) of differences between campus and rural life—a comparison enriched by her experiences of going back and forth between campus and home:

Ex. 2f.

01 --   37: Yeah, uh uh just (some words?). Growing up in… growing up and going

02 --   off being **innovated with technology** and being (equipped?) with

03 --   everything, **it's like it creates sort of a barrier between you and your**

04 --   **community**. You don't have any everything in the house, it's like OK I come

05 --   back from school, I speak English, when you get to meet with your [?]

06 --   sometimes you find out you're with your family and (?) you don't even know

07 -- she's a cousin. You live you live in in an apartment with people you don't

08 -- even know what's going on upstairs. You can't even howl upstairs

09 -- somebody's banging upstairs. You're listening to your IPod, what's that?

10 -- **It creates some form of selfishness inside, this life**…so I thinK knowing

11 -- your home.

12 -- A: Yeah

13 -- 37: And one other thing is that **in rural areas**, it's… it's a place

14 -- where you… **you'd never be lost**, you'd never have .. find yourself in a very

15 -- desperate situation where nobody can help you or people they say "ah I

16 -- never go to her place so what does she wants me?

17 -- A: Hm

18 -- 37: **You get help every now and then unlike urban areas.** (p. 14/38)

This participant's stances were arguably some of the most "pro-roots" of the data, providing rich detail about motivations to hold onto "roots" and associating "roots" with *rural areas*. In a *Bowling Alone*[171] moment, she describes the anomie of life outside of her self-described rural home area, where "you'll never be lost… where nobody can help you or people they say 'ah I never go to her place so what does she wants me?'"(lines 14–16). In the focus group itself, she risked indexing herself as almost *too* much of an "uplifter" of "roots,"[172] She discussed a love of traditional stories and poems, and

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171 I refer here to Robert Putnam's 2000 book exploring the causes of increasing atomism and civic disengagement in contemporary American society.
172 These "uplifting" stances are clearly aligned with those of several other participants (36 and 44, most clearly, and 43 somewhat).

described her concern about being perceived as "tribalist" and "backward" by writing her own poems in Pedi. Like participant 45, however, she still made the decision to come to the campus and stay. The building structures separating her from her cohabitants (lines 7–8), IPods (line 9) and other "innovating" (line 2) technologies—all are ideologically bundled together (Keane, 2003) as indexical of "urban." How these differences are *ideologized*, however, is of prime importance here. Schutz's term "biographically determined situation" (1990, pp. 76ff.) reminds us that her life experiences up until the very research interaction contribute to her participation (cf. Irvine, 2001, pp. 24–5). Urban and rural distinctions are neither invented *ex nihilo,* nor available à la carte; they are ideologically reproduced in interaction, and being on the campus offers participant 37 relatively novel types of *sites* for this reproduction.

The complexification of choices about code repertoires does not just involve English, as suggested in the previous section re Tswana. That is, it would be mistaken to forget the uses of urban *African* linguistic varieties, and how these uses destabilize the rural/urban divide (see Makoni et al., 2007 in previous section). For example, in the following excerpt, participant 14, an 18 year old Nobody/Ga-Mothapo resident and UNISA student, describes the "hypothetical" importation of Tswana forms into his linguistic code repertoire, corroborating the social desirability of Tswana previously described above.[173]

Ex. 2d.

01 --   14: someone some people for example right now **he's he's the same age as**

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173 Indeed, this adds an important motivation to "balance"; in this study however the participants did not extensively discuss code-switching with urban African codes.

02 -- **me he goes to Johannesburg** and in Johannesburg eh in Gauteng Province

03 -- they speak eh Tswana, you kn -- *waïtsi,* oh eh us, **when we say "you know,"**

04 -- we s- eh we mean *watseba*, then in Ts- in Tswana we say *waïtsi*, you see?

05 -- You see this *waïtsi* is charming (laughs) yes yes ja so you see **so others oth-**

06 -- **oth- other people** eh **some some-** eh **let me say I- it's me** and this guy my

07 -- friend here,then we go to Johannesburg ...eh I come back eh my accent is

08 -- changed when when I when I pronounce it you know I say *waïts-* y- underst-

09 -- he he he still pronounces he's the way you know they he knows it *watseba*

10 -- yeah *watseba* that that's you know in Sepedi *watseba* then in Ts- Tswana it's

11 -- *waïtsi* (laughs) and *waïtsi* **it means I'm taking the ah their style their the**

12 -- **the other p- people's styles and then I bring it to bring it to Nobody where**

13 -- **we speak Sepedi not Tswana…**

14 -- A: yeah but but but uh does that make you seem, like different?

15 -- 14: (overlap) yeah yeah...but

16 -- Multiple: (overlap) YEAH!

17 -- 14: (overlap) yeah th- th- that's why that's why - I say

18 -- 9: (inaudible over crosstalk)

19 -- 14: (overlap) *Aowa* **that's why I say some** *some* **not not all of us.** (p. 25/51)

Here, what is amply demonstrated is the stylistic dimension (cf. lines 11–13) of code choice, its capacity to serve as a non-referential index of identification in multilingual interactions (Garret, 2005; Koven, 2007). Here participant 14 describes a hypothetical situation where "some- eh let me say I- it's me" (line 6) picks up a bit of Tswana after

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spending some time in Johannesburg. He then returns to his village "where we speak Sepedi not Tswana" (lines 12–13) and his "accent is changed" (line 7). Instead of using *watseba,* the second person singular form of the Northern Sotho verb *tseba*, "to know (recognize)" he uses the Tswana equivalent, *waïtsi*. Thereby, he is "taking the ah their style their the the other p-people's styles and then I bring it to bring it to Nobody" (lines 11–12). I then ask him if it "makes him seem different"—a probe to follow up on his characterization, "*waïtsi* is charming" (line 5). The group explodes into a chorus of "YEAH!!" and crosstalk, putting 14 on the defensive: "*Aowa* (no) that's why I say *some* some not not all of us" (line 19). His metapragmatic explanation of using a Tswana form associated with the city ("Johannesburg eh in Gauteng Province," line 2) is risky.[174] He has to manage the precarious indexical potential of this description, which he personalizes in line 19; namely, the potential that he could index and thereby position himself as an "underminer" of Pedi by describing the importation of a Tswana form into an indexical ecology where "Sepedi" is presupposed (line 12). The reaction that ensues and his defensive stance indicates that the group disapprovingly took him to be willing, in the name of indexing himself as "charming," to use an urban code (and thus *style*) instead of the local code. He winds up positioning himself to others as an underminer, and he has to save face, which later interactions show.

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174 See Silverstein, 1981 on the limits of awareness of linguistic forms. Participant 14's discussion of tseba here illustrates Silverstein's argument that some linguistic forms are more consciously available – and I would add, effective -- as objects of reflexive "meta"-linguistic analysis and discourse. 174 See Silverstein, 1981 on the limits of awareness of linguistic forms. Participant 14's discussion of tseba here illustrates Silverstein's argument that some linguistic forms are more consciously available – and I would add, effective -- as objects of reflexive "meta"-linguistic analysis and discourse.

The discourse of participant 14 shows that "undermining" does not just involve choosing English over the locally spoken code. Pursuant to Makoni et al.'s recent work (2007; cf. Cook, 2002; Mufwene, 2006; Singler, 2009), urban African language forms such as Tsotsitaal and Fanagalo are also reportedly chosen over the "undermined" "northern" languages in the Mankweng area (cf. Mesthrie, 2008a). This is reported to be more clearly the case in urban and township areas in Gauteng Province (Soweto, Alexandra, Hammanskraal, Pretoria, Johannesburg, etc.).

Metapragmatic stereotyping (2005) is Asif Agha's term for describing the indexical and ideological generation of personae from language use and stances.[175] For example, on the one hand, some participants from area villages have portrayed those on the campus—or other village youth emulating "campus culture"—as "undermining their culture" or being "coconuts." On the other hand, non-village participants spoke of contemporaries back home as discouraging their English use, or simply unable to speak or use English regularly." The opposition that is set up is strictly between English on the one hand, and on the other, one's home African language or as commonly described, "mother tongue"; both codes indexically linked to the lifestyle genres of "English" and "roots", respectively. In this way, as discussed in the introduction, English is linked to other semiotic modes and processes beyond language and its use (modes of dress, literary or musical genres) associated with an ideologically sustained lifestyle genre. In sum, the typical metapragmatic stereotyping among the two groups tended to underscore the effects of one's habitual locations on the "balancing" process. The way this played out

175 Cf. Silverstein, 1996 on indexical orders as discussed in footnote 8. Myers-Scotton, 1993, pp. 85-90; Garrett, 2005; Koven, 2007, et al. See Woolard, 2004, pp. 81, 88-90 for discussion and further examples, and Eckert 2008

was that non-village participants considered themselves better positioned to "balance" because they were developing their English, while holding on to their mother tongues, which they could, in the words of 36, "never forget." The village participants however equated the non-village participants with rural youth who have lost their "roots" in the big city, and thus are not as able to hold onto their "roots" as they think.

Though it must be said that my authoritative presence as an English speaking researcher with limited expertise in African languages may not only have hampered referential communication between me and the participants; it may have positioned them to veer away from discussions of urban language varieties, Afrikaans, or less rigid distinctions between English and "mother tongues." For example, the usage of African urban language varieties is hardly discussed among the non-village participants, and only in one other interview, with participants 30 and 31 in Mamotintane (see previous section, after ex. 1d.). It is easy to imagine how different such focus groups would have been if I had been able to use a wider code repertoire myself.

Nonetheless, the patterns of metapragmatic stereotyping between the on and off-campus youth is correlated with strikingly different material, relational, and spatial differences between the campus and surrounding villages and township zones, which I theorize as differences in *indexical ecology*. Each group of participants, despite their similarities in age, education level, and socioeconomic and material backgrounds at the time of the interviews, and similar middle-class aspirations, were availing themselves of quite distinct opportunities to perform and eventually "acquire" certain genres of lifestyle. Attendance at the university provides far more *access* to the semiotic resources linked to the lifestyle genre of "English": "modern" infrastructure, a mix of urban and

rural youth from across the country and continent, learning in English, etc. which facilitates the acquisition (and fine tuning) of "English" as a semiotic resource for identification, aspiration and potentially, personal *transformation*. Mobility and "going forward" are common thematic images in the discourse that refer directly to accessing opportunities to perform the English lifestyle genre, and thus with university life. At the same time, however, nearly all of the UL participants were mindful of and sensitive to the power of keeping one's "roots"—the major lifestyle genre in this study with which many of the participants are already deeply familiar, in *habitus*-like fashion. For most participants, to turn away from "roots" would be to become, recalling participant 16's words, "lost."

Concerning the university and other institutions' hegemonic roles in the above ideological and indexical processes, Blommaert (2005, 2007; w/Collins & Slembrouck, 2005; cf. Silverstein, 1996) highlights the capacity of institutions to orient or "center" speakers to produce and interpret indexicalities. Merging with the concepts of indexical potential and indexical ecology, institutions serve an organizing function for both. For example, code choice can index group membership, as mentioned above in the Tsonga and Pedi examples. Among the participants, there is a key difference of opinion about the distribution of codeswitching, namely whether English and African languages are supposed to be mixed in conversation or separated by traditional pragmatic function, and in turn appropriate to particular spaces. Taking "home" as a "centering institution" per Blommaert above, the general consensus among village youth is that one is not supposed to code-switch to English (beyond the occasional English word here and there) while one is oriented interactionally toward "home," where the lifestyle genre of "roots" is

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expected. This might mean texting an SMS to one's grandmother in Pedi rather than a Pedi-English mix, talking in mostly or all Pedi with other Pedis in an urban area, or speaking just about all Pedi in the indexical ecology of the village or home itself. Or, this might mean that codeswitching often between English and African language is acceptable as long as it is interactionally based in centering institutions dominated by "English" as a lifestyle genre: work, school, the airport, etc. Such model terms are useful starting points for analysis but, of course, cannot fully grasp the complexities and contradictions of actual language use and what shapes it. Again, this is especially the case given my position as a "mother tongue" English speaker whose lack of other linguistic expertise demanded that the participants use English. But these terms can help explain why the participants make analytical moves that resemble certain models.

Tying in themes expressed in excerpt 1h above, a major point below in the following excerpt is that participants seem to be questioning 1) how to balance their desires for both the anchoring and self-respect afforded by strong "roots" and the freedoms offered by the "English" lifestyle genre, and 2) how this balancing is strongly influenced by who you interact with on a daily basis, organized spatially. The experience of most participants, according to my general understanding through living in the UL campus and corroborated by participant descriptions in their discourse (see examples above), is that most are coming from small towns and villages to, in effect, a self-contained community of geographically and ethnically diverse strangers. Below, participant 6 addresses the rural-urban divide, long an important theme in African scholarship. [176] He is both aware of the problem of "rural" stereotypes, while also himself using a schematization of rurality-as-

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176 See review by Geshiere & Gugler, 1998; cf. Cohen, 1974, Ferguson, 2002.

geographical isolation to differentiate himself from "those *really* rural people over there,"

I propose that he is likely speaking for other UL students who share his positionality,

namely, a young person from a typified "rural" area that is negotiating how to avail

himself of new freedoms while not completely letting go of his "roots" at the same time.

He wants to distance himself from the stereotype of rural people being different from

urban people, and to break down the fundamental difference in infrastructural

development: in effect, the dirt roads, cattle-dung *lapas,* communal wells and thatched-

roof huts common to most rural villages have an important symbolic and practical role in

defining rurality as distinct from urbanity. At the same time, however, language also has

a crucial role in this process as well, which the excerpt leaves open for further debate:

Ex. 2e

01 -- A: So if you learn English then maybe at some…you lose your roots or ?

02 -- 6: Ah! **No I don't think that thing of losing culture those things *eish* they've**

03 -- **um that thing of being ...rural**, you know when you are rural and when you

04 -- **when you...urban**, when when someone comes through when someone

05 -- coomes two of us, one from rural and someone that's from

06 -- A: Durban or something

07 -- 6: Durban, maybe or

08 -- A: Joburg

09 -- 6: Yeah, maybe someone from Joburg yeah. When someone comes and say I I

10 -- who do you think know know his culture between the two we'll say you

11 -- because I I'm fr- I'm rural, that's one **that people tend to think is when**

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12 --   you're your rural you know the culture right, and the reality is more like

13 --   not that way... or **maybe if we had the infrastructural that developmental**

14 --   maybe the malls and stuff with the lights we'll be more the same we'll be

15 --   **more the same it's that way that's how it works.** They tend to think if you're

16 --   rural you do the culture which I don't think...**most of us in the rural we don't**

17 --   know that culture we don't know wh- what we don't necessarily know the

18 --   deep culture we just know Mopedi.. yeah the Pedis used to do this and this

19 --   and this and this when grew up yeah...few...which which someone from

20 --   **urban person could tell too, ah yes I'm a Pedi,** when the Pedis grew up used

21 --   to do this and this and that **cause surely at school they learn about that.** That's

22 --   how it goes.

Here the "rural-urban" divide emerges front and center, and he wants to emphasize that the only real difference between rural and urban areas is the physical infrastructure of the place: "maybe if we had the infrastructural that developmental maybe the malls and stuff with the lights we'll be more the same" (lines 13–14). Given the "mixing" going on in linguistic practice, the weak to nonexistent chiefly influence, and access to services and shops in adjacent Mankweng, this rings true: to some, Joburg seems to be just a much bigger version of Mankweng. But given the movement of many from Mankweng to town, the future of this urbanization is uncertain. I follow up with him, however, to make another rural-urban comparison, between Mamotintane and "that mountain over there" (line 24):

23 --   A: Do you think it might be different from from guys in Mamotintane versus

24 --   guys in ya know **on that mountain over there**?

25 --   6: Yeah

26 --   A: So guys on that mountain over there they might have more of that rural...

27 --   6: (overlap) yeah yeah

28 --   A: (overlap) character or something?

29 --   6: **Yeah, they're...Sekgopye**

30 --   A: Sekgopye

31 --   6: Yeah if you take that rural guys from Mamotintane and those guys from

32 --   **Sekgoype then you put them...**

33 --   A: Or Sekhukhune that side that you were talking about

34 --   6: (overlap) Yeah the Sekhukhune side, then you get to see the difference.

35 --   Yeah we tend to use more other language together this side.

He insists that those "on that mountain over there" in a village called Sekgopye[177],

would be more "rural" (lines 27–28). He asserts that you would also recursively see the

same kind of difference in those from Sekhukhune, as suggested by participants 30 and

31 in excerpt 1i above (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 38). Participant 6's general stance toward

the dynamism of rural urbanization appears to be both critical of reproducing a rural-

urban divide, while also making assumptions that tend to ideologically reproduce such a

divide. Similar to participants 30 and 31 above, he emphasizes that certain linguistic

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177 Sekgopye is a village 10 km away from Turfloop/Mankweng. Incidentally, I have managed the collection of ABET survey data there, as described in Babson, 2007.

codes are mostly spoken in certain small geographical areas, by people who tend to stay in those areas (cf. above ex. 2d, line 12, "in Nobody … we speak Sepedi"). In sum, he is both questioning and supporting a certain ideologically mediated scale of rurality; thus he considers the Pedi used in Sekgopye different—that is, more rural—from that in Mamotintane (cf. ex. 1d).

The discourse of the participants suggests that legally and economically, post-apartheid potentials for mobility and participation in globalizations have created opportunities for newly imagined life trajectories that take one physically and perspectivally away from the "small places" where some of them have grown up (Kincaid, 1980). That doesn't sanction the view that rural places have been islands of impenetrable and inaccessibly different ethnicities and linguistic practices, à la Lévi-Strauss. But it is also not to overstate the dynamism of processes of social differentiation, or discount the class and physical mobility of rural inhabitants (Ferguson, 2006).

Thus I propose that participants coming from rural villages consider using their home languages as *portable tools of indexical potential.* That is, recalling Silverstein's theory of orders of indexicality (1996) and the scholarship I have cited deriving from it (see footnotes 8, 9 and 46), the indexical power of using a particular code—and importantly, with particular ideologically bundled diacritica—can serve as a powerful semiotic tool for balancing, i.e., for someone who wanted to "stick to their roots" but work in Gauteng or nearby Polokwane. A comparative example can be found in McLaughlin (2001): in describing the uses of urban Wolof and its effect on self-understanding: "*Quand je suis*

chez moi je suis Haalpulaar, quand je suis à Dakar je suis Wolof"(McLaughlin, 2001, p. 156).[178]

Participant 15 from Nobody/Ga-Mothapo describes a similar process in detail, whereby location and all of the indexical ecologies pertaining thereto shape code choice, and thus one's ability to "balance" modes of ethnic identification:

Ex. 2f[179]

01 -- A: So there are some people who say that you can't pick up some

02 -- English with- without picking up some of that culture or losing some

03 -- of your own culture…do you think that's…that's true or ?

04 -- 10: Yeah

05 -- 15: (overlap) **You can balance,**

06 -- A: (overlap) OK

07 -- 15: (overlap) like I do...I speak Sepedi... I kind of speak Eng- I'm not

08 -- good but I kind of speak English...**I - I -I do balance both**.. cause when

09 -- I go to school, I (?) to, I prefer to speak English cause there there's no

10 -- way that I'm going to communicate with in Sepedi.

11 -- A: Yeah

12 -- Multiple: Yeah

13 -- 15: When I come back home, I greet my mother who is clueless about

14 -- English, so **I have to communicate with her in English**, you see how

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178 "When I am at home, I am Haalpulaar, when I am in Dakar I am Wolof." Cf. Makoni et al., 2007, p. 44.

179 See excerpt 3h from chapter 6, which picks up where this excerpt leaves off

15 --   it goes…

16 --   10: ?

17 --   15: **I can balance both**

18 --   A: Yeah

19 --   15: **I can balance both English and Sepedi at the same time**...cause

20 --   when I go...to...town **I have to speak English**, **when I come back home..**

21 --   **there's no way I'm going to eh ... treat my mother with my stupid**

22 --   **English or**

23 --   ?: slight laugh

24 --   15: There's no way I'm going to treat my uh uh

25 --   Multiple: slight laugh

26 --   10: *walela* in Sepedi

27 --   15: uh uh to talk lecturer with my stupid Sepedi **whereas my lecturer**

28 --   **is clueless about Sepedi,** so you see how it goes. So eh I I am the one

29 --   who benefits from both the language…

Harkening back to 36's discussion of "balancing" at the end of the last section, participant 15 is confident in his ability to "balance both," not questioning the causal relation between speaking a language and acquiring a culture implicit in my question. But there is a clear mapping of functional differentiation apparent in his pragmatic decision matrix: he speaks this language here with these people, he speaks this other language over here with these other people. In town, he "has" to speak English (line 20), there is no

choice, and there's "no way" he's going to "treat my mother with my stupid English" (lines 21–22).[180]

30 --   A: OK

31 --   15: Because when I when I enter my gate at home I speak Sepedi,

32 --   when I go to school I speak...so you can see that **I can keep them**

33 --   **balanced...**so that's how it goes in in language... **but if I can go to stay**

34 --   in town and not come back home. No I'm going to inherit the culture

35 --   **of English. But if I stay here at home**… like now if you can go around

36 --   and pick a girl who's was born here…

37 --   14: (slight laugh)

38 --   15: …didn't go anywhere to anyplace … the girl is Mopedi his ... her

39 --   culture she's a Pedi, sh-she's not glued to any other culture than

40 --   Mopedi. **But if she could at least try to maintain both, she could go to**

41 --   **a college or something or or w - or u- university where English is**

42 --   **spoken on a daily basis I'm telling you ... and come back home ... I'm**

43 --   **telling you...she can also balance those things** but but if only she can

44 --   **stay at home**… you can you can watch these students in university

45 --   they they speak English.

In South Africa, and particularly Limpopo Province, these metapragmatic discussions have particular importance. They help us look at our own definitions of rural and urban

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180 The theme of agency in code choice is taken up further in the next chapter.

anew, and they also give pause to consider the best course of action for language in education policies.

As aforementioned but cannot be stressed enough, lack of rural infrastructural development and planned resettlement was colonial and state policy in the Limpopo region for decades, and this policy separated White and Black Africans from each other, as well as Blacks deemed to be of a certain ethnicity. Mankweng was a rural township set up by the apartheid government for Blacks living in Polokwane, Tzaneen and other regional towns (McCusker & Ramudzuli, 2007). Thus ethnicity as an authentic *experience* and self-understanding for many of the participants, as described above in case of Pedi and Tsonga, still affects how youth are making their decisions about where to live and work (though amidst extremely limited choices). Ethnicity is not a totalizing label that permeates every mode of self-understanding for all. As discussed in the previous section, the role of ethnicity in the constitution of self has been a powerful political tool, and chiefs on the local level have a great deal of influence over whether to package the human inclination for affiliation into a groupist metadiscourse or not (Brubaker, 2002, p. 178). As indicated in excerpt 1i above, and corroborated by additional data, "Pedi"-ness appears to be an ethnicity without nearly the size of group its pervasive use as a label suggests.

This leaves the family as the focal point for the cultivation and preservation of "roots," discussed in the previous section. A key question to consider here, connecting both the themes of holding onto "roots" and placing oneself in situations to speak English, is whether participant 15 would be able to "balance both English and Pedi at the same time" (line 15) outside of the indexical ecology of "home": i.e., if he was not living

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with his family in the village, with his friends, regularly experiencing local sights, sounds, smells, landscape, and so forth. Further, the household is the anchoring, centering institution (Blommaert, 2007) that strongly orients one to interact with others at "home" in particular ways. Would participant 15 be so confident about his ability to "balance" if he did not live at home with his mother in Nobody, and/or if his mother had "weak" Pedi roots like participants 32 and 33?

In sum, location matters, as it is an important semiotic resource for people to forge identifications and self–understandings. As Basso (1996) has pointed out, landscape and ecology play key roles in processes of identification. Ideologically and semiotically, if a place and its physical features comes to index a certain type of person who speaks a certain type of language, then this can come to have, in Hacking's terms, "looping" effects, whereby cultural processes are semiotically naturalized (Hacking, 1995; 1999, p. 106ff.). Physical features and configurations are imbued with indexical potential either by design or other ascription, influencing the kinds of *abductions* (Gell, 1997) that people make in a way that is ideologically regimented (Silverstein, 1996; Keane, 2003, p. 419).

The university is an institution that influences meaning making and identification. Further, it has a reputation as such in the area, though not always positive. The next two excerpts further suggest that several village participants take the stance that the university is "crushing students' roots," along the lines of 15's words from the excerpt just above: "but if I can go to stay in town and not come back home. No I'm going to inherit the culture of English" (lines 33–35).

Yet the distinction between the campus and the surrounding area may be changing, and it is inlight of this that participant 6 in excerpt 2e above highlights the importance of

applying categorizations such as "rural" and "urban" with care. He himself resists the essentialized image of the backward tribalist and the performative cultural practices associated with such imagery. And the data strongly support that Mamotintane, his home village, is indeed caught up in the urbanization of Mankweng and due to chiefly influence is not known as a hub of "Pedi culture," which is ill defined and supposedly "weak" in the first place.

Generational gaps, however, are important. A friend of mine from Mamotintane (who at the time of the study was about 30 years of age) has told me stories of looking for lost cattle through the night as a punishment, and catching birds to eat by extracting a glue-like resin from local cacti and pasting it into hand-made traps. Another friend of mine from Nobody/Ga-Mothapo, a teacher in her early forties who helped me organize several research meetings in her school buildings, explained to me the return of a boy from an initiation ceremony in the nearby Spelonken mountains. She described to me a poem called the Maselapye, which initiands had to learn by heart during their initiation and remember for life. Customarily, if you were ever asked to recite this poem by an elder, you had to do it or risk being beaten with a stick. These are not elaborate performances or formal rituals like the *phasa* where communities gather to greet and pay homage to the ancestors. But they are parts of the rural way of life that participants may take for granted as part of their *habitus* and everyday experience. Infrastructural development, as 6 says, does play a major role in what counts as "rural" and what doesn't, and points out both the practical and indexical ecological aspects of locations as cultural anchors. It is why communities here in the United States oppose bridges, malls and, in the case of some island communities, cars: because the built environment shapes the meanings people

make of a location. How "rooted" one feels in one's ethnicity or culture, however defined, may weaken over time if such ethnicity or culture as *processes* and *activities* do not have a place in daily life, supported by ecological conditions ideologically congruent with such processes and activities—most prominently in this study, regular use of the language of one's "roots."

This brings up again the issue of what I call the *portability* of indexical potentials. Can youth hold on to their roots as long as they can speak their home language? How far into the performative or ritualistic or local epistemological root-network (rhizome) does one have to ground oneself in order to keep Pedi or Tsonga or Venda ethnic authenticity? In short, combining the two themes of this chapter, this brings up the question of what the lifestyle genre of "roots" actually means. The data in the current study are highly suggestive, but, I would propose, inconclusive. More data would be needed to explore the issue of what "roots" as a lifestyle genre entails for participants. Does it mean, as participant 31 remarks above, wearing a *xibelani* once in a while? Going to a *phasa* ceremony to formally worship ancestors? Or can it simply mean speaking your home language at home and in your village, or at least outside of these indexical ecologies, with your friends who share this language, in social situations, at work, in the city, etc.? In sum, just how portable are indexical potentials?

The following excerpt from off-campus participants in Sebayeng reflects a pessimistic assessment. In the Sebayeng focus group the participants believed that the requirement of English as a language of instruction would make them "like English more," and there would be "no Sepedi talking in university" (lines 6–7):

Ex. 2g

01 --   5: On the campus...**you are going to meet lots of ideas outside there** as well

02 --   A: Yeah

03 --   5: **Those ideas they're not going to be familiar to each other**

04 --   A: Hm

05 --   5: They're going to like violate each other, **they will contradict**

06 --   3: If I go to the campus, I'm going to like English more…cause in

07 --   **university, you talk English, there is no Sepedi talking** (p. 16/27).

Participant 5, who like participant 3 had never visited the UL campus, clearly thinks of the university as a melting pot of diversity, but particularly of *ideas* that will "not be familiar to" or even "contradict" each other (lines 3–5). This supports the case for using English as a bridging (Granovetter, 1973), "they"-code (Gumperz, 1982, p. 66) in such situations of social novelty, diversity and unpredictability. What is left unclear in this excerpt, however, is whether participant 5 is saying that "in university, you talk English…no Sepedi" in everyday social interactions or simply in classroom discourse only. As will be further explored in the next chapter, this points out a distinction crucial for understanding the linguistic code choice rationales of the participants, namely, whether they can justify their choices to use English on grounds of institutional *necessity* or on their own personal *affinity* for English, i.e., they just "like it more."

An additional excerpt from participants 30 and 31 in Mamotintane more explicitly reflects the stance that going to the university will destabilize the "balancing" process. Here, both participants discuss the value of "roots," and how the ecological organization

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of indexical potentials as a student on the university campus might affect identification. 31's stance from the beginning is that "people (o)ur age… them we we care less"(lines 1, 3) is important, framing any subsequent stance patterns of affiliation in the excerpt. "We adopt the Wes- these like ad- we, adopted the Western life," 31 admits (line 7). 30 jumps in to assert: "You know who promotes the Western lifestyle the University of the North" (line 8). Thus the university is closely associated in this discourse with "promoting the Western life":

Ex. 2h

01 --   A: do do you th- do you think most people your age are are like proud of

02 --   their roots or like want to keep their roots?

03 --   31: **No… most of them we we we care less**

04 --   30: (overlap) most…

05 --   31: (overlap) about them

06 --   30: (overlap) don't care

07 --   31: We adopt the Wes- these like ad- we, adopted the Western life

08 --   30: You know who promotes the Western lifestyle the University of the

09 --   North

10 --   **31: like, oh the university life,** that modern life… e.g., I would say, let's go to

11 --   initiation, initi-

12 --   30: initiation

13 --   31: **initiation school…there will be few in there**… my brother say **no, I I I**

14 --   **rather go to doctor**

15 --   30: But.. it's true!

16 --   31: he starts **criticizing** that…you see?

17 --   30: but at some point..

18 --   **31: we we are we are not that... proud of that** […]

Further into the excerpt, after comparing the "modern life" of the university with initiation school and describing his brother's negative attitude toward it (lines 13–14), 31 says "that's tha tha that's the biggest place where we going to crrrush your…your roots" (lines 34–35):

19 --   A: But but this rootedness thing like you you think most, even around here in

20 --   Mamotintane?

21 --   30: Yeah

22 --   A: And uh I would say well…what would you say as far as the university

23 --   31: (overlap) - versity…

24 --   A: You think it'd be…different?

25 --   31: (pause) Yes, it will be different, cause there, it's like …

26 --   30: (overlap) **this thing of roots, ne?**

27 --   A: Yeah

28 --   30: Like at at university you can actually describe it this way you can go there

29 --   the university because like many people are **coming from different parts**

30 --   **ne…different views**...it's the college or university that say no (varied?)

