

AFRICAN LANGUAGES AS COMPULSORY COURSES IN KWAZULU NATAL: ILLUSORY INITIATIVE OR INSPIRED INTERVENTION?

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The point of departure in this article is the call by the Minister of Higher Education and Training in 2011 to introduce compulsory indigenous African language courses at tertiary institutions. The current language policy of the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the practicalities and difficulties of introducing the compulsory course at tertiary level is examined. The current language policy of the present South African Government and the negative attitudes of potential African language learners at schools and universities are discussed and a recommendation made for a possible way forward.

Key words: African languages, language attitudes, University of KwaZulu-Natal, isiZulu additional language course, language policy.

INTRODUCTION

The Minister of Higher Education and Training, Blade Nzimande's headline statement on 5 April 2011 that his department would seek to make learning an African language incumbent on all university students was met, by many academics and students alike, with a mixture of alarm and confusion (Nzimande, 2011). Nzimande stated that the development and teaching of African languages at universities was something he was going to take up as a "special ministerial project". An advisory panel was appointed and given the task of looking into enforcing new language policies at universities that would ultimately determine how best to strengthen the expansion of African languages that are in "serious decline" (Nzimande, 2011: 1).

Nzimande's desire to see African languages made compulsory at tertiary education levels was echoed by the chief whip of the African National Congress, Dr Mathole Motshekga, who said that teaching of indigenous languages for non-African language speaking students should be made compulsory at all South African universities, as this would be the best way to promote and protect the country's heritage and history. During a Heritage Day debate in the National Assembly in 2009, he emphasised that languages were a very important part of heritage, and neglecting them would be to neglect the country's heritage:

In order to preserve our indigenous languages we need to make it compulsory for anyone studying for a degree in a South African university to learn at least one indigenous language. It is evident that

through language and popular religions, we are able to establish cultural unity in a diversity of African peoples. The introduction of focused African Cultural and Language studies could contribute to Pan-Africanism, unity, peace and harmony in Africa. (Motshekga, 2009:3)

The serious decline of African languages is evident in the falling numbers of students registering in these modules at universities around South Africa. Information cited below was supplied after telephonic interviews with current members of staff of four universities, who supplied their statistics of second language courses via email. At the University of Cape Town, its first-language isiXhosa degree programme was actually phased out in 2010 due to drastically falling numbers, but an attempt was made to resurrect this course in 2012. Prior to 2010, there was no separate degree programme even available in isiXhosa for non-mother-tongue speakers. This has been a new initiative to enable non-mother-tongue students to take isiXhosa as a major course. At the University of Johannesburg, there is no longer a separate degree for non-mother tongue speakers of isiZulu. After an initial first year introductory course, non-mother-tongue African language students are now forced to join in the mother-tongue class if they wish to major in isiZulu. This was put into effect in 2011, also due to dwindling numbers in the non-mother-tongue course. At the University of the Witwatersrand, a course is offered that goes through to third year for non-mother tongue speakers, but the number of students enrolled for the first year course was low at 34 for 2011. The number has risen slightly to 57 for 2012. The third year level also has a low level of enrolment, not having risen above four for the past five years. At the University of KwaZulu-Natal, dual streams exist for students wishing to major in isiZulu (mother tongue and non-mother tongue); however, the numbers in second and third year also remain very low, mostly below five in each year. An introductory isiZulu course is compulsory on the Westville campus for Health Science students who are not Nguni language speakers. This accounts for the approximately 250-300 students a year that do the course on that campus, but at the Howard College Campus and the Pietermaritzburg campus combined, where the course is voluntary, the number for first year students is less than 200 for both semesters. The total number of non-mother-tongue speakers who have taken isiZulu as a major in their BA and B Soc Sc degrees from 2005 till 2012 is 71. That is over a period of eight years, and if one were to average the number out, it is approximately only 9% per year.