31 --   people are rather do research **in the same way**…so it's gonna be

32 -- quite… different

33 -- 31: That's tha tha that's the biggest place where <u>we</u> going to crrrush

34 -- <u>your…your</u> roots.

    Participant 30 had studied in Pretoria and would be continuing at the UL that fall of 2008. His stance that living on a college campus exposes one to "different views" seems to vindicate the similar notions of the Sebayeng participant who had just graduated from high school and had never been to the UL campus. This is what leads participant 31 to respond that "that's tha tha that's the biggest place where we going to crrrush your…your roots." Using multiple personal pronouns and thus obscuring agency, exactly who," Who or what is doing the crushing—the campus or the student—is unclear. This ambiguous agency for "crushing roots" will be taken up further in the next chapter; yet what is clear is that both participants agree that living on the campus, away from the village and home, does not necessarily help motivation number 2 from the introduction, "hold on to roots" (lines 7–9). Crucially, however, as we shall see in the next chapter, participant 30 is reluctant to assign too much agency to "the campus" itself, aligning his stances with most of the campus participants that holding on to "roots" is an individual choice.

    To illustrate, participant 43, a UL student, appears to agree with both participant 30 here and 3 just above in excerpt 2g, line 6: that because "wherever you go you use English" "you get used to" and "adapted" to it:

Ex. 2i

01 -- 43: In some way the campus is destroying our culture.

02 --   A: OK

03 --   43: Cause **you get used to** English… **Wherever you go you use English**…**You**

04 --   **get adapted to** English.

In the previous excerpts of 2f.–2h. above, the village participants appear to be

charging that either the non-village participants (or their campus itself) are "crushing

their roots" because they are not separating neatly the function of English and African

language by consistently orienting their interactional stances *equally* between the

institutions of "home" and the campus—as depicted in participant 15's discourse above

(ex. 2f.). This turns the inability to leave home due to unemployment or financial

restraints into an asset: at least they can stay "rooted," unlike the UL students. Being on

campus provides and structures far more opportunities for the UL student to use English

and to do "English"-associated things—to mimetically engage and thus *perform* the

"English" lifestyle genre—than the typical indexical ecologies of her village ever could.

Further, the relationships that constitute the centering institution of "home" are not only

avoidable on campus (or in a similar, "Joburg"-like urban environment), they are also

fairly inaccessible at a distance. Telecommunications technologies available on campus

(public telephones, Internet telephony, mobile phones) can mitigate one's connections to

"home", and mitigated but the limitations of these technologies are only too clear when

the university students visit home during their study breaks.[181] What this looks like, then

from the non-UL student's point of view is that the only way a UL student could

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181 As will be discussed in the last section of the next chapter, using SMS in regional African
languages has its economic and digital, in the etymological sense, challenges.

"balance" is if he stayed in his village and attended at the same time, like 15 does with his tertiary institution in Polokwane (cf. participant 19).

It is useful to consider what other centering institutions might be orienting the participants to certain indexical potentials, such as religious institutions or pop cultural institutions such as radio (Spitulnik, 1998) or television shows with wide audiences, or even celebrities figured as "franchises" (complete with mp3 downloads, official and unofficial fan clubs, etc.). Consider what could be called a relatively new hybrid centering institution, for example, the bourgeois yet authentically African urban community in the most popular TV show in South Africa at the time of the study, *Generations*.[182] In this show, Black African characters working in a communications firm live materially comfortable, interesting and exciting lives in Joburg while never fully relinquishing their "roots." "Home" is still a centering institution for them.[183] There are occasional conspicuous displays of such adherence when a family member from the country visits them. They code-switch frequently between Northern Sotho, Tswana, Zulu, English and others. The show is always subtitled in English, even when English is being spoken. The characters embody, for those who watch it (and according to my study's media survey, 56% of UL participants vs. 30% of village participants considered Generations to be one of their top three shows) "balancing," because they concentrate on gaining "English" lifestyle genre competence while considering holding on to "roots," A

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182 "At the creative end of the spectrum, young people reinterpret the official meanings of things to produce 'new meanings intrinsically attached to feeling, to energy, to excitement and psychic movement' (Willis, 1990, p. 11). At the other end of the spectrum, many of the stylistic features of their self-expressions presuppose identification with, and loyalty to, local moral worlds and circumscribed status domains" (Shaw, 1994, p. 93; cf. Willis, 1990).

183 Louw (2004, p. 329) usefully refers to this as "Gauteng culture."

sentiment by one UL participant that "you can never lose your African language… my child will never refuse to speak to me in Tswana" testifies to a widely shared notion among all participants that spoken language use is what continually reproduces "African" identification, and that to borrow a phrase from Silverstein, "they take language to be the central and enabling vehicle or channel of thought and culture" (2003, p. 532).

However, using *Generations* as a useful model for a desirable Black middle class lifestyle, it is useful to ask there a difference between how the village and non-village participants would assess the success of the *Generations* characters' "balancing"? Is their genre of lifestyle more "English" – and thus "coconut" – or does it reflect an "English"-"roots" "balance"? If location is considered a key factor in "balancing", this is an important question, for several reasons. First, it draws attention to the shifting definition of "balancing" according to location. The non-villlage, campus participants view their chances of obtaining a middle class lifestyle greater than those participants living off the campus. As long as they can "hold onto their roots", they will achieve this balance. For the UL participants, the *Generations* characters can be "balanced" as long as they hold on to their "roots." Yet for the village participants, the biggest threat to "roots" and thus "balancing" appears to be location. In other words, the village participants think location is relevant to strength of roots, whereas by contrast, the non-village participants do not. In light of this, the *Generations* characters can't help but be "coconuts" because they don't spend the majority of their time living in, or centered on, "home." What remains unanswered, however, is whether the village participants think a "middle class" lifestyle requires leaving the village and living in the city or not. It is possible that if they do think

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it is necessary, that their outlook on class mobility and the role of "location" and "roots" in balancing may come to more resemble that of the campus participants'.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored key findings from the participant data that sheds light on how the participants are increasing their use of English, and how this increase is shaping their processes of identification. Nearly all participants profess a dual motivation to both remember and hold on to their "roots" while also "turning to the brighter light," in deference to what is commonly reported to be a directive from one's elders. The phrase "turning to the brighter light" denotes orienting one's goals and values to what is sometimes referred to as a "modern," "Western," or "English" lifestyle genre—the key way of doing this being to place oneself in situations where English will likely be needed.

I focused particularly how perceived "roots" strength and location factor into this "balancing" process for participants. Analysis of participants' discourse about "balancing" code choice, and by extension, lifestyle genres, revealed that "roots" is a complex conceptualization of sociocultural belonging that varies significantly in its use-value by 1) self-identified ethnicity, and location, and 2) that access to English use opportunities, once available only outside the village and in highly structured and segregationist types of interaction, are becoming more available, making location a key factor in "balancing."

The symbolic and economic power of English worldwide, nationally, and locally presents an unavoidable fact to rural youth: learning English through formal "Western" education presents the best chance for potential economic advancement in a capitalist democratic society. Mufwene (2002) and Makoni et al. (2007) correctly point out

however that in many parts of Africa language practices in rural areas have been urbanizing for years regardless of English. In South Africa however this may be harder to say. To reiterate from chapter 4, several noted language practice histories have pointed out that labor migration from the northern Transvaal region to the Cape, Kimberley and the Witwatersrand gave male migrant laborers opportunities to use English, in addition to other African languages and emerging varieties borne of those very employment situations, e.g. Fanagalo.[184] Historical data thus far indicate that English language education and practice in the region never went far beyond the handful of Anglophone mission stations there (Du Plessis, 1911; Kriel, 2004; see ch. 4; Mawasha, 1969). To the point, English language education is now in high demand in Limpopo, and many of the high school graduates in this study are the first in their families to study at the tertiary level, such as UNISA or the University of Limpopo. Further, unlike the current participants, younger generations of South Africans are learning and using English with their older siblings, watching English-subtitled South African and syndicated American television shows, and embracing all sorts of musical forms that incorporate global aesthetics with various ethnopolitical subtexts (from the bland and "White" pop music of Jacaranda FM to the hip-hop, house and R&B of YFM to the *kwaito* sounds of any South African station targeting a youth audience). And new ways of communicating are changing the possibilities for the portability of indexical potentials, namely through the Internet and mobile telephony.

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184 These creoles include Fanagalo and Flaaitaal. For more on migrant labor and communicative practice, see Breckenridge, 2006; Hofmeyr, 1994, 2004; Harries, 1989, 1994; James, 1999 and Prinsloo, 1999.

Returning to excerpt 1n, line 19, the meaning of the term "coconut" for youth would be a good point of departure for exploring these issues further. When participant 43 says that "we are trying to be coconuts… we are talking English, whereas outside we are Black," what does she imply with her analogy about the *White interior* of the coconut? A second point of departure for examining the meaning of "roots" as a lifestyle genre for rural Limpopo youth would be to revisit the quote from participant 17 that starts this chapter. The emphasis is on growth through "going for English," and speaking your home language as the principal way to keep "roots" intact, no matter how intense your mimetic engagement with the lifestyle genre of English. The performing cast of *Generations* seems to provide a model for the participants on these matters: they can live in Joburg and have comfortable middle class lives, and as long as they speak their language on a regular basis and visit their elders at home in the rural areas (or host them as visitors), then they haven't, in the words of participants 36, "let anything go sideways,"

Yet as participants 32 and 33 seem to realize in their discussions in 1a above, a rural positionality has engendered a sense of responsibility for cultural reproduction. What connections to rural villages will the children of the current characters of *Generations* make? Or is rurality even necessary for ethnic authenticity, as Cohen (1969, 1974) and others' (James, 1999; see Geschiere & Gugler, 1998 for review) have problematized? Further, the peddling of ethnic authenticity through fake initiation schools throws light on how the emotional and political power of roots can be misused. In the bleak economic situations working age rural South African men have found themselves in, starting an initiation school appears to be a potentially lucrative entrepreneurial venture. Being

financially driven however with little concern for the safety and well-being of boys, let alone their cultural education, illegitimate initiation schools have had disastrous consequences for some initiands; every year multiple stories of death, mutilation and kidnapping of prospective initiands make the headlines. Coupled with stories of *muti* (witchcraft-related) killings in the media and, generally, the image of enforced tribalism still looming rather clearly in the rear-view mirror, it may be little surprise that some such as 38 (who reports no family pressure to engage with the "roots" lifestyle genre) see scant benefits to "roots." But for those who view "roots" positively—perhaps less as an ethnic identification or lifestyle genre and more as a portable tool for connections to their families and home communities—language practice can be regarded as a mechanism for holding onto and perpetuating this family and home-based identification.

The challenge, however, would be relevance. A linguistic code language is a tool for referential communication, and from this functionalist perspective, if it is not *needed,* it is likely to atrophy and slide into obsolescence (Crystal, 2000), or retain an ad-hoc but important function for non-referentially indexing group membership.[185] The talk of several participants cited in the first section suggests that fetishized cultural artifacts may be better outsourced (my term), as participant 30 suggests in footnote 18, to a "museum," or that *someone else* (i.e., not them) can form a cultural group. Yet agency and responsibility in code (and by extension, lifestyle genre) choice, issues already touched upon in certain excerpts here, are at the heart of issues of changes in code repertoires, social change, and the individual and institutional roles therein. This theme will be further explored in the next chapter and the discussion and conclusion chapter.

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185 Not that such emblematic uses are trivial; see Garrett, 2005, p. 351-352; Jackson, 1974, pp. 59-64.

CHAPTER 6

Volition, Agency and Responsibility in Linguistic Code Choice

The last chapter established key themes and patterns in the discourse data. The overriding theme of the data is that what has most strongly shaped the participants' increasing addition of English to their everyday language use repertoires is their relative acceptance or rejection of a general directive to "stick to (their) roots but go for English," The last chapter established that across the board, a "balance" between "sticking to roots" and "going for English" was considered desirable among most of the participants, and that *code choice* in *spoken* interaction played the lead role in this so-called balancing act. In other words, code choice both generates and is ideologically mediated by potentials of indexicality that have to be managed or "balanced."

I argued that pursuing two motivations—namely, holding onto one's roots and putting oneself in situations where English would likely be needed—enjoins this "balancing" process. Examining this process unearthed two questions, which the last chapter addressed: How does the strength of one's roots affect balancing? And how does the location of where one resides and works affect balancing? Addressing these questions led to a finer understanding of "roots" and their role in social differentiation, as well as the new situations and indexical potentials thereof, which the participants are both influencing and being influenced by in their interactions.

This chapter continues the exploration above, staring with the question, "what agency do the participants have in their code choices?" The data available for this study—from questionnaires and interviews with a limited sample—address this question, albeit partially. However, one analytical strategy for shedding some light on this question is to narrow in on what the participants say or imply is necessary in the code choice event. This offers a deeper look at the deontological and cultural logics of code choice among the participants. What does their discourse suggest are the necessities (obligations, responsibilities, etc.) that structure their linguistic code choices? What desires either support or contravene these necessities?

The relevance of looking at these issues is best explained by two linguistic anthropological consensuses. The first concerns how structural factors may delineate important parameters of changes in code repertoires while ideological factors are actually central its mechanisms (Gal, 1979; Kulick, 1992, Garrett, 2005). The second concerns evidencing language ideology. As detailed in the methods chapter, "the best place to look for language ideology may lie in the terms and presuppositions of metapragmatic discourse, not just in its assertions" (Irvine, 2001, p. 25).[186] Taking this advice, I look not only for justifications and excuses[187] for linguistic code choices (Austin, 1956), but also look for the assumptions embedded in metapragmatic discourse, as well as the *stances* participants take both toward an object of discourse and each other (DuBois, 2007). Metapragmatic discourse about code choice events, what is going on around this

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186 See Fairclough, 2003, pp. 58–61 on his use of implicature (Grice, 1975) and presupposition to explain assumptions.
187 See literature review for the distinction between an excuse and a justification, per Austin (1956, p. 2).

discourse, and code choice events themselves constitute important *sites* (points of engagement) for identification as well as language ideological production.[188]

According to the participants' discourse, the code choice event appears to be fraught with deontological ambiguity and/or conflict. To further understand how participants say they and others manage this, I decide to first look at what participants describe as *necessary* code choices, which seem to avoid such complexity. I look at the three instances in which the participants assert that a particular type of code is necessary:

- using one's home language with elders at home,

- using English as a lingua franca in situations of sociolinguistic diversity and

- using English for literacy practices

By investigating the nuances of these necessities, I aim to demonstrate how they are highly ideologized. Framing certain language choices as necessary, I propose, is one way to use necessity to strategically manage the aforementioned instability, erase deonotological complexity and, through excuses (Austin, 1956), absolve any perceived agency or responsibility for code choices that may be construed as "undermining" or "uplifting" African languages or English, and thereby assigning the associated personae of *underminer* and *uplifter*. That is, the data suggest that the participants take recourse to justifications or excuses of *necessity* when explaining the motivations for choosing a particular code in a certain situation, in contrast to *individual will, evaluation* or *desire*,

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188 I propose that, based on Philips, 2000 (p. 249) the interviews constitute at once both primary and secondary sites, because the participants are both discussing specific or general instances of code choice (primary site) and yet engaging in language practice in so doing (secondary).

because these excuses or justifications limit the probability of negative social labeling by couching responsibility for code choice in factors beyond one's control.

As discussed in the second section of the last chapter, the the participants' reports in this study suggest that their changing code repertoires are challenging preexisting shared functional differentiation of languages in use. This makes the metapragmatic awareness of how one might index oneself as an underminer/"coconut" or uplifter/"tribalist" that much more crucial. The data suggest that they are *responsible* for cultural continuity, i.e., "use it or lose it"; if they don't consistently choose to use their "mother tongue," they will not maintain their "roots." But choices to use one's "mother tongue" are being put into question by the increasing availability to Mankweng area youth of English language education and situations favorable for English use.[189]

Codings of the discourse data have revealed themes (outlined in the methods section) that, along with descriptive statistical indices, suggest that African codes are more than just necessary at home with elders for referential communication, or that English is more than just necessary as a campus *lingua franca* or medium of instruction. African codes are *needed* to speak with elders, and English is *needed* to mediate diversity, to meet institutional obligations, and to be competitive on the job market. But although these consensuses support the metadiscourse of necessity, they do not explain all motivations for using one code or another across contexts, and certainly not in a highly dynamic

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189 This does not overlook other types of changes in code repertoires afoot in the area. As pointed out in previous chapters, linguistic varieties common in Gauteng such as Fanagalo and Tsotsitaal, in addition to the "official languages" of Tswana and Zulu are commonly used among youth in South Africa, particularly as part of the practice of code-mixing. According to the participants' reports, urban African linguistic varieties and English are commonly used by many youth in the area, including some of the participants themselves. This study however focuses on the specific case of English use in the Mankweng area among the participants, which they consistently juxtapose with "African languages" or "their mother tongue."

sociolinguistic field such as the Mankweng area. It is this gap—between the explicitly stated motivations of using English and African codes and other descriptions of these codes, speakers thereof and various uses across all of the data—which supports my argument that recourse to the metadiscourse of necessity is a strategy for simplifying the deontology of code choice, and limiting responsibility.

The decision to focus the following discourse analysis on the theme of necessity emerges from prior stages of data analysis. In responding to the research question of what participants' inputs and discourse could say about their increasing usage of English, a key theme that emerged through coding the discourse data was, according to theme "roots are good," The theme of "African languages and culture are being undermined" also emerged, which begs two questions: who is doing this "undermining," and why is English not undermined? Are those taking the general stance that "roots are good" also "undermining," or only those who do not care about roots? On the same theme of evaluative stances toward the "categories of indexical potential" (namely, "roots" and English") discussed in the last chapter, "uplifting"—the opposite of "undermining"— applies to both categories.[190] Questioning why also led to thinking about the meaning of "uplifting" and the social consequences thereof for the participants.

Further, much of the data in this study[191] strongly suggest that *speaking* (as opposed to reading or writing) has a special role in both indexing, in fact *constituting* identification. That is, through non-referential indexicality (via "diacritica" such as accent, tone, gesture, turn-taking, politeness, etc.) speaking a language reproduces shared

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190 Both of these terms are taken from participant discourse.
191 See especially BALLI items 40, 41 and 42, and discourse themes.

markers of ethnic identification.[192] In this case, then, speaking English has the potential to index one as appropriating "English" as a lifestyle genre, as described in the last chapter, and to call into question whether one is "uplifting" English at the expense of one's "mother tongue," i.e. "undermining" it. The above data suggest that the stakes for being perceived as undermining or uplifting (i.e. acquiring a *persona* as an "uplifter" or "underminer" of a particular language/culture) are high.[193]

The previous chapter's analysis showed that most participants wanted to be perceived as being able to balance "roots" and "English"—one participant, 43, even saying to the point of being perceived as a "coconut". Yet it also showed that being labelled as "undermining" or "uplifting" either way must be avoided.[194] The data in this chapter show that the participants made particular self-presentational moves to hedge against these labellings, such as the invocation of the "metadiscourse of necessity," These moves depended largely on the indexical ecology and the situations and interactions common thereto (as described by the participants), and the degree to which participants were concerned with certain social labels.

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192 This is a crucial point of the study, a key to understanding the importance of code choice as a non-referential index of the metapragmatic knowledge of the speaker and their stances toward the code itself, imagined speakers thereof, etc. in multilingual settings. Moreover, as discussed just above on the previous page, stances accrete over time as consistent indexical potentials which are taken up in particular ways, socially positioning an individual as a certain type of person, i.e., endowing an individual with a certain persona. Using a language ideological framework, metapragmatic discourse and positionings and stances in the discourse constitute important sources of evidence of changes in code repertoires among the high school graduates in this study, and the effects thereof on their processes of identification.

193 I take the acquisition or assignment of a persona to be similar to Agha's metapragmatic stereotyping.

194 The term "coconut" may be complimentary to some and thus reflect "balance," or derogatory to others and reflect "undermining" one's "roots." The details of these distinctions across indexical ecologies cannot be adequately addressed with data of this current study. See excerpt 1i and footnote 10 in this chapter and excerpt 1j in the next chapter.

There was one major type of metadiscourse of necessity for choosing to use one's first African language(s): for a "bonding"/"we-code" with family and friends at "home," For English in use, there were two types: for a "bridging" language in multilingual situations, and for literacy practices.

The participants attest to a trend classically associated with language shift: namely, as the range of uses of English increases, the range for African languages decreases. In contrast to a classic language sift situation however, assuming an inexorable trajectory toward language endangerment and death, the available evidence suggests an increase in English usage. To put a finer point on it, the range of *genres* for which English is considered necessary is expanding (cf. Garrett, 2005). As the research question of this dissertation makes clear, participants are both actively and passively participating in these reported changes. "Balancing" seems to require a high degree of metapragmatic awareness of such phenomena (cf. Silverstein, 1998). Given this, the discrepancy between what is actually necessary and presented as necessary appears to be particularly ideologically dynamic: a *desirable* or *socially advantageous* choice of code may not exactly be *necessary*. The goal of this chapter is to explore and demonstrate the ideologized nature of the differences between these two types of reported choice-conditions.

Analysis

I start this chapter where the last one left off: with the following exchange between participants 30 and 31. To recap from the last chapter, participant 30 has recently returned to Mamotinane from two years at the University of Pretoria to transfer to the UL

due to lack of funds. Participant 31, 30's second cousin, is four years 30's junior at 19 years old, had also been planning to enroll at the UL in January 2009.

The importance of this excerpt is its focus on the theme of agency in code choice. The initial line of questioning recounted in the last chapter was about whether most people his age "are … proud of their roots or … want to keep them" (lines 1–2). I asked some form of this question in all of the interviews, and in every group the response varied but generally settled on a negative assessment. Their response below is one such example ("most of *them we* care less…don't care," line 3). But their competing insights into agency about "adopting the Western life" (lines 7–8) is what deserves special attention. The following excerpt is taken from page 32 of a 37-page transcript (noted at the end of the excerpt as <u>underlined</u>).[195] Passages in **bold** are those marked for further discussion.

Excerpt (intro)

35 --   30: Like at at university you can actually describe it this way you can go there

36 --   the university because like many people are **coming from different parts**

37 --   **ne…different views**...it's the college or university that say no (varied?)

38 --   people are rather do research **in the same way**…so it's gonna be

39 --   quite… different

40 --   **31: That's tha tha that's the biggest place where we going to crrrush**

41 --   **your…your roots.**

42 --   **30: Not really.**

43 --   31: Ehe, ehe .. *really,* I-I--

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195 The 34 lines preceding this excerpt can be found in excerpt 2h. of the previous chapter.

44 --   30: if if you have a desire ne for something else ne, it's gonna start when

45 --   you're still young

46 --   31: [?] (overlap) Let me say this**. I I once saw a a ladies from a Tsonga**

47 --   ladies wearing those *xibelani*, you see? They were…teasing them. They

48 --   guys like… they they were my friends, they're like "why don't you wear

49 --   *xibelani* whenyou go to ch-" – **the ladies were saying "you know what**

50 --   people here they don't accept uusss, they isolate us" you see? Yeah, th th

51 --   that's where the problem arise.

52 --   A: Yeah

53 --   31: so…we should

54 --   30: acceptance and stuff… **but then people still do that when you go home**.

55 --   A?: chuckle

56 --   31: **but even then you're spending most of your time at school**

57 --   A: Yeah

58 --   31: at home you just going home for 2 weeks. Obviously you're going to

59 --   adopt that life.

60 --   30: if you want! No it's it's all about choices. <u>(pp. 32/37)</u>

Of central concern in this passage is the degree to which the participants agree on

personal agency in choosing what I have termed "lifestyle genres"; namely, those of

"English" (cf. the "Western lifestyle," line 8, ex. 2h ch. 5) and "roots." Participant 30

holds fast to the power of personal agency in how to work with these factors ——"it's all

about choices" (line 52)—despite his own stance that the university "promotes the

Western life" (line 8, ex. 2h, ch. 5), and even amidst Mamotintane's involvement in the increasing urbanization of Mankweng (as described following excerpt 1c. in the last chapter). Yes, there may be changes afoot, yes UL may promote the "Western" life, but to him, "if if you have a desire ne … for something else ne, it's gonna start when you're still young" (lines 56–57). *In other words, you have already made your decision for "something else" by going to the university*. 31 disagrees, however: even if you want to continue your traditions on campus—in the example above, by wearing a traditional Tsonga *xibelani* dress—the prevailing lifeways of the university and its members discourage traditionalism. But as covered in the last chapter, this ridicule of a *xibelani* could indicate interethnic enmity from the mostly Sotho student body rather than anti-traditionalism. 30 however is not convinced: it's still your choice, regardless of how you are treated. But is it? It is left open—fitting perhaps, as agency is ambiguously framed from the start in the discourse of 31: "most of **them, we** care less about roots." Who is "Them"? "We"? Here, questions surrounding need and desire, structure and agency, are thrown into critical relief.

This passage illustrates some of the challenges before high school graduates living in the area concerning identification and "balancing" lifestyle genres. They have already made the choice to go after, quoting from 30, "something else"—according to 31, the "Western lifestyle" that the university promotes. But there is a third option, a kind of integration of the two, which is an invocation of the metapragmatic directive described above: to "stick to roots but go for English." In this endeavor, choice of linguistic code is key, the basis of choosing to engage with one lifestyle genre or another. The following section explores the major justification the participants report using for why it is

necessary to choose to use *African linguistic codes* in discourse: as a "bonding"/"we-code" with elders at home.

Reported Necessity for Choosing One's Home African Language(s)

    Necessity as a "bonding"/"we-code" with elders at home. There is only one domain (Fishman, 1979) or genre (Garrett, 2005) of social action, according to the discourse data, which requires the usage of an African linguistic code: with elders at home. This necessity may or may not be grounded in the possibility of referential communication; it may be either a matter of whether grandmother understands English or a matter of cultural rules. Excerpts 1a–1f below illustrate:

<u>**Ex. 1a.**</u>

(Participant 18 is a 24-year-old male UL student from Jane Furse in Sekhukhuneland)

01 --   A: At home you would always speak Sepedi?

02 --   18: Sepedi yeah and around the campus I talk to my friends…and the

03 --   languages that we're using here are not as limited as the language as that ah

04 --   ah one would have to use at home…yeah, that's kind of a a disparity that seem

05 --   to be existing. <u>(p. 19/35)</u>

<u>**Ex. 1b.**</u>

(43 is a 20 year old female UL student from Mentz, adjacent to Mankweng)

01 --   A: How is campus different?

02 --   43: All the people they are just talk to them, **like you just say everything you**

03 --   want to say

04 --   A: Hm

05 --   43: Because, at home, you have older people and younger people gotta

06 --   respect what you're saying to them

07 --   A: Oh, interesting, so do you speak English at home?

08 --   43: No, Sepedi. (p. 10/38)

Ex. 1c.

(29 is a 24 year old female from Mamotintane)

01 --   27: Yeah what … as a mother I will be saying that no I don't want my family

02 --   **talking English in the home, my children will speak to me in Sepedi only.**

03 --   (p. 12/30)

Ex. 1d.

(14 is an 18 year old male Nobody/Ga-Mothapo resident and UNISA student)

01 --   14: Me you know I I've learned English but I don't think I'm different or changed,

02 --   I still stick to my roots, and when I'm with my friends or other people, I

03 --   know English yes I can speak English but when I'm with other people you

04 --   cannot say cannot hear me say "Hey you know this guy man, you know man

05 --   I ...you'll

06 --   hear me speaking Pedi ONLY […], I can I I I sp- I I know how to speak English

07 --   I spe-**I I can speak English when I have to, when I when I when I must I can,**

08 --   but eh but ah when I'm with this guy (pats on back) no...I cannot speak in

09 --   English.   (p. 24/51)

Ex. 1e.

01 --   37: It's it's very easy to forget one's mother tongue now especially living in

02 --   the suburbs…

03 --   ?: and **near campus**

04 --   37: yeah cause, you'll find a kid saying, **"Oh! I saw a dog with horns" it's**

05 --   **it's very irritating**.

06 --   Multiple: laughs

07 --   37: Seriously, it's so not good cause sometimes you find it, um, **you can't**

08 --   **even what like what she was saying you can't communicate with**

09 --   **your…grannies**(?) trying to hear where where you're coming from..(?) who

10 --   your great-grannies are you know things like that,

11 --   ?: Exactly

12 --   37: **and grannies haven't any idea who you are** …

13 --   ?: [very true]

14 --   37: Cause usually in Sepedi we usually get named from somebody who died.

   (p.28/38)

Ex. 1f

03 --   36: As much as you would you would cover the whole syllabus of

04 --   English or h- e- even if you can be the master of the language English

05 --   **you just have to know your language. You just have to know your**

06 --   **language, there's nothing that you can say [about?] this... (p. 28/38).**

The preceding excerpts reflect a common stance among the participants that it is necessary to speak African languages at "home" with one's parents and elders, and mostly because parents and elders speak limited or no English. But these examples also highlight how this necessity is also linked to cultural values and processes. For example, in excerpts 1a–1c above the participants describe the restrictions of speaking at home, i.e. just one language, or certain types of speaking with certain types of people. Age is an important factor is linguistic code choice that follows a clear pattern: younger people use the code determined by the older person.

Yet what about with siblings? What clear-cut cultural rule guides code choice in those interactions? And does this rule also apply to others, even one's own age, at "home," which could include one's parents' residence and/or village? Consider excerpt 1d. above: "when I'm with this guy no … I cannot speak in English" (1c, lines 8–9). Or for youth away from "home"—what excuse is available in case they are stigmatized (negatively socially labeled) for using their so-called "home language"? For example, there is reportedly a more diverse and less elder and family structured indexical ecology on campus than "at home" and thus a broader range of indexical potentials to work with in communication.

In the introductory excerpt above, I discussed the metapragmatic directive of the elders that the participants above appear to have internalized: "stick to your roots, but go for English," This directive recalls a code-specific differentiation of function discussed in the literature review, according to Black-White labor relations during apartheid. To paraphrase the ABET learners I talked with in 2006, you must speak some of the

languages of the White business owners (Afrikaans, and sometimes English) for work situations (Babson, 2007).[196] This was congruent with pre-1994 social and education policies and ideologies of social control, which aimed to severely limit land ownership and proprietorship among Black Africans (Cox & Todes, 2004; Delius, & Schirmer, 2001; Junod, 1905; Rose & Tunmer, 1975). Along these lines, what "stick to your roots but go for English" implies is that English is more appropriate as a "bridging" linguistic code for "weak" social ties outside of the home and village, not a "bonding" code appropriate to "strong" social ties (cf. Granovetter, 1973). I have chosen this distinction because it captures the similar categorization of Gumperz, the "we" code vs. the "they" code (1982), and provides more description of the type of functional differentiation of "bridging" vs. "bonding."

As discussed in the second section of the last chapter, these distinctions are not neatly separable in actual use; in fact their dynamism is of central importance here, especially given that an overall issue of this study, as mentioned above, is English's acquisition of "bridging" functions. For example one may strengthen "weak" ties to the point they become "bonding" ties, yet continue to use the language of "bridging," Conversely, one can maintain "weak" ties through linguistic practice through what may be considered a "bonding" code. As discussed in the last chapter, indexical ecologies—spaces where certain social assemblages and indexical potential are more likely than others—are important factors in code choice and over time, the general functions of languages-in-use. As discussed in the last chapter, the urbanization of the Mankweng area, and the diverse UL campus, which has played the central role in this urbanization (as planned by the

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196 The median age of the learners was 43.

apartheid government) anchors this importance. The ability to "stick to roots but go for English" is strongly influenced by indexical ecology.

In sum, there is a distinction to be made here between the necessity to achieve referential communication with elders through the use of mutually intelligible linguistic codes, and the necessity to avoid a stigmatized persona through pragmatic correctness. Code choice is one type of language practice that can have a highly salient non-referential indexical effect.

Returning to the example of code choices with siblings: in these times of increased access to situations where English will either be needed or at least mutually intelligible, many youth have no necessity to use the "mother tongue" for referential communication with their siblings. In this case, then, "necessity" cannot be metadiscursively used as a justification for speaking English in the home, or as an excuse for such in the case one is subsequently called an "underminer," For example, there are still strong social pressures for youth to speak their first African languages with their families, as a "bonding" code. The following two excerpts highlight that this is actually a referential necessity for parents and elders who have little to no command of English.[197] The first excerpt is from pp. 22–23 of the Mamotintane male participants' transcript. The second excerpt, from p. 16–17 of the UL males' focus group, is from a 20 year old Tsonga-speaking first year student at UL, describing the narrow functional range of his Tsonga language; that he only speaks it at home, and even then, he tries to practice his English as much as possible.

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197 This also assumes the same necessity for ancestors (such as in greetings or participation in a formal phasa ceremony), but this was not directly discussed.

<u>**Ex. 1e**</u>

01 --   A: (pause) But I guess like (pause) I guess, **do do you feel a sense of like**

02 --   **uh, of of like, roots…?**

03 --   1: Myself?

04 --   A: Yeah

05 --   1: Ah, you know what? **Eish, I can't say that** cause like, **I'm primarily a**

06 --   **Venda person, my Dad is Venda,** my mother's **half Venda half Pedi. So I – I**

07 --   **actually don't where I belong** cause now my parents are divorced now. I live

08 --   with my grandmother here yeah and **she speak, no we speak** ... Pedi. Most of the

09 --   time my mother [?] my **father is in Venda he talks Venda. So I don't have like**

10 --   [?] **got to know my father and stuff**, **then that's how we Africans we believe**

11 --   **that your roots are from your father's side**.

12 --   31: yeah…it's like if you need to know your root they are your **father's**

13 --   **roots.**

14 --   A: yeah

15 --   30: yeah

16 --   31: **it's your roots**

17 --   30: **yeah, I'm not too much in contact with them, so…**

Participant 30 has just returned from Pretoria to study at the UL. He lives with his

grandmother in Mamotintane and "she speak, no we speak...Pedi" (line 13). Venda is his

first language, from his father's side, as is customary—"the father's side is where you get

your roots" (line 16). Despite still knowing his father, his parents are divorced and he is

apparently estranged from them. This domestic fragmentation leads him to conclude that

"Eish, I can't say that (I know) my roots… so I – I actually don't where I belong" (lines

5–9). This underscores the enduring legacy of the social violence wrought by colonialism

and apartheid in the northern Transvaal, characterized by migrant labor systems that

have, in the words of regional native Mamphela Ramphele, "disrupted all aspects of

family life" (2002, p. 154). In her recent study on youth in South Africa, Ramphele notes

that most of her participants "grew up with little knowledge of their fathers as important

figures in their lives" leading her to conclude that "the dismantling of apartheid has not

erased the patterns of behavior entrenched by this system" (ibid.).[198] I then turn to ask

participant 31 if he has stayed in contact with his father or his side of the family:

18 --   A: How about, OK, how about you? Do you stay you in contact with your

19 --   father's side or ?

20 --   31: Nnno I I I feel like, you know… (pause) mm, personally,

21 --   A: Yeah

22 --   31: **I should know both sides**…reason being … mm... **our parents are**

23 --   **divorced**. My mom it's — sister. I live with another s- my stepmother, so

24 --   A: OK

25 --   31: I should know... her customs, and what they're.. they are doing in in this

26 --   family…and in my father's family…reason being i**-i-in our in our customs, we**

27 --   **used to say, OK, this kid is crying, all night, so he need... he need to greet his**

---

198 As discussed in the last chapter, this is why even though children are traditionally supposed to take the first language of the father, in practice, they take the "mother tongue," because, simply put, the mothers are taking care of them the vast majority of the time.

28 --   **ancestors in**

29 --   30: (overlap) sort of like [?] hehehe

30 --   31: (overlap) **his mother's side**. Yeah. So I I I

31 --   A: that's cool, that's …that's interesting, actually

32 --   31: so you need, you need to know both of them, you need to … communicate

33 --   with both of them…**it's my roots. It's where I'm from. And I should live with**

34 --   **it.** (pp. 22–23/37)

Choices about language cannot be understood simply in terms of referential communication; nonreferential communication is connected to important sociocultural phenomena. Harkening back to the first section of the last chapter, the excerpts above reflect how kinship relations affect linguistic code choice. Most participants note that they must use their first languages to achieve referential communication with their parents and grandparents. Yet this referential necessity is bundled with more culturally based expectations of respect for elders, of speaking the linguistic code of the ancestors, and of keeping one's "roots." Social relations are mediated through simultaneously communicating referentially and nonreferentially.

In this last excerpt above (1e), both participants provide descriptions of how they consider language practice and code choice in particular essential to maintaining family relations and "roots." 31 describes how knowing African languages for communicating with family members, including his ancestors, is an important part of maintaining contact with both sides of his family, which is difficult as his parents are divorced (lines 26–39). Later in the data he describes how he hopes to bring his family together by staying in

Mamotintane and starting his own life there, which he indicates in line 38: "it's my roots. It's where I'm from. And I should live with it."

In light of the major regional demographic fluctuations caused by apartheid, both 30 and 31's unstable family situations did not, unfortunately, surprise. Apartheid land and labor policies played a large role in domestic fragmentation and instability among Black families in South Africa. What this means for the role of language in maintaining or re-creating domestic stability is unclear (Stevens & Lockhat, 1997, p. 140). But perhaps the strong "pro-roots" sentiments of 31 and the longing although ambivalent assessment of 30 arise from a desire for socio-emotional continuity and connectedness. A compelling motivation for 31 to speak the language of his parents and to stay in Mamotintane is to reestablish intergenerational connections. Thus speaking Pedi is not just a matter of sharing information, it's a matter of cultural reproduction. By a similar token, 30 "doesn't know where he belongs" (line 7): although he identifies "primarily" as Venda (lines 5–6), and claims Venda as his "father's tongue" or first language, he now lives with his grandmother in Mamotintane, whom he identifies as "Pedi." I take 30's situation as further evidence that language, for him and perhaps other participants, is strongly implicated in the process of identification, and more specifically, cultural continuity. Further, 30's situation also points to potential explanatory factors for early interest in and desire for learning English well. As he says in the introduction, "if if you have a desire …for something else … it's gonna start when you're still young" (intro, lines 36–37).

A handful of campus participant cases in this study, which will be highlighted, reflect similar dynamics at play. One such participant is a student from outside of Tzaneen, a

self-identified Tsonga-speaker, a 20-year-old first year student at UL. In earlier parts of the transcript, he describes in vague terms a difficult time in school:

Ex. 1g.

01 --	16: I found it **very challenging** and some of the classmates that I had they

02 --	were very boring. **Th-they were putting me in such an extent I I reach a**

03 --	**state, it's time that I stood up for myself** and prove that I know that I

04 --	can do, so…. (p. 1/35)

He continues throughout the focus group to stress the importance of English in the effort to "upgrade his life" (p. 1 and p. 17/35). He also stresses the importance of his close family relationships. His desire, in the words of 30, for "something different" perhaps arises from these early negative experiences at school with his peers; in fact, bullying and abuse in schooling is a major problem in rural schools (NMF, 2005, pp. 60–61).

Below he describes a typically difficult situation for UL students: going home after getting used to the relatively urbanized campus lifeways (in the words of a fellow group participant, 18, "a different ball game altogether," p. 19/35). Above he describes the benefits of speaking English—benefits that he can freely avail himself of on the campus. The challenge for many UL students, as reported by the participants, is that it is difficult to stop speaking English when they return to their villages. Below, 16 describes how back home, the choice to speak Tsonga or English is non-negotiable for parents and elders: it is Tsonga. However the category of functional differentiation of "*youth* use English," an

established social phenomenon in South Africa (pointed out in a number of relevant studies[199]) presents a potential conflict at home: what language do you speak to your *siblings*?

Ex. 1h.

01 --   16: And then when I'm at home, I am home with my siblings, that's where

02 --   they say **you are arrogant,** but you know with my parents **I have not spoke I**

03 --   **have never spoke to my parents or my elders or my elder relatives in**

04 --   **English**. **I speak to them in Xitsonga, I can only speak English to my**

05 --   **siblings. If they say I'm arrogant I won't admit but I have not spoken to**

06 --   **my parents or my elders or my elder relatives in English**… so I don't see

07 --   the use of being c- called that you're arrogant or those things and…. **Home is**

08 --   **different home is different home is different. Home is always home. That**

09 --   **doesn't change**. (pp. 16–17/35)

Although participant 16 considers home as the place of his elders and ancestors and thus "the place where I must speak my first language," he also makes clear that he is trying to keep up his English as much as possible. Functional differentiation is not always easily categorizable, and is not easily predictable across situations, ecologies, networks or any other type of set of social "assemblages" (Latour, 2005).

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199 See Alexander, 2000; Dolby, 2000; Kamwangamalu, 2007; Nutall, 2004; and Soudien, 2003.

To further illustrate, if participant 16 is with his siblings, it is an ambiguous situation: he can speak English with them, though there is a social cost: he might be called "arrogant."[200] Once again, necessity and desire need to be negotiated. Through metapragmatic discourse (Silverstein, 1993, p. 33) the participant is announcing rules about when he can speak what code with whom. In this case it's a practical though also a *conventional* necessity, a cultural expectation, to speak to his parents in the "bonding" code of Tsonga. He doesn't *need* to speak to his siblings in English, but he *wants* to, and the common language ideology of English as youth language allows him to justify his choice. But there is a social cost: his siblings call him "arrogant," which he feels is unjustified, especially since he didn'tdid not break the cardinal rule of speaking to his parents in English. English is depicted as a *language of youth* in excerpt 2d below (lines 7–8), especially appropriate as a "bridging" code between youth with "weak" social ties. Participant 16 runs up against difficulty at home when he tries to mix these categories: when he uses a "bridging" code with those he has strong ties with, his siblings. By admitting that he wants to speak English with his siblings, 16 is leaving himself vulnerable to critiques of being called arrogant, which is tantamount to being called an

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200 Kamwangamalu sums up a study by Bowerman, (2000) of language shift in an urban Black community in the Western Cape. Features of this shift seem to resemble the current situation in the Mankweng area. I have bolded below the most relevant aspects for excerpt 4 above. Kamwangamalu (2003, p. 74]:

Bowerman (2000) undertook a study of language use in urban Black communities in the Western Cape Province. … The study shows that the respondents use an African language, rather than English, in their interactions with older family members, irrespective of the latter's degree of proficiency in English. However, they use English regularly for interactions with family members around the same age as themselves; and this number, the study concludes, "increases significantly (to more than a third of the [31] respondents) when it comes to communicating with family members of younger generations" (Bowerman 2000: 138). The author draws a similar conclusion with respect to language use in interactions with neighbors and friends: "[if] the neighbor/friend interlocutors are of the younger generation... there is significant spread of English dominance over these interactions (Bowerman 2000: 157–158).

"underminer." If he uses English at home with his siblings or in the village, he cannot rely on an African language or English language metadiscourse of necessity when offering an excuse to would be "undermining" accusers (perhaps his elders, or others in the village).[201]

The above example illustrates how analysis of linguistic code choice must always be based on a metapragmatic understanding of the array of codes (together with their culturally constituted and ideologically mediated functional differentiations) at the disposal of a particular group of people, and the combinatorial uptake of these options into an individual repertoire. Although this section deals with the metadiscourse of necessity for choosing African linguistic codes, this very choice is reported in the data as commonly made in opposition to English. (Though it should be re-emphasized that the fact I could not competently use any other linguistic code with the participants but English for this work, may have limited the participants' usages of or reflections about English and African linguistic codes).

The issue for UL students of what language to speak to siblings upon returning home, or how much English is "too much", highlights the fact that linguistic code choice involves weighing a complex set of motivations and goal orientations that can vary across contexts, or as theorized in the previous chapter, indexical ecologies. The "stick to your roots but go for English" directive is put into question here, because "youth" is a contestable, dynamic and hybridizing category of speakers. That is, youth are generally typified as "those who speak English," but rural youth can leave themselves open to

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201 One effective excuse, for using English, however, blurs the line between necessity and individual volition: the need to practice. See excerpt 3k below.

being discouraged from this if they do it too much, especially in the home, as in the case with participant 16 being called "arrogant." The theme of negative social labeling for speaking English in the participant data is taken up more fully in the next section.

Reported Necessities for Using English

Necessity for using English as a "bridging" code in multilingual situations. The following excerpt is repeated from the previous chapter's section about location as a factor in "balancing". In the Sebayeng focus group the participants believed that the requirement of English as a language of instruction would make them "like English more," and there would be "no Sepedi talking in university" (lines 6–7):

<u>Ex. 2a</u>

08 --   5: On the campus...**you are going to meet lots of ideas outside there** as well

09 --   A: Yeah

10 --   5: **Those ideas they're not going to be familiar to each other**

11 --   A: Hm

12 --   5: They're going to like violate each other, **they will contradict**

13 --   3: **If I go to the campus, I'm going to like English more…cause in**

14 --   **university, you talk English, there is no Sepedi talking** (p. 16/27).

Participant 5 clearly thinks of the university as a melting pot of diversity, but particularly of *ideas* that will "not be familiar to" or even "contradict" each other (lines 3–5). This supports the case for using English as a bridging (Granovetter, 1973), "they"-code (Gumperz, 1982, p. 66) in such situations of social novelty, diversity and

unpredictability. What is left unclear in this excerpt, however, is whether participant 5 is saying that "in university, you talk English…no Sepedi" in everyday social interactions or simply in classroom discourse only. As will be further explored here, this points out a distinction crucial for understanding the linguistic code choice rationales of the participants, namely, whether they can justify their choices to use English on grounds of institutional *necessity* or on their own personal *affinity* for English, i.e., they just "like it more,"

The following excerpt from participant 43 vindicates Nobody/Ga-Mothapo participant 15's concerns that UL students living on campus will not be able to separate code-specific functional differentiations by location. For participant 15, he must speak English in town, but Pedi at home, and by moving back and forth, he strikes a "balance." He even mentions that if one had to "stay in town" one would lose one's roots, aligning with the similar stance of participant 3 of the Sebayeng focus group (the first group of the study), namely that "If I go to the campus, I'm going to like English more…cause in university, you talk English." Below, I discuss with participant 43 of the UL female students' focus group the assumptions by participant 3 that English is useful, if not necessary, to "bridge" "violating" and "contradicting" ideas arising in campus conversations. Whatever the deontological considerations – i.e., whether a matter of *desire* or necessity -- the result is that, in his words, "I'm going to like English more." Does this mean participants 3 and 15 are correct, that the only way to hold onto one's "roots" is to not live full-time in English-ful places such as the campus?

01 --   43: In some way (the university) IS destroying our culture.

02 --   A: OK

03 --   43: Cause you get used to English… Wherever you go you use English…You get

04 --   adapted to English

05 --   A: Mm

06 --   44: Even though you come back to uh our grannies you don't even talk to your

07 --   grannies because we are learning and talking in English and then your granny

08 --   keep saying "what are you? Wha? Wha? You don't even know – ah…

09 --   A: Really?

10 --   Some: yeah, hm

11 --   A: So are- is it easy to forget Sepedi once your once your once you've been here?

12 --   43: Yeah

13 --   A: Speaking reading writing?

14 --   43: Reading and writing never existed anyway, pretty much.

15 --   SO: Yes they did.

Historical evidence from Harries suggests that before missionization, movement in the region was so limited among some groups so as to obviate the need for linguae francae: "Unlike the European bourgoisie, the people defined as Thonga-speakers had no need for a common language; *their economic activities were too restricted and localized to require the development of one language that would facilitate and defend their commercial transactions*" (italics mine; n.d., p. 15). For many of the new UL students, it will be the first time for them in which using English may be a necessity, due to the

campus' sociocultural diversity. But this does not mean stepping foot inside the gate

means you *must* speak English.[202] As participant 33 has put it, however, "on campus, we

speak Sepedi most of the time, but English is there." Thus this contradicts the impression

on the part of participant 3 from Sebayeng that "there is no Sepedi talking" (lines 6–7).[203]

As mentioned by participant 15, English is the medium of instruction on campus; and

because at least 25% of the students do not speak Pedi as a first language, English is often

used as a bridging language among students. The point here is that participants not

attending the university tend to have the impression that the university is either "crushing

roots," or, students, by choosing to attend the university, are willfully submitting to the

institutional power of the university to impose an "English only" policy.

This discussion illustrates the centrality of agency in "balancing": does the strength or

weakness of roots or location overdetermine balancing, or do participants have significant

agency in the matter? The following excerpt from participants 30 and 31 sheds important

light on this issue. Like every interview in this study, the topic started out on literacy

practices, but eventually moved to issues of language and culture. Here, both participants

discuss the value of roots, and how the ecological organization of indexical potentials as

a student on the university campus might affect identification.

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202 The distinction between staying on the campus for studies and commuting is important. Very few
students commute to the university. The University was not built to be a commuter college. As planned by
the apartheid government, it was built to house all students, in order to facilitate control of student
movement locally and encourage the development of a separate and unequal university environment. Thus
the campus has extensive dormitories and the vast majority of students (83%) live on campus (Mulder,
personal communication, 2008). Further, the great majority of students at the university have limited
mobility because they lack their own transportation. None of the 48 participants, for example, owned their
own cars.

203 The causal link between necessity and desire here "I'm going to like English more, because…
there is no Sepedi talking" is notable and is taken up in depth in the next chapter. That is, if he has to speak
English more he will like it more. What ideological explanation might there be for this logical leap?

01 --   31: Here a a around this area

02 --   A: Yeah

03 --   31: **if I if I if I was talking, you know mixing those languages (English and**

04 --   **Pedi)**, they will say **"Oh, those are coconuts!"** that they like White stuff,

05 --   30: (interrupting) the thing is still... yeah it's still…

06 --   31: so we don't [like?] English, we don't want to mix us with them, so

07 --   let them gooo, **"Hey coconut, I don't want you here!"**

08 --   30: It's very true (p. 27/37)

In lines 3–4 above, participant 31 says "if I if I if I was talking, you know mixing those languages, they will say "Oh, those are coconuts!" Thus lays bare the kind of social stigmatization possible as a result of linguistic code choice (in this case, it is the choice to use English, but more precisely, it is the increased proportion of English in one's code repertoire). This issue highlights the link between code choice and identification, the central issue of this dissertation. Using English habitually relies on an expertise still considered indexical of high social status in the Mankweng area. As mentioned last chapter (see excerpt 1j) "coconut" is a label often derogatorily leveled against Black South Africans who appear to some to be "too White"; or applied to the above example, speaking too much English.white," In light of 31's positive and protective stances toward "roots," language and family depicted above in the introduction, I did not expect him to count himself among those might be called a "coconut." This highlights once again the

uncertainties of the indexical potentials of the terms "coconut" and "balancing", and

underscores the need for these uncertainties to be managed.[204]

Compare this excerpt with one from earlier in the same transcript from the last

chapter (namely, excerpt 1j, chapter 5). In that discussion about the perceived strength of

roots (and "Pedi" roots in particular) as a factor in balancing participants 30 and 31

question the very notion of any local "roots" (ex. 1j, ch. 6, line 6, lines 10–11, lines 18–

21). This begs interrogation of 31's labeling as a "coconut" (in the derogatory "acting

White" sense) for mixing English and local Pedi: that is, what local "roots" or cultural

"pride" is 31 "undermining" by using English? In excerpt 1 below, the participant, a 22

year old male third year UL student identifying as Venda, expresses a sentiment reflected

in coding theme 5, namely, "English is necessary to mediate diversity":

Ex. 2d.

01 --   17: it was very big step big step for me to learn Pedi cause it took me quite a

02 --   long time.

03 --   A: Yeah Yeah

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204 The term "coconut", common in South Africa for some time, has more recently, and pointedly, come to refer to Black "Model C" school students (see footnote 8, Ch. 5), and crucially, mainly because of their "posher" English (Stevens & Lockhat 1997, pp. 143-4; cf. Ferguson, 2005, p. 134; Mesthrie, 2008a, 2008b). Fanon's *Black Skin White Masks* (1952) is the classic reference point, but Peter Abrahams' classic *Mine Boy* (1946), depicting a rural youth's adjustments to the traumas of hard labor on the Witwatersrand, is perhaps more relevant – in fact it was mentioned several times by participants. Recently *Coconut* (2006) has shed similar light on these issues, but from the vital perspective of a young female writer (Kopano Matlwa) depicting two female teens, one working class and one middle class, negotiating racial politics and personal identification in post-apartheid South Africa. I was not aware of Coconut at the time of the research in 2008, but I find its subject relevant to understanding the female participants' perspectives on these issues. Stephanie Rudwick's paper on the uptake of English among township youth in KZN (2008) explores these issues as well, with several parallels to this study.

04 -- 17: **But with English, we we we we already know that, wherever you go,**

05 -- **what you gonna mean**

06 -- A: yeah, yeah

07 -- 17: **Because in South Africa, the medium of instruction is**

08 -- **English…English, that's where everybody meets, that's where things are**

09 -- **easy. Besides the whole idea is to make the conversation flowing... bottom**

10 -- **line.** (p. 2/6)

In line 20 of the following excerpt, participant 44, a 20-year-old female UL student of biochemistry, uses the exact same language in describing the usefulness of English to mediate campus diversity.[205] It is "flowing easy" (line 13) as a linguistic code in use but also as a lingua franca, facilitating communication across cultural and linguistic differences ("it's a our center," line 1). Tellingly, this participant also suggests that, in response to 38's question, English's ease of use is why it was "chosen, out of all the languages of the world to be the medium of instruction" (lines 10–11):

Ex. 2e.

01 -- 44: I think English it's a **it's a our center** for eh…[?] a language

02 -- is for us to

03 -- A: OK

04 -- 44: to count when – eh – both of us we communicate [?] English…

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205 In fact according to a study of youth language practices at University of Cape Town by Bangeni & Kapp (2007), English was described in the exact same language as well. According to a Swati student there, "she added that she often thinks and dreams in English: 'It's so spontaneous, it just flows'" (p. 263).

05 -- cause Sepedi we don't forget Sepedi but we have to know…the

06 -- English. […]

07 -- 38: Can I please ask you a question?

08 -- A: Sure.

09 -- 38: **How did it happen that out of all the languages of the**

10 -- **world…English was chosen to be the universal …or the medium of**

11 -- **instruction? Why did they not choose… Afrikaans?**

12 -- A: Can can I t- yeah I'll tell you, or maybe you wanna answer?

13 -- **44: I think I think it's because.. it's easy - I think it's because.. it's**

14 -- **easy** than

15 -- A: (overlap) Any other of you you think English is easy?

16 -- Multiple: (overlap) yes

17 -- 44: (overlap) **Afrikaans,** you know Afrikaans? You know we used to to

18 -- "*gegege*" (note: imitating guttural sounds of Afrikaans) and whatever

19 -- Multiple: laughs

20 -- 44: **So I think English it's it's flowing so easy, that is why they**

21 -- **choosing the English I think so.** (p. 35/38)

Going back first to excerpt 2d, participant 17 claims that using English is necessary to reliably achieve referential communication" wherever you go" (line 4) including the campus but also implying not only anywhere in South Africa, a former British colony, but literally *anywhere.* Thus it is highly practical as a lingua franca. She builds on her locational metaphor from line 1 ("English is a our center") by further describing English

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as a *place* where "everybody meets, where things are easy" (lines 7–8). A question to ask of the following analysis, then, is: Is "easy" not a compelling argument in a situation of difficulty, both in the sense of *easy to master* as a linguistic code and *making things easy* by taking out the guesswork in multilingual situations?[206] Indeed, things have changed since the early colonial situation described by Harries in the previous chapter: *linguae francae* are needed in the Mankweng area (due to urbanization, and in some places, immigration) and much needed on the socioculturally diverse UL campus due to its. Perhaps using English is not necessary "wherever you go," but if it makes life easier, then on a practical level, why not?

The dominance of Mamobolo "Pedi" in the area, however, as well as the popularity of urban African *linguae francae* undercuts the *absolute necessity* of using English for "easy" communication on the campus. Nonetheless, the perception of English as the easy and attractive option is widespread among the participants, both village and non-village. It reamins as an open question however, how "easy" it was for those participants who did not speak very much during the focus groups, and, it goes without saying, peers who did not participate in the study because they did not feel confident enough in their English ability, or they graduate from high school. My own role in these positionings -- as an English speaker from an admired, almost mythical country to most of the participants, who advertised the study in English and could not adequately conduct the interviews in any other shared languages – cannot be ruled out in this consensus of English being

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206 See Item 4, BALLI analysis, Chapter 5. Note the comparison to the ostensibly difficult Afrikaans in Ex. 3b, line 18.

deemed "easy." One must think of the negative connotations of the opposite stance: who in the same situation would be eager to admit they found English difficult?

In the last section of this chapter, I discuss the reported necessity of using English for literacy practices. The following excerpt however combines this theme with the current theme of English as a necessary lingua franca to mediate diversity on campus. Participant 36, the 21-year-old female second year UL student identifying as Tswana, describes to participant 43 how the quality or "purity" of the English isn't even that important, nor the non-referential indexical consequences of this usage. All that counts is the accomplishment of referential communication:[207]

Ex. 2f.

01 --   43: We use English a lot more here (on campus)

02 --   A: OK, because why?

03 --   36: Ha! here we are in university…

04 --   A: you have more friends?

05 --   All: yes yes…

06 --   36: It's a diverse community… you know this, know that, and **you cannot**

07 --   speak your Tswana language… as much as it is very nice. **You cannot say...**

08 --   talk to whoever in Tswana because he or she is Tsonga or Pedi or…. so and

09 --   so, so we use English, and most of the time we don't even use original

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207 See "most of the time we don't even use original English", line 9; cf. BALLI items 10 and 19.

10 --   **English**[208] (chuckle) I don't even… (laughs).

11 --   **44: But why are you using your English in your diary cause you are the only**

12 --   **one who gonna read what you write.**

13 --   Multiple: English…

14 --   **36: We have we have adapted to English more**

15 --   SO :we have adapted to English…

16 --   **37: it's short!**

17 --   A: It's short?

18 --   37: Ja, you know when you wanna say I'm going to bath in the evening, yo!

19 --   When you have to write in Sepedi you can take up a whole page…. <u>(p. 23/38)</u>

Multiple issues of agency are apparent in this excerpt. After 43 asserts that "we use a lot more here (on campus), I ask why, and 36 replies, "Ha! here we are in university"(lines 1–3). 36 responds, understandably, as if it's obvious: "we are in university," Yet this assumption is further explicated in lines 6–9, wherein participant 36 elucidates factors in her code choices, and rationales about these factors. She justifies not being able to speak "her Tswana language…as much as it is very nice" (line 7) by saying that "it's a diverse community" (line 6). This means "you cannot say … talk to whoever in Tswana because he or she is Tsonga or Pedi" (lines 7–8). As will be explored in further excerpts below, the scene that 36 depicts is one of uncertainty and accommodation, where English acts as a bridging language, either for "weak ties" such as with those

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208 See Harries, 2007, p. 152 concerning the ideology of the "original" or "true" version of a language.

whom she has not met, or strong ties, as with friends who do not speak Tswana. Necessity here is ambiguous: it is not as if communication would be impossible without knowing English, because Tswana is similar to all Northern Sotho dialects, and most UL students know some kind of Northern Sotho dialect.

An additional example of ambiguity about necessity can be found in lines 11–12 above, where 44 asks 37 why she would write in her diary (British: calendar) in English? This could be an issue of "code-specific genre" per Garrett (2005), meaning that writing in a diary as a genre is ideologically linked with English. But one could also ask if there has been an ideological "public/private" (Gal, 2005) change in function here, an example of "domain intrusion" (Appel & Muysken, 1987, p. 39), whereby a traditionally "public" code is used in a traditionally "private" domain.[209] This would partially explain 44's question of why you would use English "if you're the only one who gonna read what you write" (lines 11–12)? The practical justification, "it's short," aims to close off the debate, as if it a purely practical matter (blurring the line between necessity and convenience). But there is a flipside to the "domain intrusion" view—why is Pedi not just abbreviated? As mentioned in chapter 2, Spolsky and Irvine (1982), speaking of the Hopi, have pointed out that it is possible that English is expressly limited to culturally less important functions (1982, p. 75). Practicality and "ease" of use carries the decision, but as will be explored in the literacy subsection below, I argue that it is not the complete story; there is more to the pragmatic decision matrix.

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[209] As discussed in footnote 3, Simmons (2003, p. 12) notes, citing Jaspaert and Kroon (1991): "Where two individuals of the same L1 who are also speakers of the same L2 communicate with each other in the L2 rather than their L1, there is a clear case of shift."

The next excerpt from the Sebayeng focus group picks up on a theme of the first two above, namely that "English is our center," acting as a bridging language, especially for "weak (social) ties," Participant 3 (later joined by 5 and others) from Sebayeng describes how if he travelled to Giyani[210] to meet a girl, he would use English because he cannot speak Tsonga:

Ex. 2g.

01 --   3: If if I if I know English…then I go to the the the Tsonga people…in

02 --   Giyani there

03 --   A: Yeah

04 --   2? 5? : In Giyani, yeah

05 --   3: If I can't communicate with them, I'll have to use English…to speak

06 --   A: But how many how many Tsongas in Giyani can speak English?

07 --   3: Y-youth

08 --   A: Y- young people?

09 --   3: (overlap)Yeah

10 --   2: (crosstalk) young people, yeah

11 --   5: What I have to say is that ... (laugh in background) if...maybe like, you are,

12 --   let's say **maybe you are you are in town**

13 --   A: Yeah

14 --   5: And you meet that hot lady, like ...

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210 Giyani was the former capital of the Gazankulu homeland, and is home primarily to Tsonga speakers.

15 --   Multiple: Laughs

16 --   5: (inaudible)

17 --   Multiple: Laughs

18 --   3: (overlap) I'll have to go...

19 --   5: (overlap) how are you going to communicate with that…that girl?