In figures quoted from the latest *South African Survey* recently published by the South African Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg, Snyman (2012) quotes isiZulu as the most widely spoken home language in South Africa, with over 3,1 million pupils as speakers of the language. Despite this fact, only a third of these choose to be taught in isiZulu. Snyman, a researcher at the Institute observed that

The majority of pupils are taught in African languages at the foundation phase but switch to either English or Afrikaans as their language of learning and teaching from as early as Grade 4. The decline in African languages is evidently not something that emanates at tertiary institutions, but is rather the result of choices that parents and pupils make early on in schooling careers. (Snyman, 2012: 2)

In many cases, however, there is no choice for students at primary or secondary level as they are taught through the medium that the school can offer, either Afrikaans or English. In an online article in January 2012, Prega Govender (2012) reported that several primary schools have withdrawn isiZulu as a subject at their schools (e.g., Chelsea Primary, Atholl Heights, and Athlone Primary in Durban and Emmarentia Primary in Johannesburg) and isiXhosa as a second language in Cape Town (Grove Primary in Claremont and Blouberg Ridge Primary).

These schools are offering only Afrikaans as the first additional language, in line with the Department of Basic Education's (2012) new National Curriculum Statement. Among the various reasons given for this are that trained Afrikaans teachers are readily available, that African languages are perceived as being much more difficult, and that funding was not available for offering more than one additional language. An additional problem highlighted is that some of the senior schools in the area to which primary schools are feeders do not offer an African language as an additional language, so the primary schools as a result do not offer the language as students can take it no further in senior school. In a survey which I conducted with the headmasters and headmistresses in 2010/2011, I found that in 6 out of the 10 largest schools that offer isiZulu as an additional language in the greater Durban area echo this predominantly downward trend. The last five years showed a marked decline in the number of Grade 12 learners in these schools opting to study isiZulu, compared to Afrikaans, in which the numbers increased. In 2010, 31 non-mother tongue speaking learners studied isiZulu compared to 705 studying Afrikaans. In 2011, 23 non-mother-tongue learners were studying isiZulu compared to 682 studying Afrikaans. The total number of students enrolled in Grade 12 in these schools in 2010 numbered 1037, dropping slightly to 930 in 2011. This means that less than 3% of non-isiZulu-speaking learners in 2010, and less than 2.5% in 2011, studied isiZulu as a first additional language. This is compared to 67.9% in 2010 and 73% in 2011 of students in these schools opting to take Afrikaans as their first additional language. This is in a country where there are approximately 10 million isiZulu speakers, with isiZulu being the most widely spoken home language in South Africa (24%). In the province of KwaZulu-Natal alone, 80.9% of the population are first language isiZulu speakers. (Lafon, 2011)

THE CURRENT LANGUAGE POLICY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

The University of KwaZulu-Natal has been driving an aggressive language policy which culminated in the formal launch of the UKZN Language Board on the 4th of November 2011. Part of the mandate of this Board is to conduct and co-ordinate research on bilingualism and bilingual education; to promote the development of isiZulu; and to provide facilities to enable the use of isiZulu as a language of learning, instruction and administration.

The number of first year students registered at UKZN for 2011 was 8223. According to the statistics supplied by the university, 3801 of these are non-isiZulu speaking students. The current situation at the University of KwaZulu-Natal is that isiZulu is a compulsory subject for all non-African language speaking students who opt to take any first year course in the School of Health Sciences and in the School of Medicine. This decision to make isiZulu compulsory was to assist Health Science students in communicating with patients when they engaged in clinical practice. For all other UKZN students not registered in the School

of Health Sciences, it is still an optional module.

In terms of the policy and recommendations of this board, provisions are being made to encourage isiZulu as a medium of instruction and learning at the University on a long-term basis. In order to prepare for this, a Phase 1 plan has been drawn up (2008-2018), during which staff and students will develop communicative competence in isiZulu and English sufficient for academic interaction. In order to achieve this, language acquisition courses have been and will be made available by the university. In addition, the university will make provision for translation services in isiZulu in specific circumstances in first year courses, and will also facilitate the development of course materials and terminology in isiZulu for the acquisition of cognitive academic language proficiency which will come into being in Phase 2 of the plan (2019-2029). The offering of modules in the medium of isiZulu will also be looked at in the future, depending on the numbers and needs of the students and the available human and material resources.