20 --   3: **I'll have to find another language to speak to her.**

21 --   5: Wh-which? which language? Tell us! Which language are you going to

22 --   3: (overlap) English... English! (laughs)

23 --   5: **What if she don't understand, don't know to speak or t-t-t-to, to do**

24 --   **whatever it is**

25 --   3: (laughs)

26 --   5: (overlap) **about English**

27 --   3: (overlap, interrupts) I can one

28 --   1: (overlap) somebody will --

29 --   3: day pronounce (ation?) (laughs)

30 --   1: (over laughter) somebody will translate (p. 16/27)

Necessity is again a question here: under what conditions must one go to Giyani? Normally, one would have to speak at least some Tsonga to say there for longer than a short while. In the normally rare circumstance that one of the Sebayeng participants would have to go to Giyani, and needs to referentially communicate with someone (here, with a sense of extra motivation, a "hot lady," line 14), English is described as the go-to code as a "bridging" language, on a short-term basis. There is also a possibility that she

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does not know or want to speak Northern Sotho. Further, it is the code of "youth." This is in contrast to speaking with elders—an interactional category that the data in the previous section suggests *requires* African language and *forbids* English. In any case, it appears in this excerpt that speaking English is valuable as a bridging code, one that links people across distance and differences. Indeed, English, according to a Sebayeng township participant, "has you covered with many things" (participant 5, p. 19/27).

The availability of English as a powerful tool for cross-cultural communication has both responded to and created a *need* to learn and use it across the globe. The UL campus exemplifies, in a microcosm, such a globalized environment, where "as much as it is nice," Tswana *must* be set aside for English (Ex. 2f, lines 6–8), and English will be the "center" among rural Limpopo youth. Participant 5 above questions 3's assumption that because his prospective interlocutor is young she will know English: what if she doesn't "understand, don't know to speak or t-t-t-to, to do whatever it is" (line 23)? "Somebody will translate" (lines 28, 30) is the response. This shows then that choosing English as a lingua franca is a choice of *preference* and convenience rather than an absolute necessity.

Another Sebayeng participant (22 year old male) points out that when young people from different parts of the region get together it is not always necessary to use English. He describes how a friend of his attending the University of Venda (UNIVEN), not speaking Venda or Tsonga (languages commonly spoken in that region), sought out instruction in those languages rather than in English:

Ex. 2h.

01 --   5: (overlap) I have this friend of mine he's -- he attends school at University of

02 --   Venda like**... he's the only guy, the only guy who is…a Sepedi person in his**

03 --   **study group.**

04 --   A: Yeah

05 --   5**: Like he studied with Tsongas, Vendas**, like I asked him wh- oh- how do

06 --   you communicate with them he said, **"They they are trying to to to help me,**

07 --   **at least they teaching me their languages…"** (chuckling tone) I said "you know

08 --   **that's fine** because **you don't have** eh eh **we usually prefer English,** like, he said

09 --   "yeah" **but now he's he's fine.**

10 --   A: Yeah?

11 --   5: He's speaking **Tsonga, Venda…**

12 --   2?: Yeah?

13 --   5: Yeah (p. 18/27)

    It is not specified here whether English was used at all in the process of learning Venda and Tsonga. But this account of an educated young person opting out of exclusively using English as a lingua franca and learning to use an African language as well was unique in the data, and is an instructive problematization of the notion, put forth in the preceding examples, that English is often *necessary* as a lingua franca ("you know **that's fine** because **you don't have** eh eh **we usually prefer English … but** now he's he's fine…he's … he's speaking Tsonga, Venda,"; lines 7–11). The assumption of participant 5 was that his friend would need English, because he spoke "Pedi" and not Tsonga or Venda. In other words, his example puts into question how much this "necessity" is constructed, and the ideological dynamics of this construction.

Last chapter's analyses of both "roots" and situations of likely English use as factors in the "balancing" process suggested that although a geographical mapping of linguistic functional differentiation still obtains in the area—i.e., one speaks a certain language with these people over here for certain purposes, and another language over there with those people for other purposes—this mapping is changing. Those analyses however aimed to show how this mapping is changing with the times. Although a description of others' code choices, participant 14's discourse below suggests that his own stances toward speaking English in his village (Nobody/Ga-Mothapo) are prominently ambiguous, particularly as reflected in his uses of personal pronouns (which I italicize). One wonders, reading this, whether he considers himself one of "us" or "them":

Ex. 2i.

01 -- 14: Let me.. what can I say, yes there are ***those*** ... uh **many *of us* it's just**

02 -- **that *we* get used to talking eh to just speaking English** because let me

03 -- just say that there are *other Black people* who attend school with White

04 -- people so most of the time ***they*** spend it talking English so *they* get

05 -- used to it, even when *they* are at home **with *us* those who don't**

06 -- **...speak English** they talk English *because they are used to it **we** **don't**

07 -- **blame *them*** because *they* are used to it but…somewhere some don't

08 -- change some *they* are just stick to *their* roots…. (p. 22/51)

In this discourse, participant 14 generally means to say that if you leave the village and stay in an environment where English is likely to be spoken on a regular basis, one

"gets used to it" (lines 4–5), and thus should not be "blamed" (line 7), suggestion that such a code choice *could or even should* be chosen. "They" are speaking English at "school" with White people, so if they talk English back in the village, it is justifiable and excusable.

Several terms and presuppositions of participant 14's discourse above are noteworthy. First, we can guess analytically that he does not "attend school with White people" (lines 3–4), that he considers himself an inhabitant of "home" (the village) where "those who don't speak English" live (line 5). Secondly, he makes a historically scaffolded assumption about who speaks English (White people) and who doesn't (Black people, perhaps more specifically, those from "home"). The label of "those who don't speak English" seems to ring false and leave out the crucial qualifier, "on a regular basis," Mind that the focus group interview from which this excerpt was taken was conducted almost entirely in English in Nobody/Ga-Mothapo. He explains that "them… that are used to (speaking English," are different "those of us who don't …speak English," whom he implicitly identifies with, and refers to vaguely as "some who don't change, they just stick to their roots" (lines 7–8).

A further notable aspect of his discourse is that the above presuppositions are not supported by the sociolinguistic reality of UL campus life. What if you are going to "school" such as the university where there are no White students, and you speak English back in the village? Is that as acceptable? Later statements in the Nobody focus group by the same participant, as depicted throughout excerpt 1d above, suggest not.

The following excerpt from a female participant of the Nobody/Ga-Mothapo group (10) responds to participant 15's description of how he feels he can effectively "stay

African" by living at home, and that no matter where he travels to, he will not become

"less African" if he stays at home (excerpt 2f, previous chapter). I reply by asking if this

logic applies to students at the University of Limpopo (without specifying whether they

live on the campus or at home in the area):

Ex. 2j.

01 --   A: Do you think they're, that students at University of Limpopo they're …are

02 --   becoming less African?

03 --   15: Most of their tutors…most of their subjects are being taught in English…

04 --   A: So what do you guys…what do you guys think about that?

05 --   10: I think maybe English... it's maybe practical…**cause you're forced**

06 --   to…you're forced…if I arrive at the University of Limpopo I have to speak

07 --   what-what, if I … it **depends, like most of our us youth, we, as we arrive at**

08 --   maybe Limpopo, where I take myself, to other, cultures, I try to relate to

09 --   other people. (p. 28/51)

Participant 10's emphatic and direct response is that it is a "practical" (line 5)

necessity ("you're forced to … you're forced"; lines 5–6) to speak English on campus

due to English's status as the main language of institutional communication (line 3:

"most of their tutors…most of their subjects are being taught in English"). But she also

imagines herself using English rather than her first Northern Sotho dialect because there,

she "take myself, to other, cultures" (line 8). This harkens back to participant 44 above in

excerpt 1e, and her stance that English is the "center," where communication is "easy"

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and "flowing," a bridging code for achieving referential communication with others from "other cultures,"

However, there is a recognition that, no matter what the justification, the end result is the same: you will lose some of your "culture, your dignity" if you *live* on the campus, as the dialogue above continues:

10 -- A: How many of you guys would agree with that, that those guys at

11 -- University of Limpopo are … yeah?

12 -- 14: Are you saying **who are living there permanently**? Maybe let me say

13 -- they **they come from Joburg or Gauteng or … that way yes they can lose**

14 -- **their eh eh their their**

15 -- **15: (overlap) culture**

16 -- **14: (overlap) culture their their their dignity in some way because they**

17 -- **they are getting used to speaking English, forgetting about**

18 -- **15: (overlap) their culture**

19 -- 10: Hm, yeah

20 -- Multiple: yeah

21 -- 14: (overlap) let him say Zulu… **when she go- she goes home maybe let me**

22 -- **say in October,** *when he or she arrives at home, she she she's glued to to*

23 -- *English,* **all she can think of is sh- is English** *because at school she's always*

24 -- *speaking English,* **that's why.. I can say they are losing their their**

25 -- **African… Africanism….** (p. 29/51)

In this excerpt several of the central issues of this study come together. Nobody is an area that is part of two villages separated by the east-west R71 route: Ga-Mothiba to the north, and Ga-Mothapo to the south. It is about 5km from Turfloop, and thus some of (the small number of) youth attending the university from these villages live at home during the school year. This is perhaps why participant 14 presumptively interprets those living on the campus "permanently" as being from "Joburg or Gauteng," even though the vast majority of the students[211] come from Limpopo Province. But 14's clear statement here, that echoes a comparable sentiment from other village participants, is that those who live in a community of English speakers can eventually lose their "culture their their their dignity in some way" (line 16), because "your mind will be glued to English," as "you are speaking English all the time," It is not clear whether 14 meant to make a distinction between "not blaming" someone if they went to school "with White people" (as above in excerpt 2i, line 3) and in fact "blaming" as he is doing here to Black youth attending school together. Comparing this to participant 16's discourse above in excerpt 1h that he gets called "arrogant" if he speaks English at home supports the case that perhaps 14's distinction was deliberate. It is also notable that participant 14 is the same participant who claimed to use Tswana forms because he considered them "charming" (chapter 5, ex. 2d.). Below, I will revisit 16's discourse to explore other motivations besides those practical motivations described above.

So then, in the general code choice decision-matrix for participants, using English is taken to be necessary for interactions in multilingual and multicultural environments. The participants strongly association of "elders" with "the village" and "home," and it is

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211 About 80%, cf. Nkomo, 2003, p. 152.

considered necessary to use one's "mother tongue" at home with elders. The situation with siblings and other youth in the village, however, is far more ambiguous, and this ambiguity applies to the campus environment as well.

Yet there, unlike in the village, the metadiscourse of necessity can be strongly applied, because of the great deontological and sociolinguistic underdetermination that characterizes interactions with strangers on the campus—i.e., what "right" or "wrong" language to use in a particular situation is often very uncertain. Using English in such a case may not be referentially necessary, but it may be perhaps emotionally or scoio-indexically necessary. Choosing the "wrong" code in the "wrong" situation can lead to indexing oneself as an "underminer," offending your elders or ancestors, alienating someone that doesn't speak that code, or simply failing to communicate, which can hinder other goals (as in the Giyani example in excerpt 2g).

The above suggests that linguistic code choice in the multilingual Mankweng area, especially on campus, has to be planful. According to Bakhtin, in fact, we are always verbally communicating according to a "speech will" or plan (1986, pp. 77–78). Thus far I have aimed to demonstrate that these "speech plans" are double voiced from elders and co-monitored among youth for fidelity of uptake. Invoking a metadiscourse of necessity appears to be a "speech plan" in the data. In the excerpts just above, there is a sense that English makes things "easy," that it is "practical," But do these considerations count as "necessary"? This ambiguity is what renders the metadiscourse of necessity effective. As illustrated in the section on metadiscourses of necessity for African language use, "necessity" is difficult to define, which is why in fact it can be an effective justification for linguistic code choices.

The following excerpt further illustrates the gray middle between need and desire, and the affective issues involved in linguistic code choice. For example, as mentioned earlier in chapter 5 and expressed in Question B, one may experience a need to practice one's English; or one may feel anxious in a multilingual environment and thus feel the need to use English to avoid embarrassment. One of the very few recent studies of increasing English usage among South African youth by Elizabeth De Kadt (2005) shows that students at UKZN-Durban, Howard Campus are grappling with these very issues. The quote from De Kadt includes discourse from her participants; I add my own formatting (line numbers etc.) for emphasis:

> According to (UKZN student) Senzo, if you're spoken to in isiZulu, it's important that you respond in isiZulu: 'Otherwise a lot of Black guys look at you as if to say, "What's wrong with this guy"? **Yvonne's strategy on campus is to speak English when approaching someone new, because you don't know his/her background.** However, the result of this strategy may be that '**You can sometimes speak with someone in English so many times without knowing that they share your mother tongue'**. Samke, Ayanda and Linda adopt the approach **'see what they're talking and reply in that', but they clearly find this type of negotiation** *extremely stressful*:
>
> **01 --   You have to be so careful, and don't you just hate it?**
> 02 --   Someone speaks in Zulu and you answer in
> 03 --   English —and then you feel 'Oh…''We
> 04 --   shouldn't have to feel like that.' As if
> 05 --   you have to control yourself all the time.
> **06 --   It's so much easier** talking to Indian or
> **07 --   White people —but with Black people,**
> **08 --   you have to sit back and watch and be**
> **09 --   careful like you can't believe.** It's not so
> *10 --   much saying the wrong thing, **as saying it in the***
> *11 --   **wrong way.***
>
> Within this context, what decisions do the Zulu-dominant students come to as to which language to use for social purposes on campus? Some students, like Bongi, focus on the **benefits of constant practice and consciously use English**. Others make a deliberate effort to speak isiZulu whenever possible, and refuse to speak English with students of Zulu ethnicity (p. 26).

The above themes—of speaking English so much you do not know if a peer "shares your mother tongue," guessing the language of others as stressful to the point of "hate," the equation of Whiteness or Indianness with English-speaking—are all also present in the data of this study. Here, however, let us focus on the second theme: that of the anxiety provoked by a multilingual situation and English as a remedy for this anxiety. Explicit metapragmatic discourse on how one feels about a particular situation—here, the situation of sociolinguistic underdetermination creating anxiety leading to choosing to use English—gives us a good window into some of the affective-ideological processes mediating changes in code choices and their repertoires (cf. Pavlenko, 2005; McEwan-Fujita, 2010). In many of this section's excerpts, the line between necessity and desire is blurred; English is described in terms of both—as practical, as "easy" both structurally and pragmatically, and so on. As mentioned above in excerpt 2e, it is at once an easy code to gain competence in, and it *makes things easy*. It is "flowing so easy" and a "center" where "everything comes together," De Kadt's example reflects similar justifications. And a theme of this chapter is that most often, agency is pushed out to "the situation"; in social psychological terms, it is an external "locus of control" (Lefcourt, 1976). However, an admission of how one feels about the situation brings attention back to how speakers are working with or within this situation, and thus, what agency they are exerting through their linguistic code choices.

As described above in De Kadt's example, some students choose to speak English "everywhere" (cf. examples 1 and 3), while *others* choose to speak *Zulu* everywhere. Speaking English in this example, then, is clearly a choice that can be construed as ideologized and not "forced," and thereby agency and responsibility for speaking

English, and the possible social costs of this (being charged with "undermining" or being called a "coconut") are back on the speaker, not the "situation," An important contrast to the UL situation, however, is that unlike UKZN-Howard, at UL there are many first languages spoken among the highly socioculturally diverse student body, and thus that much greater a range of indexical potential in interactions. Recalling excerpt 3c, lines 6–9, 36 says that due to the diversity on campus she must use English; the same sentiment is echoed by participant 10 from Nobody, as well as 3a and 3b, which referred to English as the "center." One could say then that the potential at UL for the "stress" of not knowing the language of one's potential interlocutor is even higher.

Below are two supporting accounts portraying English as providing a valuable service to make things easier and less complicated in situations of multilingual ambiguity. The first excerpt supporting the UKZN case comes from participant 16, an L1 Tsonga speaker. Two points stand out from this excerpt: first, that the verb "chase" below highlights the kind of anxiety—namely, the anxiety of metapragmatic underdetermination of code choice in a multilingual situation—that can "force" someone to use English (Pavlenko, 2005; cf. Philips, 2004). Here, he uses an ideology of "Pedi-ness" to interpret indexical potentials of ethnicity as Pedi or not. If he can "analyze (someone as) a Pedi person" (line 1), then he will not risk communicative failure—he will use English as the safe easy choice to achieve intersubjective understanding. Thus he makes "ENglish his priority *every time*" (capitalization reflects participant emphasis).

Ex. 2k.

01 --   16: And if I can analyze that you are a Pedi person, if I can say a word to

02 --   you and he tell me that you don't understand I'm I'm not going to fight in

03 --   this thing and say I mean *this* -- **I'm going to chase that word to English,** I'm

04 --   going to speak to you in **ENglish**. So that's ... but now my first priority every

05 --   time when I speak it is **ENglish**, **it doesn't matter who I'm speaking to**

06 --   **them, I speak in ENglish. Yes it happens that when you speak English too**

07 --   **much like there are these things that I can speak in English sometimes**

08 --   **there's not Sepedi and Xitsonga because sometimes y you your mindset,**

09 --   **ne, it is basically based in English. You tend to forget half the words in**

10 --   **your mother tongue.** (p. 27/35)

In this detailed metapragmatic description his apprehension is clear. He'sHe is "not going to fight with this thing", he's"; he is going to try to work within his questionable competence in Pedi. That is, he'she is going to "chase that word" to English (lines 2–3), such that the semantico-referential meaning of the word is clear, and importantly, he avoids embarrassment through indexing himself as a bad Pedi speaker. This example illustrates how communicative practice is at once referentially and non-referentially indexical, and more directly, involve an emotional immediacy that can be overlooked in analyses privileging a semiotic perspective (Pavlenko, 2005). Metapragmatic awareness of this aspect of the "total linguistic fact" (Silverstein, 2000) is an important kind of communicative and cultural expertise, and metapragmatic discourse can constitute an important source of evidence about language ideologies.[212]

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212 See footnote 1.

The following excerpt from earlier in the same focus group lends further support. Here he defends the idea that times have changed and now that there is English, there is no need to guess at the other person's language or try to work across linguistic boundaries without the aid of an African lingua franca. Lurking elsewhere, I argue, is the ideology of Tsonga as "undermined," not just in the grand South African sociolinguistic scheme of things as a "northern" language (discussed further below in the discourse of participant 30) but, more directly, on the Northern Sotho-dominant UL campus.[213]

Ex. 2l.

01 -- 16: Uh.. those people, ne? They were putting an effort an ... effort to

02 -- learn like when you say it is what you say it is why do you do it this, **in**

03 -- **this days,** like, I said earlier, **if I I bump into you I speak Xitsonga**

04 -- A: Hm

05 -- 16: **And then he speaks S - eh Sepedi, I could say "***Gwinjanne***"[214], and**

06 -- **you will say "I don't hear you," Do you know how embarrassing is**

07 -- **that?**

08 -- A: **Does that happen a lot with uh Xitsonga speakers here**?

09 -- 16: **Ye-es, um I am the proof that it happen a lot to me**, like I meet

10 -- people ... **today I'm talking English everywhere** I I [?] by **the fact that I**

11 -- **underestimate my**

12 -- **20: (overlap) your language**

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213 This latter undermining is not insignificant given the brief but violent history of Pedi-Tsonga conflict in the 1970s (Harries, 1989, p. 110).

214 Tsonga for "Hello."

13 --   **16: (overlap) language**... **but I'm trying to be a better person**, I'm trying to

14 --   to to for everyone to understand what I'm saying. You know I know [Tsonga]

15 --   it is very**[…] it is it is very embarrassing I rather speaking to you English**

16 --   **if he can speak to you and he'd say, "Hi" and you say, "I don't hear you"**

17 --   **and then it would be better**…. Risk your language and I will try to [?]

18 --   around that. (p. 12/35)

This excerpt further illustrates the complex tangle of ideology, linguistic code choice, and agency at issue in this chapter. "Yes, I am underestimating my language," he says (corroborated by participant 20), but it is out of *affective necessity*—it is either "undermine my language" or suffer "embarrassment" and anxiety (lines 6–12, 14) (Pavlenko, 2005).

But he appears concerned to defend himself against charges of being a "roots"-underminer, in support of the hypothesis mentioned on the previous page: namely that participants frame their choices as "necessary" or inevitably "easy" to defend themselves against such stereotyping, and a participant's case for the necessity of English may be made more emphatically proportionate to the degree they have this concern.

On that note, in excerpt 2k (line 8), we have a florid illustration of a relativist and Whorfian-Herderian concept, the "English mindset," wherein "you forget half the words in your mother tongue" (lines 8–9). It appears he does not exactly like the feeling of "taking on the English mindset,"—a potential cost of the strategy to use English "everywhere." That is, through speaking a language habitually, no matter what the reason, one develops a kind of interpretive frame tantamount to a separate life-world and

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therefore, "self," incorporating multiple metapragmatic stereotypes (Agha, 2005; Koven, 2007, pp. 18–19; cf. Pavlenko, 2005). In other words, whether or not English is used for practical purposes, it is always linked to other uses that blur the distinction between what is necessary and what is not (e.g., doing what is "easy" or avoiding embarrassment) and these uses have the potential to bring into immediate relief issues of identification. This is exactly the point, in fact, of participant 14 above in excerpt 2j line 22, where he describes one's mindset as "glued to English"—again, as a result of living on campus and speaking English often, whether it is necessary or not. (Yet 14's stance of non-admonishment, in 2i lines 6–7, "we don't blame them," is an interesting contradiction).

It also highlights the ambivalence and discomfort, even guilt ("I'm trying to be a better person") about this. Just two pages earlier in the transcript, this participant notes:

<u>Ex. 2m.</u>

01 --   16: **It is not a matter of undermining your language**. Like, you go to

02 --   school... he teacher will teach you like technology, you don't hear a word of

03 --   that he tries to speak ... you teaching technology in Xitsonga, he said I [?]

04 --   paper, it is in English, you don't understand a thing, and then (laughs), the

05 --   problem is that - **it's not matter of an undermining, my ultimate way is**

06 --   *practicing* tha thing. <u>(p. 10/35)</u>

Using English is framed here as the need to practice or, as also described in this example, the teacher's need to explain concepts in the technology class in English because they have no linguistic equivalent in Tsonga. He plausibly explains that no

"undermining" is involved here, particularly since he and others have discussed how speaking the "mother tongue" in class is discouraged. But this plausibility is itself undermined, curiously enough, by his admission to "underestimating" Tsonga two pages later, cited above in excerpt 3k Motivations for linguistic code choice, and "speech plans" in general, are not always straightforward, especially when deeply held yet somewhat competing desires are implicated—in 16's case, to live up to the metapragmatic directive to both hold onto roots and go for English.

Some participants, however, are less wedded to this directive. Participant 38, a 20 year old female second year student at UL majoring in physiology, from the rural town of Groblersdal (on the southern edge of Limpopo bordering Mpumalanga Province), exemplifies one of the few participants who was demonstrably "anti-roots." I propose exploring

- Why speaking African languages is not a necessity for her;
- Why she chooses to use English for reasons beyond practical necessity and crucially; and
- How others position themselves to these explicit stances

reveals much about alignment, in general, with certain powerful metadiscourses.

One purpose for using this participant's discourse here is to highlight how one can use the metadiscourse of necessity for defending one's stances toward languages and their usage—in this case for English and against African languages. A second purpose, however, is to re-connect to themes in the first section of the last chapter; namely, that given the perceived weakness of Pedi roots on some metadiscursive and ideological level,

as well as the effect of broken families on solidity of ethnic identification, one will lack a

strong sense of "roots," As Salikoko Mufwene argues, echoing Mamphele above,

> (In multilingual situations), disadvantageous languages are more endangered
> when the second generation of children has virtually no more exposure to its
> ancestral languages, especially in families where parents have different
> ethnolinguistic backgrounds, and therefore they (the children) are deprived of any
> motivation to speak it (2006, p. 16, my emphasis; cf. Mawasha, 1986).

She describes her background as "mixed," having a Pedi father and Zulu mother but

speaking primarily a "sibling" language of Pedi (cf. Irvine, 1995), a variant of Northern

Sotho (which she does not label specifically, only calling it "my Sepedi").[215] One might

characterize her attitude toward these roots as strongly "undermining," similar to that

found elsewhere in the data.

This is not to say that any recognition of the obvious global power of English, or any

choice to speak English, is an act of undermining or automatically reflects an

"undermining" stance. *Rather, it is to show how this discourse of necessity is used to*

justify (or excuse) the choice of English in situations where its necessity can be plausibly

questioned. I argue that the ideological process of "undermining" is sometimes

implicated in this justification.

In the long excerpt below (combining two discourse chunks of the transcript),

participant 38 upends the entire rationale of "roots" and "balancing" while she is at it,

extolling English unabashedly. She does not invoke any metadiscourse of "(the necessity

of) sticking to roots": it is all "going for English," I would like to highlight several

themes. She believes that different languages exist as markers of ethnic identification, but

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215 Refer to the connection between "weak roots" and "undermining," discussed in the last chapter.

even this marking is not necessary (lines 12–15; 39–41; 45–47; 58–62). She associates African languages and culture with other negative factors (lines 1–3, 11, 24–27) and denies that "roots" have any real function in terms of (re)producing intergenerational continuity (lines 30–34, 39–41, 43–47, 59). It is such a broad-ranging and candid disquisition on the benefits of English that go beyond the "necessary," and so clearly proffered in the mode of "undermining" that it illuminates greatly the argument that sticking to the "necessary" de-personalizes and, therefore, limits the amount of indexical potentials to be activated (Eckert, 2008) or taken up as evidence of a particular (in this case, negative) persona. It was a bold set of stances to take, given that such stances could do nothing but indexically accrete quickly to the unpopular persona/metapragmatic stereotype of "underminer" and position her and others toward her accordingly.

Analytically, however, the following sequence was highly useful as a probe for how other participants aligned or disaligned to her strong stances. Only participant 45 agrees clearly (line 26, line 33; there are more instances elsewhere in the data); 43 professes to "half agree" with her (line 37), and 44 and 37 most clearly disagree (lines 29 and 31; lines 50–55, respectively). These participants' stances and positionings here are very illustrative of their other stances and positionings throughout the data.

Ex. 2n.

01 --   38: I I don't think our the- our roots are very are um important…because I

02 --   think um where I come from my my my tradition and my culture didn't

03 --   contribute anything into what I am now.

04 --   A: OK

05 --   38: For me to be here, to be studying this BSc. degree it's because of *English*

06 --   for my mom to be a qualified teacher is because of *English*, and for me to

07 --   dress this way it's because of *English*. For me to have technology I think it's

08 --   because of *English*. **Everything it's because of English.** For us to to move

09 --   from the apartheid era to now, to this democracy time, I think it's because of

10 --   English because politicians they used to debate in English they never used

11 --   none of the African language **they never contributed in in every in**

12 --   **anything. I think they're just for identification, to help us under- i-**

13 --   **identify between different people, to say this one is Pedi, this one is**

14 --   **Xhosa, this one is Zulu of which is not really important. I think it would**

15 --   **have been better if we just use English one way all of us.**

This is some of the clearest explicit "undermining" of African languages and "uplifting" of English in the entire data: "Everything it's because of English" (line 8); "my my my tradition and my culture didn't contribute anything to what I am now" (lines 2–3). This is in contrast to most participants, who generally do not see such choices in such binary, zero-sum terms. She continues:

16 --   38: Yes, that's what I think…cause sometimes, I I even say, this is what I th-

17 --   **this is what I feel…personally…sometimes, I I even say to myself, ah I**

18 --   **was gonna be happy if one day I wake up being**

19 --   **?: (whisper) White!**

20 --   **43: laughs**

21 --   38: Not being White, being an English speaker (laughs). You know,

22 --   Multiple: yeah, (laughingly)

23 --   38: Yeah, cause when I think of Sepedi… I -- the only thing I think of it's

24 --   ancestors, uncivilization, poverty,

25 --   45: (overlap) poverty

26 --   38: low self-esteem, culture,

27 --   Multiple: oh, hah, laughter…

For 38, her connotations of Sepedi are almost entirely negative (lines 24–27, "when I think of Sepedi… I -- the only thing I think of it's ancestors, uncivilization, poverty… low self-esteem, culture"). Thus, it is no surprise that someone in the group accuses her of wishing she were White (lines 20–22). Participant 44 subsequently expresses concern over 38's disdain for all things "Sepedi":

28 --   44: Don't you think our our children will be lost?

29 --   38: and… what do you mean our our children are going to be lost?

30 --   44: I mean they have to know, eh, where they come from,

31 --   38: And what does ... wh wha what does

32 --   45: (overlap) what does that ma-[?]

33 --   38: that, wh…whwhy is it important to know where they come from?

34 --   43: Um…

35 --   A: Yes, uh, forty…three?

36 --   43: yeah… I sometimes agree sometimes disagree… […] <u>(pp. 10–11)</u>

Here, 38 openly questions what the value is of children "knowing where they come from"—a value that 44 assumes in lines 29 and 31. She continues this exact stance much later in the discourse:

Ex. 2o.

37 --   38: I don't think it's it's of much importance to know about our cultures and

38 --   traditions. When I mean forgetting I don't mean like forgetting whether

39 --   you're Black, or yeah, that's what I mean. […]

This passage is remarkable for what it suggests: that any kind of differentiation between people labeled "Black" and "White" should be eliminated altogether. It mirrors, in a sense, what the usage of English, at some order of indexicality, accomplishes: an erasure of social difference. She continues by further interrogating what the advantages of "knowing your your language and your cultures" (line 42) really are and thus the motivations of holding onto roots (as explored in the first section of the last chapter):

40 --   So, what does it help you to know to know your your… what are the

41 --   advantages of knowing your your language and your cultures? Because

42 --   the advantages of ME knowing English is that I can better marks in my

43 --   in my courses. Is that I can communicate with whoever from wherever

44 --   around the world (pause). Is that I can use the Internet… see? See? So

45 --   what are the…what are the advantages of knowing my my language very

46 --   **well?**

47 --   37: (overlap) Ah, **the advantage is that is that I will be able to tell what my**

48 --   **granny told my *mother*. And that people from other worlds will**

49 --   **be so proud to… you know…when people from like… tourists from**

50 --   **Europe listen they f- they feel like what you're doing it's so nice**….

51 --   ?: Hm

52 --   37: The things that I'm able to make with my hands they can't do it.

53 --   38: *Nice* **is the only advantage of knowing your your culture and**

54 --   **language?** No guys I think language and culture it's jus- i- i- i- i- it's-

55 --   it's important in the sense that ... it helps us identify ourselves. **It helps one**

56 --   **to identify between people to say I'm Black and I'm Pedi she's**

57 --   **Black and she's Zulu but then there's nothing much to it.**

58 --   **But with English, there's *much*.** (pp. 31–33)

In this set of excerpts, it is clear that 38 positively values English and cites numerous examples of its utility and benefits. At the same time, she tends to see no value in African traditions or roots, going so far as to say, "When I mean forgetting (your roots) I don't mean like forgetting whether you're Black, or yeah, that's what I mean" (lines 39–40). She associates roots with "uncivilization, poverty, low self-esteem, [and] culture" and openly questions their value (lines 24–27).

According to Bulhan, this is indicative of the first stage of "psychological defenses" in postcolonial settings: *capitulation*. During this stage, a person assimilates to the

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dominant culture and rejects his or her "own culture" (Bulhan, 1985). Accepting this

model for the sake of argument, 38's capitulation is even more forceful, as she *does not*

even claim to have "her own culture." When 37 describes with emotion some of the

values of her roots, 38 takes one of 37's descriptor words, "nice" and uses that to sum up

these values in a fairly sarcastic and dismissive manner (lines 56–60). Her outspokenness

in a focus group of fellow students who mostly appreciated their roots showed courage of

conviction, for which she was alienated. There was only one other participant (45) who

clearly supported her stances on roots.

However, no participants in the above interaction openly *disaligned* with 38's stances

on *English*. This is perhaps because English is considered by just about everyone to be so

practical as to be functionally "necessary," Practical reasons disarm critics as

ideologically neutral and distance one from full agency and responsibility. Necessity is a

powerful justification and excuse for a wide range of actions.

To repeat from above: English is a politically and economically dominant semiotic

resource that even the most dedicated African language activists agree needs to be taught

in school for the purposes of enfranchisement (Alexander, 2003; Heugh, 2008), and it is

not my goal in this paper or in using the above examples to deny the need for English to

meet pressing practical ends. My point is, however, that if one is to live only in the

Mankweng area, there is little practical need for English on a day-to-day basis outside of

the university campus. If one is to *leave* the area for Polokwane or Joburg, however, it

will be very useful as, at the very least, a powerful index of educational attainment and

ability and, further, a requirement for a professional job. None of this is under debate in

this study, and the investigation of the participants' justifications for choosing English does not intend such a debate.

The point in the example above is simply to show how "undermining" or "uplifting" certain code choicespractices, or taking certain stances that may likely be construed as such, opens one up to being labeled or stereotyped as a certain kind of person. Thus strategic code choice and/or invocation of certain effective metadiscourses can guard against such labelling.indexing. Participant 38's discourse just above is interesting in that she does not counterweigh her full-throated paean to English with any defense of "roots." In taking an unmasked pro-English/anti-roots set of stances, she helps show how such controversial stances can be masked and how they often co-exist with other less negative evaluations.

Necessity for using English in literacy practices. English is the taken for granted language of reading and writing (literacy) practices according both the discourse and survey data. One reason pointed out by several participants is that there is a disjuncture between written and spoken forms of African language, whereby a standard form serves to alienate or confuse. Below, participant 38 takes up the theme from the UKZN example above of not wanting to risk embarrassment by speaking "my Sepedi." She ties this in thematically (*diversity creates problems*) with literacy practices below:

Ex. 3a.

01 --   38: (clear throat) you know, when I first come came here in the university, I

02 --   knew that **most people there are talking Sepedi and I also know Sepedi**

03 --   A: Yeah

04 --   38: So when I I arrived here I talked **my Sepedi, but then it was different**

05 --   **from what they were talking** (faint laughter in the background).

06 --   **And they were like they were going like, "what kind of Sepedi are you**

07 --   **talking?"** So I think the the literature **the literacy** it's confusing because

08 --   **there's so many different SepediS.**

09 --   A:Ahh

10 --   38: Like maybe I can say **sub-Sepedis** under the original […]

11 --   43: But then also in **all the languages those are in English**… [?] English in

12 --   South Africa is also **different from English in America and those are**

13 --   **different from English** [literatures?][216]

14 --   44: But we can understand that English is uh yeah I agree with her, cause

15 --   38: (Overlap) English is better

16 --   44: Cause **English is better we can agree**…English even though it is from

17 --   America and whatever **but we can all hear what he's what somebody's**

18 --   **trying to say other than eh other Sepedis** and yeah…

19 --   A: uh huh, OK – what were you gonna say?

20 --   38: (laugh) no I was just gonna mention the fact the- **now we are having**

21 --   **Sepulana, Sekoni, uh Setokwa, Selobedu and all those kinds of things of**

22 --   **which they are end up just**

23 --   ?: (overlap, inaudible)

---

216 Important to consider here is that although English is referred to as "just English" across the discourse, here (lines 11-13) we have here a fairly uncommon recognition of the varieties of English spoken. The attitude of "it's ALL English" generally prevails because speaking any English is an index of prestige. Not that important stylistic distinctions are absent in the discourse of the participants, or in their metapragmatic discourse; it is however beyond the scope of the current study.

24 --   38: confusing… when you decide to write a book in Sepedi you don't

25 --   know if you're gonna use which one between all of them.

26 --   A: So uh you're saying Sepedi literacy is

27 --   38: (overlap) difficult, yeah (pp. 18–19)

In the dialogue above it is clear that the theme that was prominent in the previous subsection—English makes things easy by mediating diversity—reappears. The first point is that she describes the kind of interaction the UKZN students apparently wanted to avoid, namely of being affected negatively by the fact that "her Sepedi" was recognized as "different." This leads into the second point; namely, that because Northern Sotho has so many variations, establishing an equitable standard written form of it requires linguistic and political compromise. For these two reasons, English is better, but particularly for literacy practices. Essentially she is using the confusing decision about creating a written standard to highlight the confusion engendered by the amount of Northern Sotho varieties and rattles them off —"Sepulana, Sekoni, uh Setokwa, Selobedu and all those kinds of things." English makes things easy—as 44 mentioned earlier in the focus group, quoted above in excerpt 3a, lines 20–21: "it's our center… … it's flowing so easy." But this example aims to show how 43 is pushing back—pointing out that standard written English also alienates those not speaking this standard—and how 38 and 44's justification based on practicality just bowls it right over. As Susan Gal notes, "like any good ideology, it is impervious to counterevidence" (2005, p. 26).

Participant 38's dialogue below points out the real (though as 43 points out above, surmountable) difficulty of using one written standard for multiple local varieties. In her

case, she uses an unspecified variant of Northern Sotho, which she calls "my Sepedi."

But such dialects also have localized variations that are customarily described by the

name of the local chief (as discussed in Ch. 4). For example, parts of the immediate

Mankweng local area are called Ga-Mamobolo, and thus the Northern Sotho spoken there

is sometimes referred to as Mamobolo.[217] The practical difficulty of providing a standard

orthography for every local variant was not lost on missionary societies active in the

region in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, who worked to patch together

written standards for Bible publication (Harries, n.d., 1988; Hofmeyr, 1993; Rüther,

2001; Zöllner & Heese, 1984, p. 19).

I would like to draw attention back to excerpt 2f in the previous section. In that

excerpt, 36—who has professed a strongly "pro-roots" attitude—draws on much the same

rationale for using English as participant 38. That is, in lines 25–27, she describes

avoiding the use of Tswana "as much as it is very nice" because "it's a diverse

community" (lines 6–7). She uses English for practical communicational needs (to

mediate diversity) but also to perhaps avoid the social awkwardness of speaking the

"wrong" language or having to guess. Participant 44, however, addresses an issue raised

in the focus group just before the discourse in 2f: that English was used to make diary

(calendar) entries. Here is that dialogue:

Ex. 3b.

01 --   A: So like, are you are you reading and writing more in English, uh, since

---

217 See Krige, 1937, pp. 333-5, as well as the opus of BMS missionary Carl Hoffmann, indexed by E.
Meyer in *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* (1944). Hoffmann discussed "the Mamobolo" as a "Volk"
in his writings

02 -- you're at in the university than you were before?

03 -- All: Hmm, yes, (emphatic)

04 -- A: Why? How? Like you're taught in your in in school, or in other ways?

05 -- 37: Even when you want to note something in your diary

06 -- Multiple: You need to use English

07 -- A: And that's and that's and that's changed?

08 -- 37: (overlap) Yeah

09 -- A: (overlap) since you're at the university?

10 -- Multiple: Yeah, yes

Here 37 is stating that although she used to use English for writing before she came to the university, she is using it for more literacy practices than before: "even when you want to note something in your diary" (line 5). As mentioned previously, following excerpt 2f, Spolsky and Irvine (1982) discussed how using English loan words rather than local translations served to "keep the native word to be used in its purity for the native object" (1982, p. 75). Perhaps this is an example of such a move on 37's part.

Further, several of 37's peers seem to not only do what she does but to agree with her that they do this more "since they're at the university" (line 9)), lending support to a majority stance that "campus is crushing roots." In light of 30's alternative take on this from the above that this process of crushing roots starts earlier than attending university and is a personal choice (intro excerpt, lines 37–38, 53), it can safely be said that at the very least, campus life is perceived to accelerate the process of "crushing roots" by

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encouraging the continuation of choices and actions, which have preceded university attendance.

However, of keen interest in the next excerpt, 3c is 44's follow-up and its ambiguous addressee, in lines 30–31. It is a valuable window into the issues of necessity vs. desire at the heart of this chapter: "But why are you using your English in your diary cause you are the only one who gonna read what you write?" It is curious that participant 44 appears to be addressing 36 (who had the floor) to address something that 37 said just earlier on the same page and with which multiple participants agreed. Like 36, 37 has cultivated a pro-roots persona in the focus group; is this a challenge to her commitment to "roots"? Examining the question in further depth, the assumption seems to be that you are not using English as a lingua franca: *it's your diary, only you are going to read it.* Participant 36 in response splits the difference: "we have adapted to it"; 37 counters with another defense along the lines of practicality: "it's short." As discussed in the previous sub-sections, practicality or ease is not as deontologically strong as necessity in justifying linguistic code choices; but the legitimacy of such justifications is still very difficult to question. Yet 44 seems to be questioning them here: what else is at work in your decision making to lead you to make notes in your diary in English? What gives 44's question weight is her own persona, built through successive stances, as "pro-roots."

In the end, it appears as if the choice to use Northern Sotho for literacy practices is continually undermined, though as explained in the history chapter and in Chapter 5, the ideological connection between English and literacy practices goes far back in South Africa and has been strengthened even more post-apartheid.

Moreover, one trend in literacy practices that is very recent and significant is the usage of short messaging service (SMS) text messages through cellular mobile phones as well as instant (synchronous) chat through such phones, particularly the MXit™ software (fairly new, extremely popular, and a small fraction of the price of sending an SMS). Both are very common types of literacy practice and, importantly, not exclusively associated with institutional responsibilities. Given the pace of social and technological change in Mankweng and South Africa generally since 2008, things on this front have surely changed even more by the time of this writing. I will return to this topic below.

In the following excerpt, participants 30 and 31 echo 38's stance above: African language literacy is problematic because there are too many varieties, and the differences between these varieties and the standard is insuperable. Further, as also reinforced above, *speaking* is considered, traditionally, the central mode of cultural reproduction and identification, *not* reading and writing. Until recently, reading and writing in Northern Sotho or African languages generally in this region has been fairly limited and almost completely associated with formal schooling or Christian religious activities and, importantly, with ideologies of "separate development."[218] As Harries, Hofmeyr, Jeannerat, Rüther et al. have discussed, the Swiss and Berlin missions were chiefly responsible for the first institution of literacy learning in the Northern Transvaal, and that historical legacy, cannot but carry on in some form today (Prinsloo, 1999, p. 420, see ch. IV). And as mention in Chapter 4, the historical and ongoing influence of the Mphome

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[218] Though recent scholarship by Barber (2007) has advanced scholarship on everyday literacy practices in Africa. See Breckenridge (2007) and upcoming work by MacDonald (in press) for South African examples.

mission station in the Mankweng area is very significant. The discourse below reflects all of these historical precedents.

Ex. 3c.

21 --   31: There there's a mixed language they use in mines they use this language,

22 --   Fanagalo, *ga mina, ga wena* those thing they mix that [one?]. **It's like us here,**

23 --   but if you go to Sekhukhune, you find those people

24 --   30: it's *pure*

25 --   31: are.. it's *pure* Sepedi

26 --   30: *pure* Sepedi

27 --   31: If they're writing they say that that they said they they can call this, OK, a

28 --   porridge, **but when they translate to their language, it's different**. .. Like, we

29 --   used to say, **when we call fish, you say, it's *hlapi*,** here we say *tithapi*, but

30 --   here **when we write we call it *hlapi* and they call it *hlapi*,.. you see there's**

31 --   lots of tone there.

32 --   30: **Yeah but we write this is in the same way… but ...written language is**

33 --   the same but ..spoken language is different

34 --   31: **different**

35 --   30: **Yeah…that's the problem…**it's like when you write or we talk or we say

36 --   "phone." It's like, you write, "f-o-n-e", but when you write it, "p-h –"

37 --   31: (overlap) you see?

38 --   A: Yeah

39 --   31: that's how we pronounce it

The issue highlighted by participant 31 here is the same one underlined by participant 38 above: that the "deep" "pure" version of Pedi is roughly equivalent to the standard written form (lines 12–13), and their local version of Northern Sotho or "Pedi" (Mamobolo) is significantly different—"that's the problem" (line 15). The issues of Pedi ethnic "purity" and its ideological centering in Sukhukhuneland hashave been taken up already in the last chapter. The most important point in this part of the excerpt is that the difference between how they speak and how they *would* write Northern Sotho is different, and it impedes the usability of and relevance of reading and writing in Northern Sotho. As they both describe below, for them, the functions for Northern Sotho literacy practice are very limited.

40 --   A: so, that's uh another thing that I can ask you about then, is that, when do you

41 --   read and write in Sepedi?

42 --   30: Actually, we didn't .. **I I actually did it in school only**

43 --   A: Only in school, yeah?

44 --   30: Just cause it was my first language, **I just did it so I can pass every language**

45 --   and get a certificate

46 --   A: But like now, are there any occasions that you read or you write in Sepedi?

47 --   30: [?]

48 --   31: (overlap) Nor-normally

49 --   30: [?]

50 --   31: (overlap) **on my side at church, yeah**

51 --   A: at church?

52 --   31: yeah, **I used to read in Sepedi**

53 --   A: OK

    The school and church functions noted above in lines 23–26 and 31–33 reflect a fairly clear pattern of usage across the data: again, that using Northern Sotho for reading and writing purposes is quite limited. Several UL participants, however, did report that they enjoyed Northern Sotho writing and reading. For example, 37 liked to read and write Northern Sotho poetry (in high school), and participants 18 and 19 were both involved in Northern Sotho language high school productions and read Northern Sotho books (though 18 reported reading them less since attending the UL). One day as I was walking across the campus, I noticed that a security guard who I knew was reading a book, a novel entitled *Lenong la gauta* (*The Golden Eagle*) by H. D. N. Bopape. I started talking to him about the book, and then asked if he wouldn'twould not mind participating in my study. Participant 7 told me more about Bopape, a celebrated Northern Sotho writer from his home, Mentz, which is adjacent to campus (the same village as participants 19 and 43). What struck me about him reading the novel was that in the almost two years I had lived in South Africa I had never seen or heard anyone talk about Northern Sotho-based literature. And after hearing from a good number of participants in the focus groups that literacy in African languages was "useless" or "practically non-existent," I asked him what he thought: "You have to know your roots before you can go further and do other things… … to *know where you're from you have to know where you're going*" (p. 9/34),). He is echoing the exact words of participant 44, who has developed a persona as "pro-roots": "I don't forget where we come from so that we know where we are going to"

(p. 10/38). He was not surprised at all about the fact that I had never seen anyone else reading a Northern Sotho book: "Even me I know, if I will go to someone'ssomeone's home a student somewhere, I never find a book written in Pedi in her room or his room … you find them in English" (p. 22/34).

The sum total of these interactions supports the precedent in the literature (see Barber, 2007 and Maake, 2000 for review) that Northern Sotho reading and writing happens on a small scale among the participants and peers. The questionnaire, BALLI, and free association data all support this finding. But these data also show strongly that there is a mixture of discourses affecting this small amount of Northern Sotho literacy practices: English is associated with schooling and learning, speaking is associated with the (re)production of African culture, Northern Sotho words are too long; the cell phones are "made for English", and so forth.

The metadiscourse of necessity for English is strongly tangible in discussions of literacy, but it is framed almost as a default position: it is not so much necessary as obvious. In ideological terms, this constitutes an *erasure* of "Pedi" literacy. But how relevant has it ever been, one might ask? And further, given its highly ideologized origins through missionary work, is it really so important? The semiotic compartmentalization of function between English and African languages does not appear problematic from these points of view.

I suggest, however, that from a language learning perspective, and from a social practice perspective, an atrophied and moribund system of Northern Sotho literacy education is consequential. On the first point, few policymakers can credibly argue against so-called "mother tongue"-*medium* education, at the very least for the first 2–4

years of primary school. The lot of policy evidence against the lack of investment in mother tongue education—in terms of increased school dropout rates (Crighton, 2007; Ndharutse, 2008) and associated costs of wasted school funding (Grin, 2005; Heugh, 2006) and lower academic performance across the board (Alexander, 2003; Heugh, 2000))—makes a convincing argument for delaying the "switch to English" until at least gradeGrade 4. However, the standardization issue raised above by 30, 31, and 38 concerning the learning of reading and writing African languages is also compelling and needs to be addressed.

A new and burgeoning field of inquiry is just opening up about the dynamic relations between digital literacy practices on linguistic code choice. That is, when texting, chatting or, of late, Facebooking or any other kind of digital social networking, what linguistic codes do youth choose? How do the kinds of interactions that these technologies afford modify one's code choice decision matrix? I propose that the ideological association between English and digital technologies is strong, but the affordances of digital ICTs are contributing to some changes in this association (cf. Babson, 2008). Below, I discuss *four ways* the participants claim that using English for digital literacy practices is necessary.

- First, the participants claim a necessity to use English in texting and mobile chatting for the same reasons they would on campus: as a lingua franca. Perhaps they don'tdo not share an African language with that friend; English thus serves both a "bridging" to a "bonding" function.

- Second, the "anxiety" issues mentioned would also still apply, although to a lesser extent——they mostly know who they are SMSing. But the lingua franca

justification holds sway. In a mobile chat room, however, the anxiety issue is prevalent: you might not know who is in there, thus recreating the open-ended linguistic forum that exists on the campus. English again mediates the diversity and reduces anxiety about linguistic code choice.

- Third, English is also, somehow, the language of the cell phone. This is, I would propose, *semiotic ideology,* incorporating language ideology, at work (Keane, 2003; cf. Babson, 2008). The qualia constituting "cell phone-ness" act as indexical potentials that ideologically overlap with certain qualia of the English language.

- Fourth, there is also a consensus among the participants that "Sepedi (Tsonga, Venda, etc.) is too long to write." Indeed structural features of the Bantu languages lend to reduplication; a number of discourse excerpts refer to this "too long" phenomenon (Mesthrie, 2008b). This is a practical issue, not just because of convenience, as several participants point out, but also cost: SMS messages typically cost about 15R, and airtime is notoriously expensive, meaning that phone calls rarely exceed a minute or two. Thus several participants discuss texting their grandparents with two or three page SMS messages, not just out of filial piety but also just to referentially communicate, as practically none of them have any competence in English. From this practical standpoint, English offers, as mentioned in previous excerpts, "ease of use": "it is short" as 37 mentions in excerpt 3c, line 16, and "short cuts" can be used.

These reasons above lead to more refined questions: Do short cuts exist in African languages? If not, why not? Is there any way to "de-bundle" the semiotic ideology

holding together digital technologies and English? On the latter question, recent research

suggest so (Babson, 2008); and by anecdotal observation and interaction with my own

Northern Sotho speaking Facebook friends, it appears that Northern Sotho is commonly

used in written interactions. A finding of this research has been that, once again,

decisions considered straightforward or obvious are actually highly ideologized, and it is

understanding these ideologizations that gets us into the inner workings of changes in

code repertoires (Gal, 1979; Kulick, 1992; Garrett, 2005, et al.). Inasmuch as the daily

percentage of communication by writing is increasing in the Manwkeng area, just as it is

in the United States, Asia, Europe—i.e., much of the globe—issues of digital literacy

practice and its role in changes in code repertoire. This is all the more so given that the

lines between spoken and written language have been blurring significantly through

digital literacy practices (Jones & Schiefflin, 2009).

Returning to the long-abandoned excerpt from above, the two participants from

Mamotintane describe how they use English, not Northern Sotho, to text another

Northern Sotho speaker:

54 -- 31: **Like yeah, but normally, when we're using our phones you can see**

55 -- **there's this thing SI (?) phone language when you write prose.**

56 -- **30: And then you might be SMSing a Pedi girl…but you're writing English**

57 -- **A: Ah, yeah ha! (laughs)**

58 -- **30: You see! That's the point**… (pp. 5–6/38)

This description of texting a fellow Pedi speaker in English jarred me, and it also surprised me to see it in action, notably one time in the residence of a friend. En route to a local bar, three of us teased our host for staying glued to his cell phone screen. He was using MXit™, the mobile chat application to converse with his girlfriend *sub rosa*—she lived in Nobody and she was also living with her parents, thus fairly inaccessible from Mamotintane at night. I asked him what language he was using and he said English, which again surprised me. I asked him if I could look at part of his chat and he assented, and it was clearly English-based "text" language, complete with shortcuts, English slang, and so on. Some Northern Sotho conjunctions and interjections were used, as in conversation (and visible in this study's data): *mara* (but), *ho joang* (what's up), *gore* (that), *ee* (yes), *aowa* (no), etc. But almost all of the words were in English. Here is another discussion, from the Nobody group:

Ex. 3d

01 --   A: The definition of literacy is changing, I think, because now you have

02 --   people using computers and

03 --   10: (overlap) yes

04 --   ?: Hm

05 --   A: (overlap) Internet

06 --   14: (overlap) Yeahh I-I-was just about to say that

07 --   A: Like when you guys text when you guys text each other, do you guys mix

08 --   English and and Sepedi?

09 --   12: (overlap) No we use English.

10 -- 14: We mix English and Sepedi

11 -- 12: No I don't

12 -- 14: I mix English and Sepedi

13 -- 12: The majority use English

14 -- A: Really?

15 -- 12: Yeah, more than (?)

16 -- 15: (overlap) but it it depends to whom you are texting me

17 -- 14: (overlap) Yeah

18 -- 10: Yeah

19 -- A: It depends who you're

20 -- 15: (overlap) You cannot

21 -- A: (overlap) texting to

22 -- 15: (overlap) you cannot use *just* Sepedi

23 -- 12: Do you used to speak on MXit™?

24 -- 15: Yeah, I do,

25 -- 14: ? (in background)

26 -- 12: with whom?

27 -- 15: with my friend from the university,

28 -- A: Yeah

29 -- 15: of of Limpopo

30 -- A: Oh, so when you talk to your friend from the University of Limpopo?

31 -- 15: when I chat

32 -- A: Yeah

33 --   15: when I chat to him

34 --   ?: ? hey (oh? background talk)

35 --   15: we use Sepedi, we know, i-i-t's for, it's for where we come from from

36 --   high school, **we always used Sepedi terms,** *for to speak even though we*

37 --   didn't we didn't have to, but we did, we always used Sepedi terms to to to

38 --   speak even now when we **when I speak to him in the phone** we'll *walela*- I

39 --   we'll greet in each in respond in Pedi, that's what we use when I communicate

40 --   with my friend there...it depends! **it depends on whom you're talking**.

41 --   <u>p. 6/51</u>

Among the Nobody focus group participants, three claim to mix English and Northern Sotho when texting, and one strongly asserts that he does not. What could be clearly stipulated from this and other examples is that some English is always involved, unless they are sending the text to an elder such as a grandparent. What can also be clearly stipulated, however, is that whether or not to use some Northern Sotho or all English is a choice, and one that *depends upon the situation* (lines 16–18, 40).

This statement is an important metapragmatic reflection: it shows awareness of the potential kinds of indexical orders, ecologies, interlocutors, and situations that shape linguistic code choice (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck, 2005; Eckert, 2008). For participant 15, Northern Sotho clearly functions as a "bonding" code with his friend, its use itself strongly non-referentially indexing the kind of "cultural intimacy" to which Herzfeld (1997) clearly refers,; namely, "the sharing of known and recognizable traits that not only define insiderhood but are also … disapproved by powerful outsiders"

(Herzfeld 1997, p. 94; cf. Halliday, 1975). Like participant 37 in excerpt 2g above, there is a clear sense among several participants in this group (10, 14 and 15 above) that they are taking pro-roots stances. As mentioned above, no persona or stereotype of the "emblematic speaker" of this or that code is solid all the way. Yet the ability to credibly align to, i.e. "pull off," desirable code-specific metapragmatic stereotypes is high, and therefore so is the ability to manage the indexical processes inherent in not only identification on an individual level but social differentiation on a broader level.

The "English is necessary" metadiscourse helps shore up one's ethnic *bona fides*, but the above examples show that it is not deployed in the absence of other metadiscourses. The "speech plan" that appears to be dominant among the participants (as high school graduates and therefore relatively elite and among the best students living in the area) is to hold onto your roots by speaking at least some of your first language, yet go for English otherwise. When talking about African languages, then, no participants stated or wished to give the impression that they speak these languages alone (line 15 above);) or effectively,; giving the impression of speaking it too much, or not speaking English well and often, would be negative. But the general desire in the above discourse to avoid an impression of being "anti-roots," taken with earlier excerpts (1c, 2d, 3f, and 3g), demonstrates how a metadiscourse of "we have to speak English, we have no choice" can be useful for hedging against this impression.

Conclusion

Deontological ambiguity—that is, about what one should or should not not do in a particular situation—can be exploited, as "necessities" can be wide ranging and have a

variety of legitimacies to participants. In other words, one person's "necessity" may be another person's "desire" in many situations. One of the strongest justifications is of practicing, in the sense of building and refining one's expertise. Practicing one's English involves not only acts of technical refinement, but of mimetically engaging with ideologies of uses and users of English. By emphasizing the technical and quite legitimate need to "practice", one can muddle the ideological motivations, thus mitigating agency.[219] As mentioned above, another strong justification is that "English is easy," both in the sense of *easy to master* as a linguistic code, and *making things easy* by taking out the guesswork in multilingual situations.[220] This is where *indexical ecology* has been useful to theorize how in some situations the potentials for what can be construed as "necessary" or "desirable" or "advantageous" are different and, therefore, easier or harder to manage than in others. However there are some necessities based on sociocultural consensus, particularly in terms of language use, and three evident in the data have just been described above.

The data show that the participants use a range of justifications and excuses beyond those based on a metadiscourse of "necessity," but it is clear that they don't move that far down the deontological and thus agentive scale from necessity. For example, African linguistic codes may be necessary to communicate with elders who do not speak anything else, or they may be needed to avoid social sanction or labelling in the home or village. If they are used on campus, and one is accused of parochialism or tribalism, one can say that they "need to stick to their roots," as their elders (and in some cases, ancestors) have

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219 Cf. Item 10, BALLI.
220 Cf. Item 4, BALLI.

ordered them. Given the potential for inter-ethnic tension on campus, and particularly the pressure to speak a common, prestigious or at least local Northern Sotho code, this justification (or excuse, in the case of accusation) may be particularly useful.[221] That is, you are not undermining English or another African linguistic code (and group) by your code choice, you are respecting your elders back home. But the data suggest that this directive to "stick to your roots" by speaking your home language is even subverted at home, that youth in villages occasionally speak English to each other, even in the household.[222] This is done in the name of "practice," which is also based on the real need for improvement of facility with English – something that most of the participants' parents would be loathe to deny.

This latter example shows that just as with the use of African linguistic codes, various shades of necessity are also involved in justifying or excusing the usage of English. Besides the obvious hierarchical, institutional obligation to use English on the campus or in town (at one's place of employment, or in university or other educational settings), English may be "needed*"* as a way to facilitate an interaction wherein guessing the wrong language could be highly embarrassing or awkward. In Polokwane or on the UL campus, however, this necessity is ambiguous, because a common, prestigious or at least local Northern Sotho code could be just as easily used without much stigma.[223] But for those living in the area from elsewhere, such as self-identifying Tsonga, Venda, Ndebele or

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221 Since the focus of this study is on changes in code repertoires to include more English, however, more data would be needed on the use of African linguistic codes and their ideological mediation.
222 In the words of participant 10 from Nobody/Ga-Mothapo, "90% of the time Pedi, 10% not (including English)."
223 In Polokwane is about 30 miles west and there Northern Sotho dialects are still the most widely spoken. Over 80% of the students speak a Northern Sotho dialect as a first language.

Swati UL students, the issue then becomes about whether to learn and speak a Northern Sotho dialect, which to them appears to be a waste of time. English is necessary for bridging across mutually unintelligible African linguistic codes, but it is also both more practical and *easier*—"it's our center," in the words of participant 44 in excerpt 2e.

The point from this example and in the chapter as a whole, however, is that these justifications and excuses all rely on the principles ones highlighted above: an authoritative mandate requires it, or it comes down to simple linguistic necessity for a *lingua franca*. To both students identifying as "Pedi" and not, the diversity of the student body provides a justification for using English, and an excuse in the case one is accused of "undermining one's own language" or "uplifting" English: we have to use English because it is a bridging code. This excuse applies for life on the UL campus, or in future jobs in Polokwane or Johannesburg.

The justifications for using English *in written form* are related to the above concerns about bridging diversity. They are also, however, related to the properties of written language that allow for re-entextualization at a later time and place in, crucially, the ideologized "actual" or "real" form of its original authorial creation. As discussed in Chapter 4, these text-specific indexical potentials have never been widely ideologically associated with African linguistic codes—in South Africa or elsewhere on the continent. The data reflect a collective stance by nearly all the participants that using African linguistic codes for literacy practices is problematic. As I have shown in previous work (Babson, 2008), however, it can be easily forgotten that these ideological associations are based on materiality and political economy. In this work, I show that by using an NGO-developed multilingual literacy learning software, ABET learners (see Chapter 4) could

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re-associate computer technology and other tokens of "Whiteness" and "modernity" with their own ways of life.

The current data suggest that although using English for literacy practices is considered "necessary" and African linguistic codes practically unthinkable, even risible, these ideological associations are certainly malleable. The point of both examples of "English as necessary"—one for literacy practices and the other for a bridging code—is that it is both grounded in certain practical necessities but also highly ideologized. A goal of this chapter has been to explore and demonstrate this ideologization, and its potential social entailments.[224]

In this chapter, I presented data on the management of indexical potentials both being generated by and shaping linguistic code choices. I have argued that most participants are working with a speech plan (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 77) that can be understood as an invocation of a culturally shared metapragmatic directive from their elders to roughly, "stick to your roots but go for English," Charges of being a "coconut" however, or being "tribalist," may be visited upon those who somehow through their code choices lend themselves to being indexed as a particular kind of speaker, i.e., metapragmatically stereotyped. Analytically, I join this with the concept of stances and stance accretion across interactions that form into durable *personae*. Although alternating codes is one

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224 See Alexander, 1999; Granville et al., 1997; LANGTAG, 1996; Ndebele, 1986; Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1981; Pennycook, 1994. Ndebele (1986) draws on Marcuse's *Essay on Liberation* (1971, p. 20) to give one of the most illuminating accounts of "need":

If biological needs are defined as those which must be satisfied and for which no adequate substitute can be provided, certain cultural needs can "sink down" into the biology of man (sic). We could then speak for example of the biological need of freedom, or of some aesthetic needs as having taken root in the organic structure of man, in his nature, or rather second nature.

Cf. Nkomo, 1984, p. 27. The import of this for the study is that "need" felt as biologically or at least economically necessary has some type of ideological mediation, which should be critically examined.

way to manage these processes, in this chapter I look at stances in metapragmatic discourse for evidence of such management. Particularly I look for metadiscourses of necessity that close off debate about volition and agency over linguistic code choice, making one less susceptible to undesirable stereotyping.

The purpose of this chapter has not been to question the motivations of speakers but, rather, to denaturalize what is presented as obvious, to show that decisions closed off by claims to necessity are actually fraught with all kinds of affective and volitional complexity and to offer a window into that complexity

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions and Findings

This study has sought to understand how a small sample of high school graduates living in the Mankweng area integrated more English into their linguistic code repertoires and whether this integration influenced their social identifications and positionalities. In addition to this central research concern, additional questions for the study included: (a) How do the participants talk about English, Northern Sotho, Afrikaans, and other linguistic codes? (b) What do they indicate as the major factors in code choice? (c) What does their discourse reveal about the relationship between their code choices, social identifications and positionalities? (d) What do they say are important potential consequences of code choice for their social identifications and positionalities; and how do they manage such consequences?

This study asks for not just a description but for an explanation of how and why the participants are expanding their linguistic code repertoires to include more English.[225] But what are the findings of the above research questions, and what value do they have?

The increasing use of English among youth is common worldwide, especially in former Commonwealth countries; why is this worth studying in the South African

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[225] Compare with language shift, which results from the progressive replacement of usage of one linguistic code with another, e.g., home language or mother tongue with English (or variant) (cf. Fasold, 1984; Garrett, 2005, pp. 332-335; cf. Appel & Muysken, 1987).

context? Youth are often drivers of changes in code repertoires, and the strong motivation to learn and speak English among Black South African parents and youth is well known. The language in education policy of South Africa has been studied for its controversies, and to some extent, its particularistic essentialisms, its lack of grass-roots support, and its possible impracticability. Youth cultures in large urban and township areas, such as Khayelitsha outside of Cape Town and Soweto and Alexandria near Johannesburg, have been probed for youth values, cultural expressions, and agencies. Missionary histories in South Africa have also been explored, including in the Northern Transvaal region, where the present-day Mankweng township is located.

Thus, given the well-known findings of the previously explored research topics above, one could propose that the research question is addressed quite adequately: youth are pushing the use of English forward because of post-apartheid reforms allowing for (though not *mandating*) more English education, and they are motivated by the economic benefits of knowing English. Similar to other youth in their situation around the world, some will struggle to retain an "authentic" self-understanding, while others will reject this out of hand in favor of using English and adopting habits associated with English speakers with whom they are familiar. Increasing access to and usage of digital ICTs also increases access to English-language media forms on the Web, or opportunities to communicate in English—although the ideological reasons for why digital tools have not been robustly used for language revitalization have not been extensively explored (cf. Eisenlohr, 2004).

In sum, much has already been written on the above topics, and even if more questions were asked about them, upon first glance, it is difficult to imagine that there is much else to investigate.

As explained in the introduction, however, I suggest this study addresses the lack of research on, among other topics:

- The historical dearth of, but sudden uptick in, major economic growth in the former northern Bantustans post-apartheid;

- The overlooked role of the Bantustans as places of development of and (to a lesser extent) resistance to apartheid;

- The ideological mediation of changes in code repertoires to include more English in Limpopo Province (despite its history of compelling political and evangelical activity);

- The role of digital ICTs on changes in code repertoires in rural multilingual areas;

- The urbanization of apartheid-built "Bantu towns," such as Mankweng, and linguistic manifestations and catalysts thereof;

- The importance of the University of the North as a materialization of the flawed practical and moral logic of apartheid and as an influential institutional base for African youth resistance;

- The reproduction of ethnic consciousness among rural South African youth in an era of South African scholarship that has avoided ethnicity and left unquestioned the dichotomies of urban and rural;

- Globalizations in rural South Africa and the role of youth therein

In this chapter, I discuss how responding to the research questions has provided insights into some of the above-mentioned issues, with a focus on language ideology and the changing nature of local and national trends in language use, particularly among youth.

I addressed research the two sets of more detailed research questions above in the analysis Chapters 5 and 6, and I discuss the findings of those chapters. I aso discuss, after these findings, further oreliminary findings about class mobility through language use, leading up to the next chapter on possible implications of the study.

Responding to Questions A and B: Code Choice Mediated by Roots and Location

Chapter 5 focused particularly on what factors the participants considered most important in their code choices: location of where they lived and worked, and the perceived strength of African group belonging, also referred to as "roots."

I extended my inquiry into these factors to the process of "balancing"; the main way of doing this, according to the participants, was through linguistic code choice. Having also connected code choice with particular "modes of practice" or genres of lifestyle, analysis of participants' discourse about balancing code choice became an analysis of how they balanced differences in lifestyle genres.

Discourse analyses suggested that most participants aimed for a "balanced" set of choices that favored neither English nor their first codes a *priori*. In general the participants, rather than going "straight for English" and leaving their first languages behind, expressed the desire to be able to mix codes and include more English. However, given their decisive expansion of their repertoires toward using more English, balancing appeared depended mostly on the strength of one's sense of African group belonging or

"roots," or meanings about residing or working in particular locations. Roots appeared to serve as a positive emotional resource amid rapid social change, while also being a potential source of embarrassment compared to English or more urban and popular codes like Zulu and Tswana. Locations and mobility were strongly ideologically linked to specific codes and their speakers.

"Roots," was found to be a complex conceptualization of sociocultural belonging that varies significantly in its use-value by perceived ethnicity and the community within which one chooses to use a particular code. The perceived "strength" of ethnicity is established through participants' ideologizations, which cannot be fully understood without historically considering missionary and apartheid government interests in promoting ethnicity. To some, however, "roots" may not involve "ethnicity" at all but, rather, signify identification through affiliation with "family" or family and "tribe," or "village." This is an important finding, as many studies on identification take "ethnicity" for granted. As the valuable early studies by Krige (1937) and Van Warmelo (1935) showed (supported by missionary data), local group identifications were multiple and overlapping; language and group did not neatly line up. In this way, this study shows how these well-educated youth are questioning or accepting modes of identification that are not grounded in time immemorial but are negotiable.

The participants, to sum up, generally describe their use of English as complementary to, not replacing, usage of their first African language(s). The participants' desire to draw from a wide repertoire of codes led to the question of what the most important factors in these choices were.

Further, the data shed light on how African identifications are considered and reproduced hierarchically through language ideology. The relative prestige and purity of Sekhukhune Northern Sotho as the "real" or "deep" Pedi is closely aligned with the written standard by participants 30 and 31 from Mamotintane.[226] Although the plurality of the data in this study discusses "Pedi" identification, rather than Tsonga or Venda, the latter two are routinely discussed, by both those who identify as such and who do not, as "stronger" than Northern Sotho/Pedi. The historical work of Delius (1984) and others suggests that the Pedi kingdom's fracturing, and the subsequent half-hearted acceptance of homeland policy by Lebowa Chief Minister C. A. Phatudi (Mokgawa, 2000), left Pedis less consolidated than Vendas and Tsongas. The data from this study's participants shed an insightful light on some potential results of these historical conditions.

Based on these themes, "roots" may serve an important function to those who value them for stability, orientation, and confidence in a fast-changing society that is characterized by, in the words of Jean Comaroff, an "ontological instability" given the country's world-leading crime and HIV rates.[227] Such a need for roots questions extant studies of African youth "stampeding" (De Swaan, 2001) for an English-centered life, leaving any intergenerational consciousness or attachment behind. Pro-"roots" sentiments in this study are also supported by a massive recent study of 2,142 South African college students showing that Black participants have a far "stronger identity" than White participants (Thom & Coetzee, 2004, p. 183). In the substantial recent study of youth post-apartheid, the Wits "Birth to Twenty" study, Norris et al. (2008) report that "Black

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226 See pp. 98–100 for a description of these participants.
227 From an October 28, 2009 lecture at the University of Michigan entitled "Detective Stories: In Pursuit of Sovereignty in the Postcolony."

youth were more likely to define themselves as part of a cultural collective, either by language, religion, or ethnicity, coupled with a strong South African identity" (p. 7).

Stevens & Lockhat (1997) in their important study of youth post-apartheid, assert that in contrast to the "all for one" solidarity among youth in their resistance to apartheid (p. 141), Black youth today are embracing what they call a "Coca-Cola" ideology of American consumerism and individualism (1997, pp. 143–44; cf. Louw's "Gauteng culture", 2004).

Analyses and comparisons of the data above in Chapters 5 and 6 have come to clearly show that the youth in this study have demonstrated a need for English. But most of the participants have also demonstrated a need to maintain their "roots," and the prime way to do this according to them is to keep *speaking* their first language. Of course, meeting the "current demands of the ecology," as mentioned above by Mufwene, such as in an employment situation or simply a multilingual environment, may decrease dependence on the first language. Research has long shown that this is typically how changes in code repertoires begin: people start choosing to use a new linguistic code in activities and situations formerly reserved for the preexisting one (Fasold, 1984; cf. Appel & Muysken, 1987).

However, a crucial finding from analysis of both the survey and discourse data is that African languages still serve for the participants the major strategic *and* affective need of stabilization and orientation in a fast-changing post-apartheid world. This is in contrast to other research on the uptake of English among youth in South Africa in which participants describe themselves as either "going for English" *all the way* or abandoning

the use of their African languages altogether.[228] It is, rather, *congruent* with scholarship on multilingual education highlighting the ability of youth to learn and use multiple languages, i.e. an additive (vs. zero-sum/subtractive) multilingualism model (Alexander, 2003; Heugh, 2008).

The location of one's daily interactions is also considered, across Chapter 5, as a major in balancing. It bears highlighting that I explicitly designed the study to see how living on the campus would affect one's ideas about literacy practices. I compared the responses of participants attending the UL and living on the Turfloop campus in Mankweng, and those living in the area villages of Sebayeng, Nobody/Ga-Mothapo, and Mamotintane. Adding another dimension to this comparison, I also look closely at which participants stereotype others as good or bad at balancing, and whether they relate this skill to being at UL or not. Most participants present themselves as, following Rushdie (1999, p. 15) and Williams (1977), "straddling" the two worlds of pre- and post-apartheid South Africa, and fulfilling the directive to "stick to roots but go for English," with equilibrium and élan.

Access to English use opportunities, once available only outside the village and in highly structured and segregationist types of interactions, are becoming more available, making location a key factor in "balancing." The symbolic and economic power of English worldwide, nationally, and locally presents an unavoidable fact to rural youth: learning English through formal "Western" education presents the best chance for potential economic advancement in a capitalist democratic society. English language

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228 De Kadt, 2005 and Rudwick, 2008 of Zulu youth; cf. Bangeni & Kapp, 2007 of students at the University of Cape Town, Cook, 2002 of youth in Phokeng, Northwest Province and V. De Klerk, 2000 with adults in Grahamstown, Eastern Cape.

education is now in high demand in Limpopo, and many of the high school graduates in this study are the first in their families to study at the tertiary level, at universities such as UNISA or the UL. Further, unlike the current participants, younger generations of South Africans are learning and using English with their older siblings, watching English-subtitled South African and syndicated American television shows, and embracing all sorts of musical forms that incorporate global aesthetics with various ethnopolitical subtexts (from the bland and "White" pop music of Jacaranda FM to the hip-hop, house, and R&B of YFM to the *kwaito* sounds of any South African station targeting a youth audience). And new ways of communicating, namely the Internet and mobile telephony, are changing the possibilities for the portability of indexical potentials. Thus, although the apartheid ideology of separate development was successful for years in the Mankweng area, its collapse has given youth much freer rein in exploring and experimenting with new ways of communication and identification through using English. Several participants, however, do recognize that these freedoms are still limited by the lack of local employment and/or transportation.

Once again tying together the findings about "roots" and location, the participants appear concerned about the effect of mobility on "rootedness" and whether the indexical potentials inherent in language knowledge and usage really are enough to keep one "rooted." Do the benefits of speaking a certain linguistic code only accrue in communities where such activity is valued and sustained by others? Are the UL students really "losing their roots" at the university, or are they able to argue plausibly that they can go where they want to go and be with whomever they want to be without losing their "roots"?

To return to the quote at the beginning of Chapter 5, one is struck by the strong

rhizomic metaphor of personhood: the roots are always there, nourishing the individual,

as they grow and "turn to the brighter light." Participant 17, similar to a number of

others, spontaneously used the term "roots" to refer to his intertwined familial and

cultural heritage. As used by participant 17,[229] and I propose other participants, this

dualistic "root-stem" rhizomic metaphor resembles the conception of Carl Jung far more

than later scholars (e.g., Deleuze, Derrida, Glissant, Guattari, Spivak et al.). Jung's

description of roots as permanent and abiding over the flux of time conjures up strong

images of the African/Western "communalism/ individualism" divide, whereby the

gerontocracy and ancestors are hegemonic over youth, and where collective will

supports, but ultimately supersedes, any notion of an atomistic *person*hood (see

Comaroffs, 2001; La Fontaine, 1985, ch. 5). It is almost as if participant 17's phrase is a

perfect Bakhtinian double-voicing of the "stick to roots but go for English"

metapragmatic directive and is congruent with Jung's formulation. But second, it is

possible that this conception may change in the process of "balancing": they might come

to understand roots as more indeterminate, non-hierarchical, and fundamentally *open*, as

posited by Deleuze et al. above; or they may understand it to be something else entirely.

Nonetheless, "stem-root" is a persistent motif in the data.

The term "roots" further and its rhizomic connotations appear to reflect a general

emphasis among many southern African cultures of the value of ancestral continuity.[230]

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229 See pp. 107–8 for more background on participant 17.

230 This is notwithstanding the oversimplification, prevalent in earlier African scholarship, of
characterizing Africans as anti-individualist and communalist. See La Fontaine in Carrithers, Collins and
Lukes, Eds. (1985) and Comaroffs (2001).

There appears to be significant ambivalence among the participants about how to fit their

love for their "roots" into their need for financial stability and aspirational desires for the

modern lifestyles modeled for them on their favorite TV shows (according to Item 22,

questionnaire), all of which feature non-stop English, alternately spoken or subtitled.

Even on a thematic broad-scale level, this tension appears crucial to the participants' code

choices.

Further, there are two strong sub-themes related to "roots": 1) they are ineradicable

and 2) the strength of one's roots is a source of self-confidence.

The dichotomy of roots vs. modernity appears to be both supported and challenged in

the interviews, simultaneously positing an old binaries and suggesting more complex and

hybridized conceptualizations. Roots appear to be neither left behind nor fully embraced

by all: in extreme examples of either holding onto roots (as in the case of the head of the

Tsonga Club) or rejecting them (as in the case of participant 38), one gets a sense of how

others may have felt but could not articulate.

The work of Édouard Glissant offers an alternative conception of the historical and

sociocultural factors in the construction of roots, a conception inspired by the work of

Deleuze, which problematizes association with one unitary ethnic identification (Glissant,

1981).[231] In this way, following the body of work that takes up the theme of the

"invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1989; Vail & White, 1991), roots must be

seen as a highly ideologized entity. Combining this "invention of tradition" critique with

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231 See also Derrida's *Le monolinguisme de l'autre ou la prothèse d'origine* (1996), a critique of a
Herderian ideology of unified ethnic selfhood expressed in monolingualism. Therein, he discusses being an
Algerian monolingual in French, a language "not his own" ("*Je n'ai qu'une langue, ce n'est pas la mienne*"
[p. 14]).

a critique of Herderianism, Makoni (2003) has called for the disinvention of languages as such, which is reminiscent of Derrida and Glissant. This critique is especially important in the Mankweng area, which used to be part of the Lebowa Bantustan, and in much of the current Limpopo Province as a whole, which was also home to two other former Bantustans, Gazankulu and Venda. These governmental structures provided the spatial enforcement for a number of apartheid labor and influx control laws that accelerated social disintegration and the separation of families (Black Sash Memorandum, 1972).[232]

It is is possible, however, that Limpopo elders may overlook the potential social and individual consequences of learning and using English on a daily basis, even if plausibly for limited institutional functions outside of the home community. As Fishman asserts, "what begins as the language of social and economic mobility ends, within three generations or so, as the language of the crib as well, even in democratic and pluralism-permitting contexts" (1989, p. 206).

Analyses and comparisons of the data above in Chapters 5 and 6 have come to clearly show that the youth in this study have demonstrated a need for English. But most of the participants have also demonstrated a need to maintain their roots, and the prime way to do this according to them, as mentioned above, is to keep *speaking* their first language. Of course, meeting the "current demands of the ecology" as mentioned above by Mufwene, such as in an employment situation or simply in a multilingual environment, may decrease dependence on the first language. Research has long shown that this is

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232 Ferguson (2003) has aptly pointed out how perfectly the apartheid regime carried out designing mechanisms for the production and reproduction of tradition, the epitome of which was the Bantustan system. "Never was Hobsbawm and Ranger's somewhat cynical phrase 'invention of tradition' more literally appropriate" (p. 56).

typically how language shift begins: people start choosing to use a new linguistic code in

activities and situations formerly reserved for the preexisting one (Fasold, 1984; cf.

Appel & Muysken, 1987).

This is in contrast to other research on code repertoire changes such as language shift

among youth in South Africa, in which participants describe themselves as either "going

for English" *all the way* or abandoning the use of their African languages altogether.[233]

As mentioned in Chapter 6, however, it is rather *congruent* with scholarship on

multilingual education promoting a stable additive multilingualism model (Alexander,

2003; Heugh, 2008).

I use the model of "centering institution" to discuss the institutional ways indexical

potentials are organized in ecologies and how participants talk about working within

these ecologies.[234] The UL, for example, requires the use of English in classroom

sessions. But, being a national university bringing together students from different

cultural backgrounds, it encourages the use of English as a "bridging" code. The goal

may be a kind of "semblant solidarity"—i.e., aiding the vision of a kind of pan-South

African "national" identification linked to the global symbolic and economic capital of

the English language (Bhabha, 2007, p. 14; cf. Ferguson, 2002, p. 567 fn11).

I propose that the "balanced" mode mentioned above represents, in Williams's terms,

a kind of "alternative hegemony," whereby the pull of English and African language

"centering institutions" is managed, where neither "English" nor "roots" lifestyle genres

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233 See De Kadt, 2005 and Rudwick, 2008 of regarding Zulu youth; cf. Bangeni & Kapp, 2007 of for
students at the University of Cape Town; Cook, 2002 on youth in Phokeng, Northwest Province; and V. De
Klerk, 2000 with for adults in Grahamstown, Eastern Cape.

234 Blommaert, 2005; Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck, 2005; cf. Agha, 2005; and Silverstein,
1998's "ideological site."

ultimately "win out" (Gal, 1998; Mufwene, 2006). It is a vision of a new kind of South African; a vision realized in model personae known to many South Africans in popular culture. A no more perfect example can be found than in the wildly popular television show *Generations*, featuring the intersecting lives of a multiethnic handful of attractive Joburg-based yuppies. These characters mix and manage metapragmatic stereotypes fluidly and with equilibrium, credibility, and confidence, from which a new stereotype emerges, a new South African that is neither a "tribalist" nor a "coconut" who "undermines" his culture. The sum of the data in this study suggest that most of the participants aspire to embody this stereotype in their own way, and many participants see their roots as an advantage, not a liability, in this endeavor. But highlighted in Chapter 5, and which "centering institutions" theorize usefully, is the notion that cultural expectations about linguistic code choice can be locally specific, oriented by powerful centering institutions such as "home" or the university.

Responding to Research Questions C and D: Self-Definition, -Understanding and -Positioning through Linguistic Code Choices

The participants' discourse suggests ways they manage the links between code choice and identification in their multilingual environments. "Balancing" is one strategy, as discussed above concerning roots and location; but to manage the risks inherent in balancing, the participants appeal to social consensus about the necessity of certain code choices in certain situations. This finding brings attention to metapragmatic discourse as evidence for certain language ideologies. Exploring what is deemed "necessary" can open up inquiry into how important educational policy and practice decisions are made. Take, for example, the consensus of the necessity of English for literacy practices. Although the

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technological means exist for youth to use their first African languages for MXit™ or SMS messages, English is deemed easier, shorter, and less likely to confuse or spark concerns about "tribalism." But what more controversial motivations for using English are these plausible justifications erasing? Necessity is a powerful metadiscourse that may play an important role in longer-term changes in code repertoires. For example, what excuses will the next generation have to defend themselves against "tribalism" if African languages are no longer "necessary" for communication with elders at home? And what role can language education policy play in influencing possible trends in this arena?

The analyses in Chapter 6 more fully delve into the specific research question of how the participants dealt with the consequences of linguistic code choice for their social personae. The data show that the participants use a range of justifications and excuses based on a metadiscourse of "necessity."

The data show that in order to manage the potential consequences of using a linguistic code deemed inappropriate to the situation and thus potentially indexing them as a "type" of individual, they choose to exploit deontological ambiguity (to paraphrase Bauman & Briggs, 1992) and per Duranti (2004), throw into question their agency over and responsibility for their linguistic code choices (cf. Hill & Irvine, 1993).

African linguistic codes may be necessary to communicate with elders who do not speak anything else, or they may be needed to avoid social sanction or labelling in the home or village. If they are used on campus, and one is accused of parochialism or tribalism, one can say that they "need to stick to their roots," as their elders (and in some cases, ancestors) have ordered them to do. Given the potential for inter-ethnic tension on campus, and particularly the pressure to speak a common prestigious, or at least local,

Northern Sotho code, this justification (or excuse, in the case of accusation) may be particularly useful.[235] That is, you are not undermining English or another African linguistic code (or group) by your code choice, you are respecting your elders back home. But the data suggest that this directive to "stick to your roots" by speaking your home language is even subverted at home, that youth in villages occasionally speak English to each other, even in the household.[236] This is done in the name of "practice," which is also based on the real need for improvement of facility with English—something that most of the participants' parents would be loathe to deny.

The justifications for using English *in written form* are related to the above-discussed concerns about bridging diversity. They are also, however, related to the portable properties of written language, which allow for re-entextualization at a later time and place in, crucially, the ideologized "actual" or "real" form of its original authorial creation. As discussed in Chapter 4, these text-specific indexical potentials have never been widely ideologically associated with African linguistic codes—in South Africa or elsewhere on the continent. The data reflect a collective stance by nearly all the participants that using African linguistic codes for literacy practices is problematic. As I have shown in previous work, however (Babson, 2008), it can be easily forgotten that these ideological associations are based on materiality and political economy (Philips, 2004). In this work, I show that by using an NGO-developed multilingual literacy

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235 Since the focus of this study is on changes in code repertoires to English, however, more data would be needed on the use of African linguistic codes and their ideological mediation.

236 In the words of participant 10 from Nobody/Ga-Mothapo, "90% of the time Pedi, 10% English and other languages"

learning software, ABET learners (see Chapter 4) could re-associate computer

technology and other tokens of "Whiteness" and "modernity" with their own ways of life.

The current data suggest that although using English for literacy practices is

considered "necessary" and African linguistic codes practically unthinkable, even risible,

these ideological associations are certainly malleable. The point of both examples of

"English as necessary"—one for literacy practices and the other for a bridging code—is

that English is both grounded in certain practical necessities but also highly ideologized.

Chapter 6 focuses most clearly on issues of agency and responsibility in linguistic

code choice. I propose that using the metadiscourse (or per Austin, *excuse*) of necessity

renders agency and thus responsibility for language choices usefully ambiguous. As

Woolard points out: "Ambiguity is always characteristic of pragmatic strategies that are

not explicitly 'on-record'… it is exactly their relative deniability that gives them their

social utility" (2004, p. 84; cf. Bauman & Briggs, 1992, p. 152).[237] I argue that the

mitigation and/or omission of agency (Duranti, 2004) is a crucial *first part* of a

framework for analyzing the sociocultural importance of managing indexical potentials.

The second part of this framework is "double voicing" (Bakhtin, 1981). Recalling the

2006 work and the complementary discourse from the participants, I propose that the

ABET learners' exhortation to "stick to your roots but go for English" is an important

metapragmatic rule that participants "double voice" in the interviews. As discussed in

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237 Related work in northern South Africa has led the Comaroffs to conclude that among the late
colonial Tswana peoples, "Empowerment, protective or predatory, lay in the capacity to conceal: to conceal
purposes, possessions, propensities, practices—and, even more subtly, to conceal concealment, to hide the
fact that anything at all was being hidden" (2001, p. 275). Though I am skeptical this inclination is really
specific to "Tswana peoples," this account resonates with my local experience in the Manwkeng area and
elsewhere in Limpopo: even the mere accusation of witchcraft can lead to dangerous stigmatization, a kind
of "social death," or actual death (cf. Delius, 2001).

Chapter 6, evidence for this double voicing can be established based on a triangulation of the "form" data and discourse data and is supported by my report on the 2006 ABET work (Babson, 2007).

Of keen interest is the apparent disconnect between the tight code-specific functional separation (e.g., use English here with these people, your home language over there with those people) and the reality of participants' language practices as they are reported. That is, English has been historically associated with the genres of institutional and other "they"-code, "bridging" types of interactional discourse (e.g. speaking Afrikaans with your White *baas*). The participants' discourses about language practices do not suggest a neat pairing of genres and codes. In fact, harkening back to Woolard's point above, they use awareness of the slippage potentials between genres and codes to exercise their "speech wills" (Bakhtin, 1986, pp. 77–78; cf. Garrett, 2005, p. 335).

One key example of this in the last section of Chapter 6 is the usage of English in MXit™ chat with someone from one's own family or village. This "slippage" potential can be understood as a function of "indexical potential." Just as such potentials can be understood as possible causalities, they can also be understood as proliferating with kinds of hybridity and innovation. This reinforces an important and exciting aspect of working on changes in code repertoires among rural South African youth: that indexical potentials are *inherent in* youth, in multilingual situations, in situations code repertoire change, and in the increasing globalization and rapid economic growth in South Africa, particularly the Polokwane municipality. Amid all of these potentials, the importance of *agency over* and *responsibility for* the consequences of linguistic code choice appears all too clear.

The third part of this framework is mimesis and identification. This part brings a focus on: 1) postcolonial youth positionalities in a market economy selling desirable personae to imitate and 2) the boundary between self and other, which mimesis "disrupts and unsettles."[238] Participants sometimes cited peer pressure as the main reason why they spoke urban varieties of English when they could just as well use their first African languages to accomplish referential communication. Mimesis builds the argument above about the non-referential indexical potentials of language use. That is to say, choices of code or register or voice *in themselves* communicate something about a speaker's positioning in the interaction, and in the world generally.[239] Further, the concepts of desire and mimesis can be combined (Girard, 1978; cf. Bhabha, 1994; Young, 1995) to illustrate how mimesis, to varying degrees of conscious awareness, is rooted in a desire to appropriate the other for ambiguous purposes.[240]

This serves as a theorization of "coconut," an ambiguous persona denoting a Black person who also indexes him or herself as, somehow, "White" (Ferguson, 2005, p. 134; Rudwick, 2008). It is unclear from the data that the participants have judged "coconut" to be a bad persona to acquire. On the contrary, it appears that participant 43 in Chapter 5 clearly says "we are trying to be coconuts." As indicated in the conclusion to that chapter, I aim to explore in a successive study the ambiguity of the usage of this term, particularly in local historical perspective (cf. Rüther, 2001, p. 246).

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238 Kulick, 2003, p. 621. See also Bhabha, 1994; Ferguson, 2002; and Taussig, 1993 for sociocultural theorizations of mimesis.

239 Although, I would like to re-emphasize that this study is limited to a focus on the non-referential indexicality of linguistic code choice.

240 See Stoller, 1995 for a well-known analysis of the films of Jean Rouch and Ferguson, 2002 for critical discussion of mimesis generally.

Finally—tying together the theme of roots and agency—beyond the globalizing and emancipatory potentials of English language education (Rose & Tunmer, 1975, pp. 175–79), English's foreignness itself perhaps offers a kind of freedom. As discussed above, there is a strong historical ideology of English in the region as a "learned" language and the language of literacy (Harries, 2001; Hofmeyr, 1993); meaning a language "objectualized" (Keane, 2003), externalized, and laid out as an object of study, as opposed to the quasi-instinctual experience of speaking one's L1-medium. Michele Koven, in her 2007 book on language and identity among bilinguals, uses a quote from Aragno & Schlachet (1996) that aptly describes the difference in attachment, distance, and objectification between one's first language and a language such as English, which, in rural Limpopo villages, has traditionally been used almost exclusively in school, where it is also learned:

> Words (in one's first language) are learned as referencing sounds at a developmental stage in which the associative triggers are one with the object or subject of reference; that is, they 'equate with' rather than represent, and function with the immediacy of signs and signals rather than with the expressive detachment of a true symbolic vehicle. (1996, p. 32; cited in Koven, 2007, p. 24).

Thus, although English may "lack the immediacy and transparency" of the L1 (Garrett, 2005, p. 334), this discrepancy goes some way to explaining what Pavlenko, drawing on Kellman (2000), means by saying that a learned language can offer a kind of "emancipatory detachment" (Pavlenko, 2006, p. 183). The participants, then, may be using English to engage in a kind of loosening from their roots, or a kind of creative experimentation with their identifications and life trajectories somewhat fixed by parental

expectations and the limited options for livelihood in rural areas.[241] Add to this the

available exposure, via mass media outlets, to portrayals of shinier aspirational

trajectories, English education becomes a passport for linking up to these trajectories and

possible life stories (cf. Wortham, 2006). This detachment offers, perhaps, a kind of

freedom (through English) that is linked through fractal recursivity to the freedom of

post-apartheid and the variable potential freedom and creativity of youth as a life-

stage.[242] Participants of this study do seem to be creatively forging life trajectories within

which their mixes of lifestyle genres make sense. In this way they may be interactively

tinkering (*bricoler*) toward an alternative social order, creating "social spaces of

potentially profound and far-reaching social change."[243]

Changes in Language Use Patterns and Educated Youth Class Mobility

The findings of my study raise questions for research that has linked social class

mobility among Black South African youth to their increasing learning and usage of

English. Post-1994, the conditions for such youth to learn and use English have become

increasingly favorable. As a result, a number of studies have addressed how those living

in or very close to major urban centers or towns such as Cape Town, Grahamstown,

Durban, and Johannesburg have availed themselves of such opportunities (Bangeni &

Kapp 2007; De Kadt, 2005 De Klerk, 2000; Dyers, 2008; Mesthrie, 2008a, 2008b;

McKinney, 2007; Rudwick 2008). Across these studies, important differences were

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241 This has been the case especially since land rights have not been equitably and systematically re-instated for many in the former Bantustan areas of Limpopo Province. That is, agriculture and pastoralism are already out as optionoptions for many youth in rural areas.

242 See Erikson, 1968; cf. Bucholtz, 2002; Rampton, 1995; Shaw, 1994, p. 93; Silverstein in Woolard, 2004, p. 91, n8.

243 Garrett, 2005, 353; citing Limon (1996) and Rampton (1995).

obtained between so-called working class and middle class educated youth in how they integrated English into their code repertoires. Namely, certain youth tended to adopt a "posh" or well-educated style of English as a marker of middle class membership, whereas others tended to favor creolized language varieties semiotically linked to working class group identification.

Few studies to date have comparatively explored whether youth from or in rural areas beyond major South African urban centers are adopting similar patterns of linking linguistic repertoires to class membership (e.g., Cook, 2002, 2006; Appalraju & De Kadt 2002). The growth in Limpopo Province and particularly its capital, Polokwane, over the past ten years suggests that such a comparison is overdue. The spike in Polokwane housing and retail markets over the past five years attests to a growing middle class, with spillover effects in the nearby "semi-rural" township of Mankweng and environs.

Recent high school graduates living in this latter area have added English to their linguistic repertoires, apparently in much the same way as the "middle class" youth in the above studies. However, limited data exist on the language ecology within which these youth are choosing more English, or any other codes. This study's interviews do not yield empirical insight into the connection between participants' actual talk and their descriptions thereof. The above studies have shown distinct differences in the language practices of "working class" youth and the "young Black middle class" with access to "quality education" from an "early age" at "Model C" schools (2008a; 2008b, p. 45). A lack of data and the participants' varied and liminal socioeconomic positions prevent an easy application of class labels or models. What is clear, however, is that although few of the participants in this study could ascribe themselves the label of "Black middle class,"

clearly, most of them aspire to this in their own way. The data in this study suggest, in fact, that the participants aim to strike a "balance" of lifestyles that may put current analytical models of class, as well as "rural" and "urban" modes of identification, into question.

Another factor limiting the claims of this research links together the discrepancies above between self-presentation, metapragmatic description, and actual language practice, and my own positioning as an English speaker with limited competence in the African codes in the repertoires of my participants. In such a multilingual set of research ecologies, English indeed served as a practical "bridging" language. Yet my status as an English speaker also positioned the participants to mimetically hone their stereotypes of a good English speaker, which may have crowded out richer discussions of other types of language practices and other aspects of their code repertoires and linked modes of identification. Further, the "bridging" value of English, and the briefness of my research visit, served as excuses to my participants that I did not need to improve my Northern Sotho urgently, or open up the research to more complex realities and possible findings about language ideologies and other social practices. Discussing English itself as a monolithic variety leaves out much concerning varieties of South African English and their shifting indexical values across social spaces. Particles of participant discourse limited by my research design to special mentions hint at a far richer variety of language practices and ideologies than what this research comprises.

These limitations also apply to any clear analyses of class among the participants. The participants are more upwardly mobile than their parents' generation, and as the survey results and discourse data suggest, this generational difference is a key element of their

self-definition and understanding. They describe English as an essential semiotic resource for such mobility, though not just as a linguistic code, but also a cosmopolitan genre of lifestyle to be mixed into their self-consciously "rural" identifications. These findings, however, must be understood in light of the above limitations.

The goal of this study has been to elucidate the semiotic processes and ideological factors in increased English usage among youth in the Mankweng area and, ultimately, the new types of social differentiation emerging alongside and through such repertoire changes, while being mindful of the centrality African languages in code repretoires, a centrality this research design did not fully capture (cf. Makoni et al., 2007). Youth appear to be driving the pace of language use change in the area, which is unsurprising given that linguistic anthropological and sociolingistic studies have long established that youth have a key role therein (see Bucholtz, 2002, for review). To recap Gal as quoted in Chapter 5, changes in code repertoires only happen "when new generations of speakers use new connotations of the linguistic variants available to them in order to convey their changing identities and intentions in everyday linguistic interaction" (1979, p. 21).

I add here an additional excerpt from Salikoko Mufwene (2006), in the vein of Gal above:

> The primary agents of (English shift) are not so much the adults ... as the children, who appropriate it as their dominant or exclusive vernacular. If there is a context in which De Swaan's Q-value applies, of "stampeding to a language" this is it, at the glocal level, where children quickly determine, in very practical terms, which language is the most advantageous to them (p. 15).

In this study I want to both agree with Mufwene and Gal above but also push back against the assumption that youth-driven English shift in the Mankweng area is inevitable. I re-emphasize with Kulick (himself following a key theoretical contribution

by Gal) that structural factors do not in themselves determine changes in code repertoires.

Using more English, I argue, cannot be chalked up just to macrosocial factors. To recap

from the literature review, as Don Kulick asserts:

> To say that urbanization or other social change "causes" (changes in code repertoires) is to leave out the crucial step of understanding how that change has come to be interpreted by the people it is supposed to be influencing … i.e., interpreted in a way that dramatically affects everyday language use in a community (1992, p. 9).

If the functions of English are reportedly expanding from a "bridging" to a "bonding"

function—once a "they" code (L2) crowding out a "we" code (L1)[244]—this is, I argue, an

example of youth exploiting the flexibility of code-specific genres (and more specifically,

lifestyle genres), reflecting an important "competition" that research has concluded to be

a sign of changes in code repertoire.

As Mufwene writes, "The dynamics of the competition and selection processes that

affect the coexistence of languages have hardly been explored" (p. 24). Youth in this

study largely present themselves in a consistent and credible way as wanting to

authentically voice the "go for English but stick to roots" metapragmatic directive of their

elders. The discourse analyses have clearly shown that double-voicing is a complicated

endeavor involving indexical potentials that open one up to the possibility of unfavorable

stereotyping. Along these lines, I suggest that Mufwene's assertion that "English does not

endanger their local vernaculars, because it does not compete with them" overlooks the

possibility of a unique situation as we have in Mankweng and its surrounding area. This

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244 As Woolard (2004) helpfully points out, the "we/they" binary does not refer "to distinct, on-the-ground groups, but it is best understood as a trope for a speaker's variable social positioning rather than a literal reference to enumerable social entities" (p. 77).

unique situation can be described as a rapid and continued rural urbanization contributing to increased usage of both the English language and African urban varieties.[245] This provides, in fact, the opportunity to contribute in the very way Mufwene suggests just above; namely to explore the "dynamics of the competition and selection processes that affect the coexistence of languages."

So in these "competition and selection processes," does English have an unfair advantage? This is difficult to establish: English may be limited to certain functions or perhaps may *share* functions through reconfiguration of genres, as the participants' discourse suggests (Mufwene, 2006, p. 14). The management of indexical potential, and thus changes in code repertoire, is unpredictable, and recalling Bucholtz and Hall above, "language ideologies are rarely monotonic" (2008, p. 156). The preceding analyses have illustrated how youth are managing these indexical potentials, thus offering a window into future trajectories of the composition of code repertoires.

In Chapter 4, I underscored Malinowski's lucid prediction that life for Black South Africans would change with the times just as it has for everyone else—a rebuke of the essentialist, evolutionist and ultimately racist assumptions underpinning apartheid social engineering (cf. Kros, 2002, p. 63). Eiselen's estimation that apartheid could guide Black South Africans along a parallel path of separate development, independent of modernizing and globalizing forces, betrays his Protestant ideologies of divinely ordained separation and evolutionist notions of the superior development of the White "race." It was this distorted worldview that eventually unraveled the apartheid state. The

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245 This study has focused on changes in code repertoire to include more English, but along the way, enough empirical data and secondary literature (e.g. Makoni et al., 2007) suggest that shift to urban African linguistic codes is also taking place. More research would be needed to confirm this trend.

widespread replacement of local African linguistic codes with Englishes in everyday

usage cannot be guaranteed; nor can the long-term global hegemony of the English

language, or the West, for that matter. As the Comaroffs have noted, "Afromodernity is

not moving, in a fixed evolutionary orbit, toward Euromodernity. The continent, as

diverse as it is large, has spawned alternative modernit*ies* in which very different notions

of selfhood, civility, and publicity have taken root … Europe (may be) evolving toward

Africa, not the other way around" (2001, p. 268).

Summary

In sum, I propose that this dissertation provides analyses addressing the three main

research questions outlined in Chapter 1: What is the interaction between participants'

expansion of linguistic code repertoires to include more English and their processes of

individual and social identification? Given that "balancing" sums up how most

participants describe this interaction, what are the main factors influencing this

balancing? And what is a key strategy for balancing?

Concerning the first question, I propose that the study contributes importantly to our

knowledge about the participants, who are specially positioned in their home

communities to lead increases in English usage. They are not blindly "stampeding" (De

Swaan, 2001) to English and leaving behind their home languages, as may be guessed

from other studies of South African youth using English (cf. Mesthrie, 2008a; Mufwene,

2006). Rather, returning to the quote from Mphahlele at the beginning of Chapter 1, and

using the "straddling" metaphor of Rushdie (1999) and the insights of Stevens and

Lockhat (1997) applying Bulhan (1985), this is one of the first studies that provides

empirical data on the reflections of youth from the former homelands of the Northern

Transvaal, suggesting how and why they are "balancing" to manage modes of identification ideologically activated by certain code choices. The data suggest that they consider location and perceived strength of "roots" as the most important factors in the balancing process, and a language ideological framework is very useful for examining these dynamics. As mentioned throughout the dissertation, a contribution of the study is that, unlike the vast majority of studies of Black youth post-apartheid, it concerns those positioned and self-positioning as rural. "Balancing" is a way to work with these socially inevitable positionings, while also exploring so-called "modern" and "Western" modes of self-definition.

The strategy of relying on metadiscourses of necessity illustrates some important dynamics of balancing. As highlighted by De Kadt's work in Kwa-Zulu Natal, linguistic code choices in a multilinugal environment that fall outside of one's stable social networks can provoke fear of indexing oneself undesirably and of having to provide excuses for one's code choices.[246] Examining these ways of managing the indexical potentials of linguistic code choices yields insights into participants' language ideological dynamics, specifically concerning notions of rurality, tradition, and modernity.

Further, in Chapter 4 and both analysis chapters (5 and 6), I highlight what is particular about these dynamics in the Mankwneg area and the Limpopo region generally and the special role educational institutions have played in sustaining them. White hegemonies used the restriction of English education, among other measures, to keep English usage rare in the region. The participants, more than half of whom come from the

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246 Taking Austin's formulation, he calls explaining oneself in the absence of an accusation a justification, and defending oneself against an accusation an excuse (1956, pp. 1–3).

Mankweng area itself, are specially positioned as high school graduates to tinker with historically persistent ideologies of languages as "traditional" or "modern," "White," or "Black," "urban" or "rural." Exploring this tinkering or *bricolage* explains much about balancing and greatly contributes to fulfilling the goals of this dissertation study.

CHAPTER 8

Implications and Discussion

In this chapter, I discuss what the conclusions and findings in the previous chapter

suggest for a variety of concerns; namely, the role of ICTs in changes in code repertoires

and current attempts to bridge additive multilingualist policy and practice. I address both

of these potential implications as national issues but focus on the relevance for the

Mankweng area.

Relevance of this Study for Language in Education Policy and Practice

> If language shift is one of the best ways to cope with changes, and if
> things evolve toward monolingualism, isn't it a violation of the relevant
> population's rights to tell them that sticking to their heritage language or
> adopting multilingualism is better for them? […] Note that the right to
> speak the language of one's choice does not necessarily amount to
> denying one's heritage language the right to survive. The speaker who
> chooses to speak another language to meet current demands of the ecology
> need not feel guilty about their behavior (Mufwene, 2006, p. 20).

When young South Africans say they *need* English to increase their chances for better

life opportunities, one can hardly be surprised. Amid high unemployment, the ability to

speak English makes one competitive on the job market.[247] Further, English is South

Africa's lingua franca of choice post-1994, and everyday language decisions in urban

areas reflect expanding code repertoires including more English usage (Alexander, 2000;

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247 In the words of Francois Grin, "even at lower levels of competence, a little English is always
associated with higher earnings"(Grin, 2001, p. 73; cf. Rudwick, 2008, p. 107).

Reagan, 2001; Kamwangamalu, 2003). Thus the need for English among South African youth is based on the need for opportunity and social mobility as well as cross-cultural communication (Mesthrie, 2008b). Mufwene has said that in the case of more permanent and long-term changes in code repertoire such as language shift, and namely language shift to English, African youth are "not necessarily … denying [their] heritage," but rather are exercising their right to pursue better economic opportunities.[248] As discussed in Chapter 4, using English as a highly valued tool for social and economic justice has a long history in South Africa.

But another prominent theme in the data is that most of the participants define English as both symbolizing and potentiating participation in a genre of lifestyle that is both similar and foreign to their own experiences. English has long been associated with modernity, Whiteness, the city, America, the UK and the wider world. But participants also associate English with the new South Africa, the African nationalists, "coconuts," and more generally, young people and the cultural forms indexical of youth (using the MXit™ software, dancing to house music, etc.). This recalls Neville Alexander's emphasis, quoted in Chapter 4, that English usage in rural areas of South Africa is still relatively uncommon.

What is more, historically, there has been less English used in the Northern Transvaal than in former British Natal and Cape colonies, as discussed in Chapter 4. Restating from

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248 "If language shift is one of the best ways to cope with changes, and if things evolve toward monolingualism, isn't it a violation of the relevant population's rights to tell them that sticking to their heritage language or adopting multilingualism is better for them? [...] Note that the right to speak the language of one's choice does not necessarily amount to denying one's heritage language the right to survive. The speaker who chooses to speak another language to meet current demands of the ecology need not feel guilty about their behavior." (Mufwene, 2006, p. 20).

that chapter, apart from the very few who would make it to a BMS high school or an

SMSA upper primary, English education was rarely available to youth from the region,

including the present-day Manwkeng area. The lack of missionary-based English

education in the area did not improve upon transition to Bantu Education from 1955

forward. The Lebowa homeland was hard hit by apartheid education policies built on the

shaky foundation of unavailable textbooks and inconsistently available English language

education.[249]

The historical lack of English may explain why parents and other elders generally

show strong support for providing a robust English education for their young people.[250]

These data do not necessarily imply weak support for learning the "mother-tongue" but,

rather, that support for English was unanimous and prioritized based on need.[251] The

resulting attitude could be summed up that youth should "stick to their roots" but "go for

English" full throttle: not necessarily a "subtractive" model of multilingual language

learning and use but, rather, closer to the "additive" model touted in the language in

education policy (LiEP) (Mda, 1997).

On this note, apart from any theoretical and empirical contributions to the study of

youth language practices and ideologies in South Africa, this study may offer, I propose,

practical value for the successful application of additive multilingual language-in-

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249 See Alexander, 2000; Giliomee, 2009, p. 196; Heugh, 2000, p. 24. For more information on the local area, see Chapter 4, as well as Nkomo et al., 2003, pp. 165–66.

250 This is the case in both the Nelson Mandela Foundation rural education report co-sponsored by the HSRC and led by Linda Chisholm (NMF, 2005) and in survey research conducted in 2006 with ABET learners from the Mankweng area and surrounding region (Babson, 2007). ABET = Adult Basic Education and Training.

251 This work, along with the NMF study (2005), suggests that the additive multilingualist approach of the current language in education policy—whereby the benefits of both English and African language education are maintained—has probably not been well explained to many elders (Mda, 1997; 2004).

education policies in the Limpopo region. This issue has a special relevance that calls for an elaboration.

Although each non-independent South African homeland (such as Lebowa) formulated its own approach to enacting these apartheid policies, several facts of apartheid education are important to note:

1. Although Bantu Education (BE) and standard curricula for White students were identical, expenditure for BE lagged very far behind in Black homelands (Kallaway, 1984).

2. Due to the overall impoverishment of BE and other compounding factors of the apartheid system, few students made it past Standard VI—the very point at which they could first start to learn in English (Birley, 1967; Hartshorne, 1995; Hyslop, 1999).

3. In 1979, BE was abolished and African learners could learn in English from Standard III onward. But rural/urban differences in availability of English-proficient teachers persisted (Molefe, 1986)—a significant fact, given that well over 90% of rural inhabitants of South Africa are Black. Even by 1997 when the new LiEP was adopted, English language learning and usage in rural schools still lagged (NMF, 2005, p. 94).

As mentioned at the outset of this dissertation, both missionary and apartheid education in the Northern Transvaal emphasized the usage of the "mother tongue," but the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which mandated the end of missionary education in South Africa in 1955, extended of the use of the "mother tongue" as the language of learning and teaching (LoLT) from the first four years of school to the first eight (Horrell,

1969, p. 120; Rose & Tunmer, 1975, p. 184). The tradition of emphasizing mother tongue education during apartheid, and previously in the mostly Lutheran and Calvinist mission schools of the Northern Transvaal region, has left the impression among many of the region's inhabitants, according to several studies, that either learning the standard of the local African language as a subject and/or using it as the LoLT is a waste of time, *even a form of oppression* (Mawasha, 1986, p. 27; NMF, 2005; Vesely, 1998; De Klerk, 2000). To this day, the majority of rural, mostly Black South Africans have no access to high-quality English language education; English remains "unassailable but unattainable" (Alexander 2000; Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004, p. 67).

Addressing such language concerns, the South African Constitution of 1996 not only enshrines nine African languages as official (along with Afrikaans and English), it has also enshrined the individual's right to an education in an official language of choice, "where that education is reasonably practicable" (SA Constitution, 1996: Section 29 Part 2). The strategy behind this legislation has been to raise the status of African languages while promoting multilingualism and empowering local decisions about language in education. The LiEP of 1997 suggests additive multilingualism in schools, meaning that the mother tongue should be used as the LoLT as long as possible (Republic of South Africa, 1997). The LiEP also suggests that "the underlying principle is to maintain home language(s) while providing access to (and effective acquisition of) additional language(s)" (ibid.; cf. Heugh, 2000; 2008). A problematic aspect of the LiEP is that it *suggests* additive multilingualism but does not *enforce* it (Brock-Utne & Holmarsdottir, 2004, p. 72).

The South African Schools Act of 1996 mandated that parents, as the heads of school governing boards (SGBs), have final say over the school's LiEP (RSA, 1996). But parental choice has been very difficult to enforce at the local level in rural areas for numerous reasons, including: traditional rural governance, parental illiteracy, gender inequality, lack of English teachers, and constraints on the time and energy of poor people struggling to make a living (Biseth, 2005; De Klerk, 2002; NMF, 2005; Ntsebeza, 2005).

In historical context, the current policies strike a dramatic contrast. Decentralization and the flexible LiEP, although meaning well, have conspired against the enforceability of additive multilingualism. On the ground, there are not only practical challenges to implementation but ideological ambivalence among locals and, importantly, lack of political will among the elite (Bamgbose, 2000). Additive multilingualism has been advocated forcefully by a plurality of the scholarly community (Alexander, 2000; Heugh, 2000; Hornberger, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004), although there are well-argued critiques of note (Gupta, 1997; Makoni, 2003; Pennycook, 2002).

This study, by exploring the language practices of recently graduated youth in a rural township, addresses many unanswered questions that confront South African language in education policymakers today: Is decentralization of LiEP decisions really the best plan if the research on additive multilingualism is not well known? Is an emphasis on English education setting up rural areas for an internal "brain drain" to Gauteng and other urban regions? Have the negative associations of "mother tongue" education with political oppression loosened enough to refocus learners and their parents on the potential benefits of an additive multilingual LoLT approach?

Exploring these questions further, succeeding at the tertiary level depends on a solid command of both spoken and written English. Data for BALLI item 35 suggest that a slight majority of participants considered reading and writing with English easier than speaking and hearing with it. The interview data reflect a wide range of expertise in spoken English, which calls attention to the still highly uneven quality of English education for Black South Africans, particularly in rural areas. This inequality appears to be keenly felt by some of the campus participants among their diverse peers; the prevalence of English offers opportunities to improve it, or cause frustration and intimidation. Local school governing boards and universities are fully empowered to adopt additive multilingual policies (Ramani & Joseph, 2002). The confidence of the "rural" participants in their capacity to traverse networks with "balance" offers, I propose, considerable support for such language in education policies. The data in this study strongly suggest that the high school educated youth in this study are one step ahead of those who posit a "zero sum" model of language and identification. That is to say, in the participants' responses about their language practices and choices about them, I believe they have shown that a much broader and more flexible model of language teaching and learning would not only be possible but beneficial to South African students at all levels, primary, secondary and tertiary.[252] It goes without saying that rural teachers already codeswitch regularly to communicate with their students (NMF, 2005, pp. 95–6;

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[252] An important example at the University of Limpopo is the CELS and MUST program directed by UL professor Esther Ramani and scholar Michael Joseph. CELS stands for Contemporary English Language Studies and MUST for Multilingual Studies. The purpose of CELS and MUST is to support the completion of a dual-medium undergraduate BA degree (in standardized Sepedi and English). See Granville et al., 1997; Ramani & Joseph, 2002.

cf. Halmarsdottir, 2005). Further training in teaching multilingually in schools, and from a young age, could capitalize on this tendency.

Implications of the Study for Secondary and Tertiary Education Policy

There is likely a significant degree of variation of expertise in English among the participants, leaving open the possibility that the category of "high school graduate" may not accurately comprise those leading the addition of English to linguistic code repertoires among Mankweng-area youth age 18–25.

In order to count oneself among the relatively select group of local youth to graduate from high school (roughly 20%) one must have a good command of reading and writing in English. This may not necessarily apply for command of spoken English, as according to anecdotal reports, a handful of participant excerpts, and the extant literature on the language of learning and teaching in rural schools, most teachers switch back into the common locally prevalent African dialect to clarify their instruction. It is thus possible that one's spoken production and aural comprehension of English need not be as good as reading and writing it in order to succeed academically at the secondary level in rural South Africa.

Exploring this point further, data in this study and in several other South African studies suggest that succeeding at the tertiary level depends on a solid command of both spoken and written English (Chisholm, 2004). (This study may have attracted students with a better command of written English relative to their peer group). As indicated above, data for BALLI item 35 suggest that a slight majority of participants across the board considered reading and writing with English easier than speaking and hearing with it (though it is not clear whether this includes the "shortcuts" of "SMS English"). The

audio and transcript data reflect a fairly wide range within and across the focus groups of expertise in spoken English, which calls attention to the still highly uneven quality of English education for Black South Africans, particularly in rural areas.

Further, the high school graduates' status as "leader" of increased usage of English based on high expertise has a number of highly variable and shifting values (e.g., accent, vocabulary, definitions of "expert", etc.) according to location, situation, and interaction. For example, a university student's command of spoken English back in her village may be considered relatively high, though on campus, it may be considered average. That is, she may be considered a "leader" of changes in code repertoire back home, but not on campus among her UL peers.

The uptake of English learning and usage is not straightforward for most of the participants; thus the theme of "balancing." Some of the campus, non-village participants expressed frustration and intimidation regarding the prevalence of English on the campus, lending some credence to the majority stance of off-campus participants that English prevalence on campus made "balancing" difficult for UL students (See footnote 238 on the university's CELS and MUST programs). Leaving aside issues of "expertise" or "command" of English, some participants may limit their own use of English or recuse themselves of a "leading" role in uptake of English because of contravening social expectations, whether with respect to friends and family at "home" or those of similar African group identification on campus.

**Relevance of This Study for Research on the Materiality of
Text, ICTs, and Language Ideology**

The findings from this study are well-positioned to inform language in education

decisions, but they also highlight how youth such as the participants are distinguishing

themselves from previous generations and leading social changes. One important type of

such change is the expansion and increased flexibility of social networks through mobile

phone usage, requiring, according to most participants, English language literacy

competencies. This is an important trend for educators, for as literacy practices evolve

and change, so should literacy pedagogy and learning practices.

The usage of ICTs and their role in local increases in English usage are not themes

that figure prominently in the participants' discourse. However, certain compelling

sections of the discourse data, combined with interesting results from the survey data do

point to a significant set of trends for future research. Following Babson (2008), I have

imagined that the changing natures of both the materiality of text and the social

distribution and uses of ICTs will lead to changes in historically durable ideological

associations. For example, in the 2008 piece, I posited that using the BFI software would

inspire users to reconsider the formerly taken-for-granted association of the English

language with Whiteness and technology and African languages with the opposite (as

described in Babson, 2007). In this study, I saw emerging yet incomplete practice-based

evidence of the continuing ideological erasure (Irvine & Gal, 2000) of African languages

in the domain of literacy practices.

To recap from Chapter 6, I suggest that this continued erasure, despite the availability

of technologies and open-source software to counteract it, is significant. Most

policymakers support the policy of additive multilingualism discussed above, citing

policy evidence against the lack of investment in mother tongue education in terms of increased school dropout rates (Crighton, 2007; Ndharutse, 2008) and associated costs of wasted school funding (Grin, 2005; Heugh, 2006)). Lower academic performance across the board (Alexander, 2003; Heugh, 2000) makes a convincing argument for delaying the "switch to English" until at least Grade 4. However, the standardization issue raised above by participants 30, 31, and 38, concerning the learning of reading and writing African languages, is also compelling and needs to be addressed (Moyo, 2002).[253]

This study recognizes the important new role of digital technologies in the participants' increases in English usage but also works to avert the logical trap of technological determinism.[254] A technology is a tool, but one that is relatively complex and linked to specific culturally shared knowledge about the technical and social aspects of its usage, including the acquisition of expertise (Hutchins, 1995; Lave, 1988). Street's trenchant critique of an autonomous literacy skill acting as a cognitively universal technology reshaped the study of literacy skills and practices (1984; cf. Brandt & Clinton, 2002; Maddox, 2007). Recent work in linguistic anthropology (Cook, 2004; Eisenlohr, 2004) and literacy studies (Gee, 2003; Lemke, 1997; Warschauer, 2003) has revisited the classic debate on language and literacy as a technology (Goody & Watt, 1963; McLuhan, 1962; cf. Gough, 1968; Street, 1984). The potential of the affordances of new media technologies to provoke new kinds of meaning-making has further reshaped the study of literacy (Gee, 2003; Lemke, 1998; Lankshear & Knobel, 2003).

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253 See Chapter 6, excerpts 1i–1k and 3a.

254 One possible way to re-theorize determinism might be the notion of "invitation" in Mead, which has resonance in metaphysics concerning the natural function of an object (e.g. chair). Mead, as pointed out in Keane (2003), described objects as inviting people to certain kinds of action, a point that might find resonance with Latour's (1993) notion of social actor (actant).

A new and burgeoning field of inquiry is just opening up about the dynamic relations between digital literacy practices and linguistic code choice. That is, when texting, chatting or, of late, Facebooking or any other kind of digital social networking, what linguistic codes do youth choose? How do the kinds of interactions that these technologies afford modify one's code choice decision matrix? I propose that the ideological association between English and digital technologies is strong, but the affordances of digital ICTs are contributing to some changes in this association (cf. Babson, 2008).

These considerations lead to a further examination of how command of English, across written or spoken modes, positions one to further integrate it into one's code repertoire.

The popularity of using cell phones for interpersonal communication, especially via SMS or the real-time mobile chat software MXit™, suggests that the good command of written English needed for educational advancement may also be quite useful for real-time social interaction. This bolsters the case for high school graduates as generally playing some leading role in expansion of code repertoires to include more English, especially since household cell phone access and usage continue to steadily increase in the region.

The pervasive usage of cellular phones for interpersonal communication among youth in the area calls to mind the shifting definition of literacy in relation to this technology and its usage (e.g., Gee, 2003; Lemke, 1997; 2002). Although the merging of talk and text has long been established by linguists (e.g., Rumsey, 1999; Jones & Schieffelin, 2009), this fact has particular salience in Limpopo—a place with a turbulent history of

literacy education and subsequent practice. That such a literacy activity seems to be taking hold as an important everyday practice in Limpopo, and that such practices, by account and by some observation, seem to be happening mostly in English, is a point of central interest in this study and one that has not yet been extensively researched in South Africa.

At the end of Chapter 6, I made arguments about the ideologized nature of English's assumed necessity for literacy practices—English as a bridging language; as a language to reduce uncertainty; as the "easy" language of texting in contrast to African languages, which are "too long" to write. Participants cite all of these justifications for exclusively using English for digital text communication. In the highly multilingual community of Mankweng and its surrounding area, this singling out of English for literacy practices is especially loaded with ideological importance.

In a follow-up study, I plan to look much more closely and systematically at digital literacy practices and the rationales behind them. Yes, intergenerational spoken communication in rural areas may still be the chief pragmatic function of African languages. But just as digital technologies offer potential *sites* of language ideological (re)production, they also constitute in themselves material hybrids that blur fairly durable structural distinctions between spoken and written language, as discussed recently by Jones and Schieffelin (2009), among others. In this research I expect to find further evidence, cited in my previous work (Babson, 2008), of technology providing occasions for the loosening and reconfiguration of language ideological associations.

APPENDICES

A. Ethics and IRB Approval

This study was approved by the IRB, approval number <u>UM00018794.</u> Follow-up interview used in this study with A.P.P. Mokwele on January 27, 2011 was approved by IRB as an exempted amendement on January 24, 2011.

B. Recruitment Flyer

See next page for the flyer used to advertise the study on the university campus.

Hey!

Interested in computers?

Language?

I'm doing research about YOU, South African uni students, and your thoughts about *education*, *culture* and *technology* in South Africa

JOIN THE STUDY!

ababson@umich.edu

C. Maps of the Region and Area

1. "Language map" of Limpopo

Color guide:

Dark blue (lower left hand corner)– Setswana

Medium blue (large section in left and middle)– Sepedi

Light blue (small section on far right)– Xitsonga

Yellow (small section top center)– Venda

Purple – (center, top center, bottom right)– "Multiple"
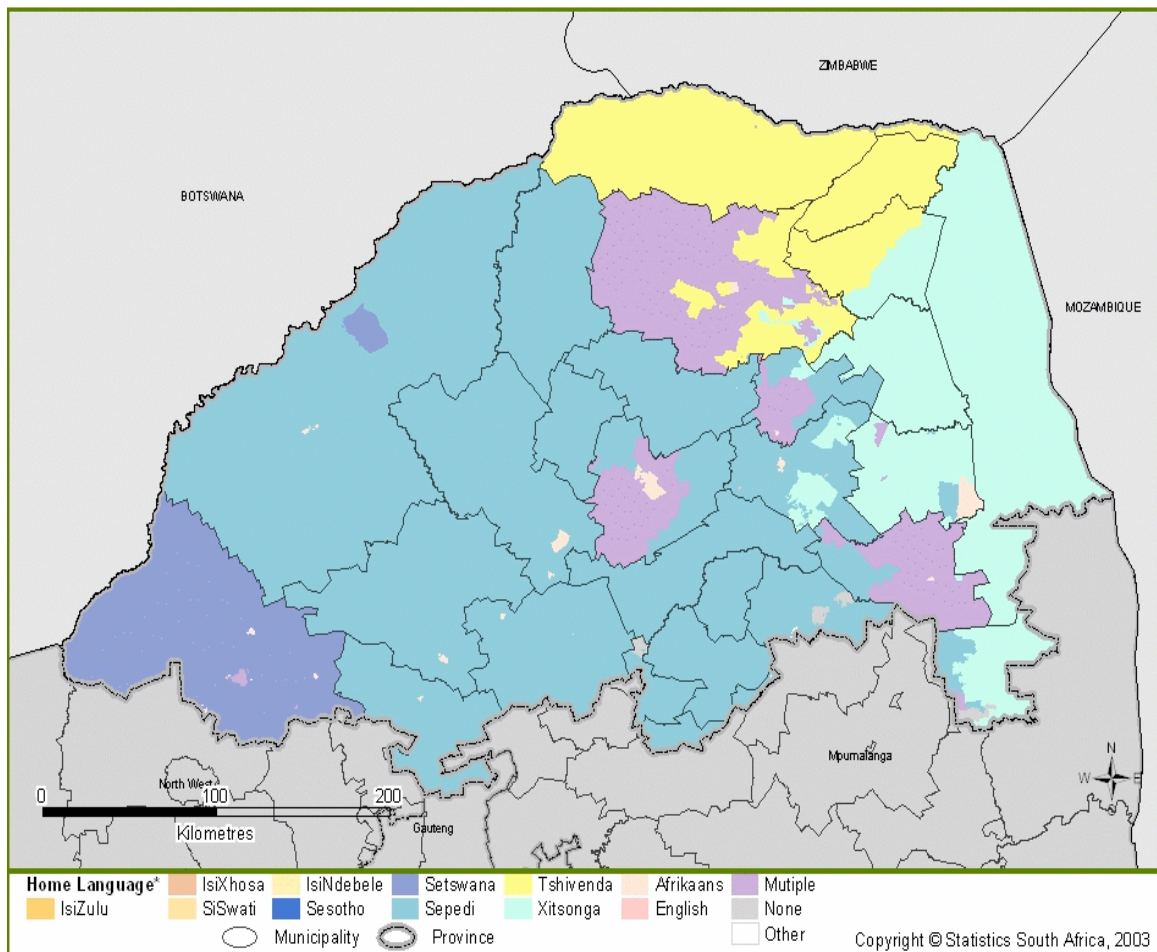
2. Missionary and Anthropologist Maps of the Ga-Mamobolo/Mphome Area

a. Berthoud, 1886:

b. Merensky, 1900:

c. Du Plessis, 1911
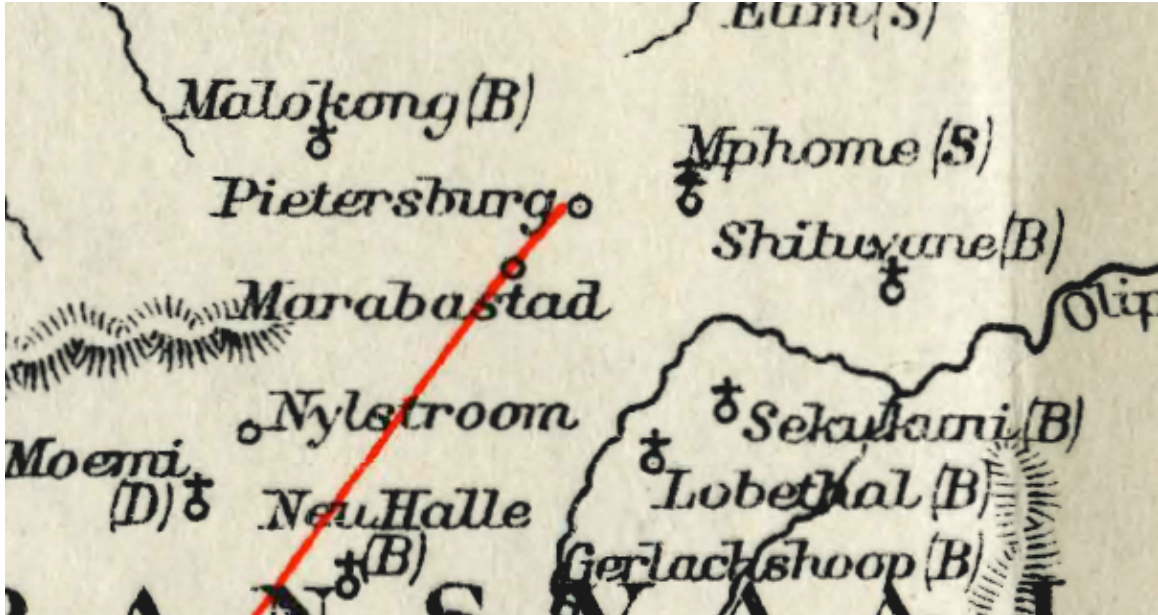
d. Van Warmelo, 1935
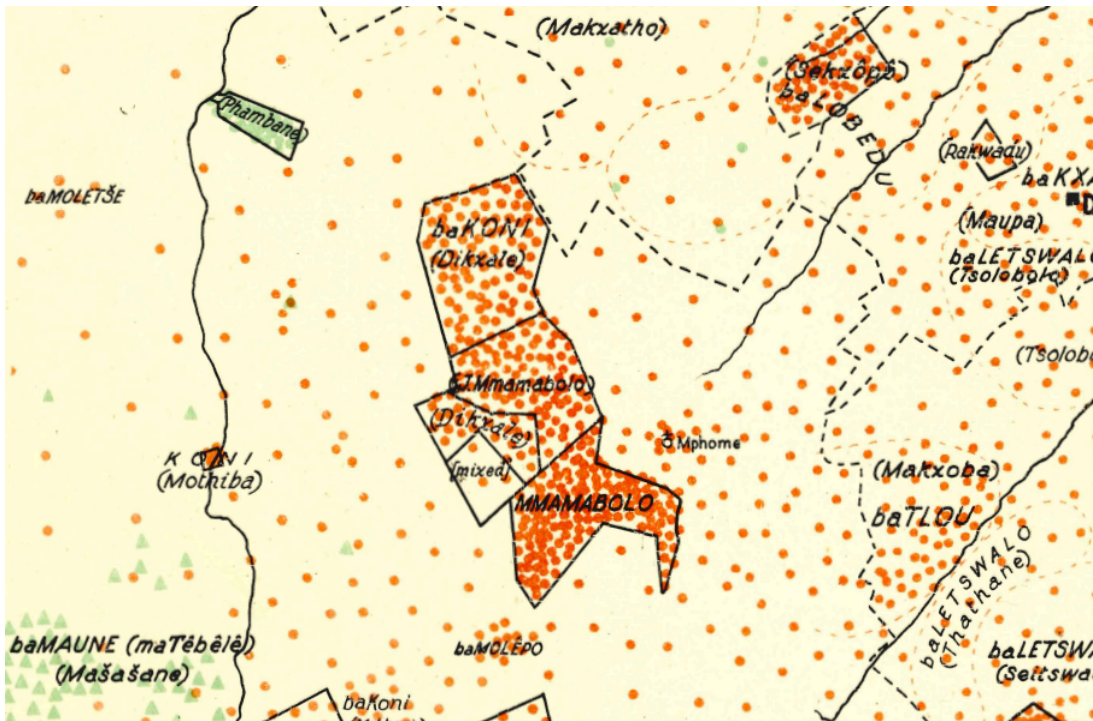
e. Krige, 1937
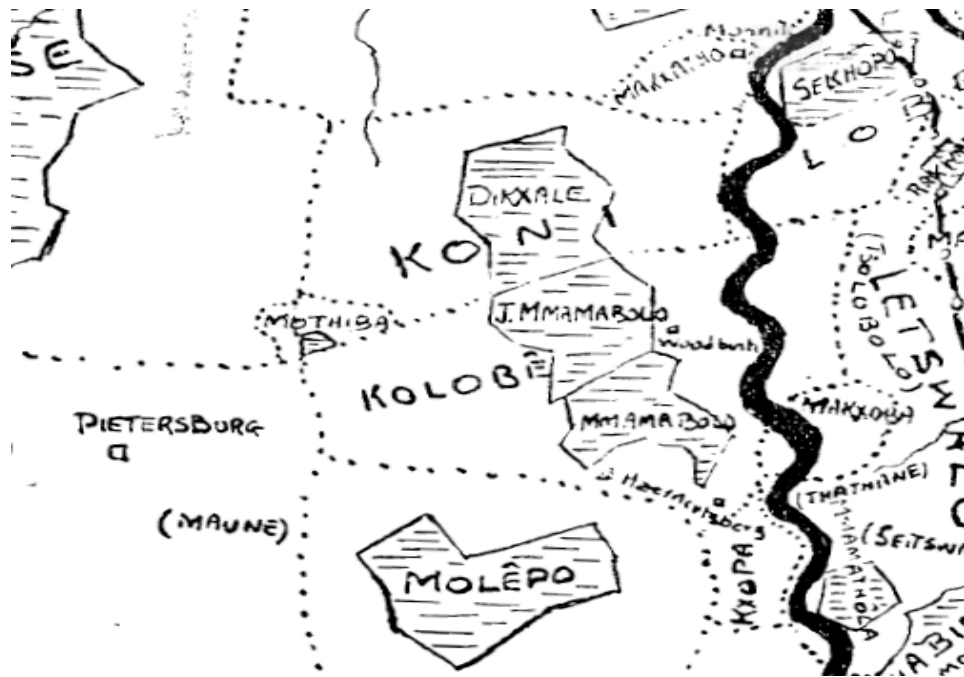
f. Van Warmelo, 1952
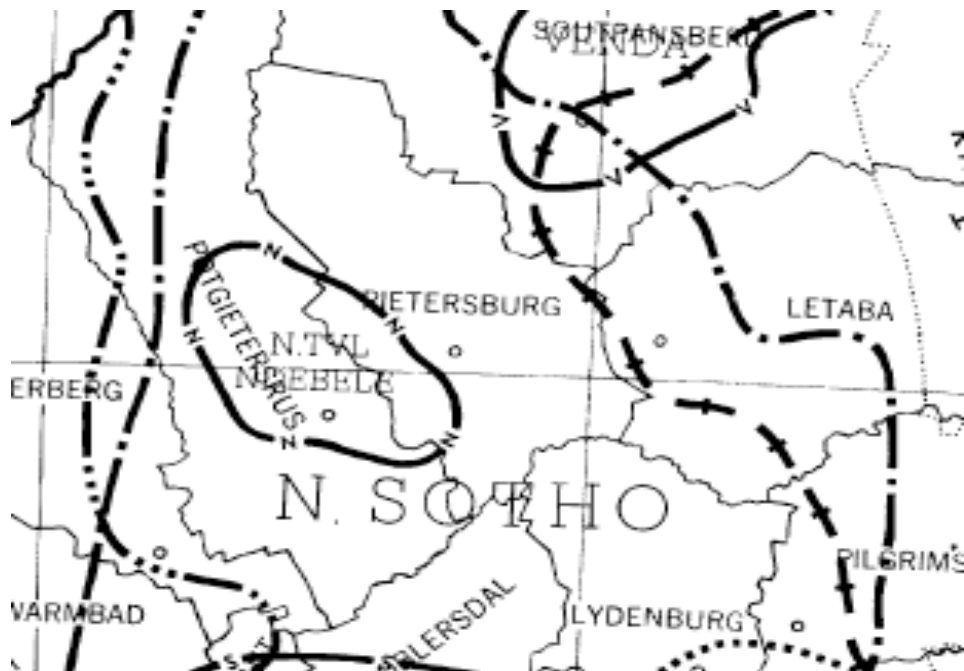
3. Former homelands map (SA Census, 1980)

The "o" in Lebowa approximates the location of then-capital Pietersburg, now called Polokwane, in the Republic of South Africa. Directly to the right in blue-green indicates the Mankweng area, located about 25 miles east in the Lebowa homeland.

D. Data Forms and Tabulations

1. Questionnaire

| #	Items	UL	VIL	F	M	ALL
1	Age (number)	20.6	20.8	20	20.8	20.7
2	University major (text; if applicable)	10 sciences 6 education 4 BA various 3 law 3 other				
3	Family situation: % Single	92%				
4	Number of own children: 1- Boy 2- Girl (Give number for each)	1 – 1 2 - 1	1 – 4 2 - 6	1 – 3 2 - 4	1 – 2 2 - 3	1 – 5 2 - 7
5	Total people in residence (number)	1.84	6.15	3.05	6.15	3.76
6	**L1** (1) Sepedi (2) Venda (3) Tsonga (4) English (5) Zulu (6) Tswana (7) Other	S – 17 V – 1 Tso – 2 E – 0 Z – 1 Tsw – 3 Other -2	S – 22 V – 0 Tso – 0 E – 0 Z – 0 Tsw – 0 Other - 0	S – 18 V – 0 Tso – 1 E – 0 Z – 1 Tsw –3 Other -0	S – 23 V – 1 Tso – 1 E – 0 Z – 0 Tsw – 0 Other - 0	S – 39 V – 1 Tso – 2 E – 0 Z – 1 Tsw – 3 Other-2
7a	**L2** (1) Sepedi (2) Venda (3) Tsonga (4) English (5) Zulu (6) Tswana (7) Other	S – 4 V – 0 Tso – 3 E – 13 Z – 3 Tsw – 3 Other - 0	S – 0 V – 3 Tso – 3 E – 15 Z – 0 Tsw – 1 Other - 0	S – 2 V – 1 Tso – 3 E – 15 Z – 1 Tsw – 0 Other - 0	S – 2 V – 2 Tso – 3 E – 13 Z – 2 Tsw – 4 Other - 0	S – 4 V – 3 Tso – 6 E – 28 Z – 3 Tsw – 4 Other – 0

8	Work:					
	Self **Mother** **Father**	S – 26 student	S – 15 unem. 4 student 3 "other"	S – 16 student 5 unem 2 "other"	S– 14 student 10 unem. 1 "other"	S – 30 student 15 unem. 3 "other"
		M- 8 teacher 8 unem. 3 adm. asst. 3 domestic 3 "other" 1 don't know (dk)	M- 9 domestic 7 "other" 5 unem. 1 pensioner	M- 6 teacher 6 unem. 5 "other" 3 adm. asst. 2 domestic	M- 10 domestic 7 unem. 5 "other" 2 teachers 1 dk	M- 13 unem. 12 domestic 10 "other" 8 teachers 3 adm. asst. 1 dk 1 pensioner
		F- 11 "other" 6 unem. 5 dk 4 deceased	F- 6 unem. 6 dk 5 "other" 3 driver 2 security	F- 7 "other" 7 unem. 4 dk 3 deceased 1 driver 1 security	F- 9 "other" 7 dk 5 unem. 2 driver 1 security 1 deceased	F- 16 "other" 12 unem. 11 dk 4 deceased 3 driver 2 security
9	Highest Grade Completed. (1) Self (2) Mother (3) Father <u>averages</u>	S- 14.18 M- 12.27 F- 11.43	S– 12.1 M- 9.25 F- 9.11	S– 13.33 M- 12.58 F- 12.26	S– 12.95 M- 8.94 F- 8.29	S– 13.14 M- 10.76 F- 10.27
10	How do you feel about your future? On a scale of 1-5, 1 being very bad, 5 being very good	4.8	4.55	4.73	4.55	4.69

11	What is the number one purpose of education? Tick one: (1/0 Yes/No) 1 – knowledge for itself 2 - knowledge for money/job 3 – other	7 19 0	4 16 2	6 17 0	5 18 2	10 33 2
12	A good life is possible without formal schooling. (Likert, 1=strongly disagree, 2= agree, 3= neutral, 4=agree, 5 =strongly agree)	2.84	2.25	2.45	2.25	2.58
13	a) Becoming literate in English is essential to personal success in South Africa.	4.08	3.9	4.09	3.9	4
	b) Becoming literate in one's home language is essential to personal success in South Africa. (Likert)	2.84	2.75	2.90	2.75	2.8
14	My parents and elders encouraged me to do well in school. (Likert)	4.84	4.75	4.86	4.75	4.8
15	a) Passing matric was worth the time and effort. b) Getting a university degree seems worth the time and effort (N/A if not in univ.) (Likert)	4.68 4.68	4.65 4.8	4.59 4.59	4.65 4.8	4.67 4.7
16	I believe I have better opportunities for success than my elders did when they were my age. (Likert)	4.8	4.7	4.68	4.7	4.76

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22	Your favourite TV program is in what language? (1) Sepedi (2) Venda (3) Tsonga (4) English (5) Zulu (6) Tswana (7) Other	S – 12 V – 6 Tso – 5 E – 26 Z – 15 Tsw – 12 Other- 6	S – 4 V – 0 Tso – 1 E – 22 Z – 4 Tsw – 1 Other - 1	S –9 V – 5 Tso –4 E – 23 Z – 12 Tsw – 9 Other - 5	S – 7 V – 1 Tso –2 E – 25 Z – 7 Tsw – 4 Other - 2	S – 16 V – 6 Tso – 6 E – 48 Z – 19 Tsw - 13 Other-7
23	If you have a radio, on average you listen to it how many hours a day? (1) Less than 1 hour (2) 1-3 hours (3) more than 3 hours	4 9 13	7 6 9	5 6 12	6 9 10	11 15 22
24	Your favourite radio program is in what language? (1) Sepedi (2) Venda (3) Tsonga (4) English (5) Zulu (6) Tswana (7) Other	S – 14 V – 5 Tso – 7 E – 22 Z – 3 Tsw – 3 Other - 5	S – 4 V – 1 Tso – 1 E – 15 Z –1 Tsw – 0 Other -2	S –10 V – 4 Tso –4 E – 21 Z – 4 Tsw – 3 Other - 6	S – 8 V – 2 Tso –4 E – 16 Z – 0 Tsw – 0 Other -1	S – 16 V – 6 Tso – 8 E – 37 Z – 4 Tsw – 3 Other-7
25	You have books in your residence.	26	20	22	24	46
26	If yes, what genres and how many per genre? <u>Summary</u>	Top 3 **UL, M** 1)Magazines 2) Religious 3) Novels	Top 3 **VIL, F** 1) Religious 2) Magazines 3) Novels	Top 3 **ALL** 1)Magazines 2) Religious 3) Novels		

27	If you have used the Internet, how many hours a day have you typically used it, on average? (1) Less than 1 hour (2) 1-3 hours (3) more than 3 hours	3 15 8	4 3 2	3 12 7	4 6 3	7 18 10
28	Your favourite Websites are published in what languages? (1) Sepedi (2) Venda (3) Tsonga (4) English (5) Zulu (6) Tswana (7) Other	English was chosen by every user. Sepedi, Zulu and Tswana were ticked once each.				
29	How have you found the Internet valuable? (1) Entertainment (2) Information (3) A feeling of connection to the outside world (4) IM/chat (5) email (6) Skype/VOIP (7) None of the above	19 23 19 20 17 4 0	8 8 7 8 4 1 1	15 19 16 19 14 3 0	12 12 10 9 7 2 1	27 31 26 28 21 5 1
30	Using the Internet can help rural people get out of poverty. (Likert)	3.32	3	3.23	3	3.17
31	Having the Internet to use is important for having a good life, no matter where you live. (Likert)	3.96	3.5	3.81	3.5	3.76
32	Being good at using a computer is important for having a good life in South Africa. (Likert)	4.2	3.6	3.95	3.5	3.93
33	Having digital technologies – mobile phone, computer -- available makes me feel better about my life situation. (Likert)	4.48	3.75	4.45	3.75	4.16

2. BALLI

Means for all BALLI items are listed in the table below. Mean scores per item were selected for comparison with codes of the discourse data if they reflected differences of .5 or more across the two major categories of comparison: participants' stated gender and place of residence. Means for these selected items – 1, 10, 24, 33, 39, 40 and 42 -- are highlighted in blue.

#	Description	UL	Vill	F	M	ALL
1	It is easier for children than adults to learn an additional language.	4.4	3.60	4.36	3.74	4.04
2	Some people have a special ability for learning additional languages.	3.88	3.75	3.77	3.87	3.82
3	Some languages are easier to learn than others.	4.32	4.40	4.32	4.39	4.36
4	English is a difficult language.	1.92	1.45	1.86	1.57	1.71
5	I believe that I will learn to speak English very well.	4.64	4.60	4.86	4.39	4.62
6	People from South Africa are good at learning additional languages.	3.88	3.45	3.77	3.61	3.69
7	People from Limpopo Province are good at learning additional languages.	3.56	3.25	3.36	3.48	3.42
8	It is important to speak English with an excellent pronunciation.	4.12	4.40	4.27	4.22	4.24
9	It is necessary to know about English-speaking cultures in order to speak English.	2.44	2.50	2.64	2.30	2.47
10	You shouldn't speak anything in English until you can say it correctly.	1.72	2.65	1.73	2.52	2.13
11	It is easier for someone who already speaks an additional language to learn another.	3.88	3.90	4.18	3.61	3.89
12	People who are good at mathematics or science are not good at learning additional languages.	2.8	2.40	2.73	2.52	2.62
13	It is best to learn English in an English-speaking country.	3.92	3.75	3.77	3.91	3.84

#	Description		UL	Vill	F	M	ALL
14	I enjoy practising English with the mother-tongue English speakers I meet.		4.08	4.20	4.14	4.13	4.13
15	It's OK to guess if you don't know a word in English.		2.88	3.15	3.14	2.87	3.00
16	If an adult spent one hour a day learning to speak a language how long would it take them to speak the language very well? a. less than a year b.1-2 years c. 3-5 years d. 5-10 years	a = 6 b=14 c= 4 d=1	a = 7 b=11 c= 2 d=3	a = 10 b=7 c= 4 d=2	a = 5 b=16 c= 3 d=1		a=15 b=21 c=6 d=5
17	I have a special ability for learning additional languages.		3.6	3.65	3.55	3.70	3.62
18	The most important part of learning an additional language is learning words and their meaning.		4.68	4.60	4.59	4.70	4.64
19	It is important to repeat and practice a lot in the process of learning additional languages.		4.68	4.40	4.64	4.48	4.56
20a	There are gender differences in ability to learn additional languages.		2.56	2.80	2.55	2.78	2.67
20b	Women are better than men at learning additional languages.		2.84	2.55	2.77	2.65	2.71
20c	Men are better than women at learning additional languages.		2.32	2.20	2.23	2.30	2.27
21	People in my country feel that it is important to speak English.		4.4	4.35	4.32	4.43	4.38
22	I feel shy speaking English with other people.		1.92	2.05	2.14	1.83	1.98
23	If beginning students are permitted to make errors in English, it will be difficult for them to speak correctly later on.		2.92	3.15	3.18	2.87	3.02
24	The most important part of learning an additional language is learning the grammar.		4.28	3.70	4.05	4.00	4.02
25	One reason I would like to learn English is that I could get to know mother-tongue English speakers better.		2.96	2.55	3.00	2.57	2.78
26	Speech production is easier than listening comprehension in a language one is learning.		3.16	3.35	3.14	3.35	3.24
27	I would like to practice learning a language with media- audio, TV and software- because it is important for the learning process.		3.92	4.30	4.23	3.96	4.09

#	Description	UL	Vill	F	M	ALL
28	Learning an additional language is different from learning other academic subjects.	3.84	3.30	3.36	3.83	3.60
29	The most important English language learning skill is understanding English words by translating them from my mother tongue.	3.84	3.80	3.77	3.87	3.82
30	If I learn English very well, I will have better opportunities for a good job.	4.32	4.75	4.36	4.65	4.51
31	People who speak more than one language are very intelligent.	3.16	3.50	3.09	3.52	3.31
32	I want to learn to speak English well.	4.68	4.65	4.64	4.70	4.67
33	I would like to have mother-tongue English speaking friends.	4.36	3.85	4.27	4.00	4.13
34	Everyone can learn to speak an additional language to their mother tongue.	4.36	3.90	4.36	3.96	4.16
35	It is easier to read and write English than to speak it and understand it by listening.	3.52	3.75	3.64	3.61	3.62
36	I don't like English.	1.36	1.25	1.18	1.43	1.31
37	I have to learn English because it's an important language.	4.24	4.65	4.45	4.39	4.42
38	African languages (Sepedi, Tsonga, etc.) are more complex than European ones (like English, Afrikaans).	3.08	2.90	3.09	2.91	3.00
39	When you learn a language, you acquire in some way the culture of people speaking that language.	3.44	3.50	3.14	3.78	3.47
40	School learners should learn in their mother tongue first, then in English.	3.24	3.80	3.23	3.74	3.49
41	Our priority should be learning African languages first before learning other languages from around the world.	3.72	3.40	3.68	3.48	3.58
42	Becoming literate in an African language is as important as becoming literate in English.	3.96	3.47	4.05	3.41	3.77

3. Free Association Task

Below are the results for the free association task for the terms "English" and "Sepedi (or their first language)." The following is a brief word count for each category, focusing on words that appeared more than once.

 <u>English</u>

learn 9	writing 3
school 8	book 2
easy 7	compulsory 2
important 7	computer 2
good 6	England 2
opportunity 6	enjoy 2
communication 5	fashion 2
job 4	future 2
must 3	global 2
power 3	logic 2
read 3	social 2
useful 3	want 2

<u>African L1</u>

culture 16

African 11

tradition 6

food 6

home 5

roots 4

natural 3

good 2

beliefs 2

The limitations of this exercise and the simple technique of word counting are clear, and thus I base no empirical claim on these data alone. Yet in combination with other forms of data, this simple exercise yields a snapshot, however fleeting and partial, of the major differences in general stances and predispositions toward the two language categories, which strongly co-articulate with other data.

For example, there is a clear association between one's L1 and the notions of "African," "culture" and "tradition" among the participants. What these mean in detail cannot be neatly inferred from semantic generalizations. Yet from the discourse data, one gets a sharper analytical grasp of the meaning-potentials of these terms by how they are used in discourse, and by whom.

E. Commencement Address of O.R. Tiro

UL librarian Thoko Hlatywayo provided me on August 26, 2008 the following text of the 1972 University of the North commencement address of O. R. Tiro:

Mr Onkgopotse Ramothibi Tiro, former President of the SRC, University of the North, was elected by the students to deliver the address at the graduation ceremony in April 1972. The University authorities subsequently suspended Mr. Tiro and mass protests by the student body under the leadership of the SRC President, Mr. Aubrey Mokoena. The entire student body was then expelled and told to reapply for admission. Mr. Tiro was refused readmission. Protests then erupted on both black and white campuses and government reaction followed. Mr. Tiro went to teach at Morris Isaacson (in Soweto) and was subsequently killed by a parcel bomb addressed to him in Botswana.

Mr. Tiro's Address, "Bantu Education"

Mr. Chancellor, Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Rector, Ladies and Gentlemen, allow me to start off by borrowing language from our Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster. Addressing ASB congress in June last year Mr. Vorster said: "No Black man has landed in trouble for fighting for what is legally his". Although I don't know how far true this is, I make this statement my launch pad. R.D. Briensmead, an American lay preacher says: "He who withholds the truth or debars men from motives of its expediency is either a coward, a

criminal or both". Therefore, Mr. Chancellor I will try as much as possible to say nothing else but the truth. And to me truth means "practical reality".

Addressing us on the occasion of the formal opening of this University Mr. Phatudi, a Lebowa Territorial Authority officer said that in as much as there is American Education there had to be Bantu. Ladies and gentlemen I am conscientiously bound to differ with him. In America there is nothing like Negro Education, Red Indian Education, Coloured Education and European Education. We do not have a system of education common to all South Africans. What is there in European Education which is not good for the African? We want a system of education common to all South Africans.

Time and again I ask myself: How do black lecturers contribute to the administration of this University? For if you look at all the committees they are predominantly white if not completely white. Here and there one finds two or three Africans who, in the opinion of students are white black men. We have a Students' Dean without duties. We feel that if it is in any way necessary to have a students' Dean we must elect our own Dean. We know people who can represent us.

The Advisory Council is said to be representing our parents. How can it represent them when they have not elected it? These people must of necessity please the man who appointed them. This Council consists of chiefs who have never been to University. How can they know the needs of students when they have not been subjected to the same conditions? Those who have been to University have never studied under Bantu Education. What authentic opinion can they express when they don't know how painful it is to study under a repugnant system of education?

I wonder if this Advisory Council knows that a Black man has been most unceremoniously kicked out of the bookshop. Apparently, this is reserved for Whites. According to the Policy, Van Schaik's has no right to run a bookshop here. A White member of the Administration has been given the meat contract to supply a University - a Black University. Those who amorphously support the policy may say that there are no Black people to supply it. My answer to them is: Why are they not able to supply the University? What is the cause! Is it not conveniently done that they are not in a position to supply these commodities?

White students are given vacation jobs at this University when there are students who could not get their results due to outstanding fees. Why does the Administration not give these jobs to these students? These White students have eleven Universities where they can get vacation jobs. Does the Administration expect me to get a vacation job at the University of Pretoria?

Right now, our parents have come all the way from their homes only to be locked outside. We are told that the hall is full. I do not accept the argument that there is no accommodation for in 1970 when the Administration wanted to accommodate everybody a tent was put up and close-circuit television was installed. Front seats are given to people who cannot ever cheer us. My father is seated there at the back. My dear people, shall we ever get a fair deal in this land? - the land of our fathers.

The system is failing. It is failing because even those who recommend it strongly, as the only solution, to racial problems in South Africa, fail to adhere to the letter and spirit of the Policy. According to the Policy we expected Dr Eiselen to decline chancellorship

in favour of a Black man, dear parents, these are the injustices no normal student can tolerate - no matter who he is and where he comes from.

In the light of what has been said above the challenge to every black graduate in this country lies in the fact that the guilt of all wrongful actions in South Africa, restriction without trial, repugnant legislation, expulsions from and work for the eradication of the system breeding such evils. To these who whole-heartedly support the Policy of Apartheid) say: "Do you think that the white minority can willingly commit political suicide by creating numerous states which might turn out to be hostile in future?"

We black graduates, by virtue of our age and academic standing are being called upon to greater responsibilities in the liberation of our people. Our so-called leaders have become the bolts of the same machine which is crushing us as a nation. We have to back them and educate them. Times are changing and we should change with them. The magic story of human achievement gives irrefutable proof that as soon as nationalism is awakened among the intelligentsia it becomes the vanguard in the struggle against alien rule. Of what use will be your education if you can't help your country in her hour of need? If your education is not linked with the entire continent of Africa it is meaningless.

Remember what Mrs. Suzman said: "There is one thing which the Minister cannot do: He cannot ban ideas from man's minds".

In conclusion Mr. Chancellor I say: Let the Lord be praised for the day shall come, when all men shall be free to breathe the air of freedom and when that day shall come, no man, no matter how many tanks he has, will reverse the course of events.
God Bless you all,

Onkgopotse Ramothibi Tiro

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