Currently (2012), the number of first year students taking isiZulu as a first year subject at the University of KwaZulu-Natal is around 400 across all the campuses. If all first year students who are not isiZulu first language speakers are compelled to take an introductory course, that number would virtually increase tenfold. This would have significant staffing as well as financial implications. Despite this situation, in July 2012, after a series of meetings between the Department of African Languages and the Deputy Vice-Chancellor and the Dean of Teaching and Learning, funding was committed to developing material for a compulsory course which is targeted for introduction in 2014 to cater for all students who are not Nguni (isiZulu, isiXhosa, seSwati, isiNdebele) speakers. The practicalities of venue availability, funding, trained staff and course material are all under discussion to try and find a way forward, as currently these issues are a major stumbling block to the implementation of this module.

Venue and staffing problems will be encountered as teaching language courses to students requires small tutorial group sessions in order to assist students with communication. Teaching classes of 150 students and more has to suffice, practically speaking, for technical explanation of facets of the language, but the oral expression sessions are vital for students to develop their communicative skills. These small group sessions require not only many venues but also experienced tutorial leaders. This issue is negatively affected by a lack of funding. Considering the size of the current budget available to each School (in the case of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, the School of Arts), a new course catering for all first year non-Nguni speaking students simply could not happen without special funding being sourced to enable the introduction of this course. Another of the major problems in the introduction of a compulsory isiZulu course is staffing. There is a mistaken conception that if a person speaks the language, they are able to teach it. Very few teachers teaching isiZulu have actually been through the rigorous training that produces qualified competent teachers of isiZulu as an additional language. This is problematic and is evidenced in the fact that the University of KwaZulu-Natal, which is the major isiZulu second language teaching institution in the province, has not produced a single student with an Advanced Certificate in Education diploma with isiZulu as an additional language methodology in the past four years. This is in a province where a critical shortage of qualified second language isiZulu teachers exists. This situation is similar to the problem encountered with Government language

policy. The planning and intention is commendable, but the implementation and practicality problems impede progress.

NEGATIVE LANGUAGE ATTITUDES OF LEARNERS IN SOUTH AFRICA TO LEARNING AN AFRICAN LANGUAGE AS L2

Holmes (1992: 59) explained that when language shifts occur, they almost always shift towards the language of the most powerful group. A dominant group has no incentive to adopt the language of the minority. The dominant language is associated with status, prestige and social success. It is used in the popular contexts in the wider society – for formal speeches and ceremonial occasions, by newsreaders and radio, and by those whom young people admire: rock stars, fashion models and disc jockeys. It is scarcely surprising that many young minority-group speakers should see its advantages and abandon their own language. However in the case of South Africa, the irony is in the fact that the young are not minority-group speakers but are, in fact, majority-group speakers of various African languages. In the case of KwaZulu-Natal, 80.9% of the people resident in this province are mother-tongue isiZulu speakers.

Holmes (1992:16) claimed that the underlying assumption is that in a society, social or ethnic groups have certain attitudes towards each other, relating to their differing positions. These biases affect attitudes towards cultural institutions or patterns characterizing these groups, such as language, and carry over to and are reflected in attitudes towards individual members of the group. A closely related point, at least for majority-group members, is that people are more highly motivated and consequently often more successful in acquiring a second language (currently referred to in educational circles as a ‘first additional language’) when they feel positive towards those who use it (Holmes 1992: 345). Therefore, attitudes to language reflect attitudes to the users and the uses of that language.

Stroud (2001: 340), in his discussion on ‘linguistic citizenship’, pointed out that in terms of indigenous languages in education, mother-tongue programmes and policies seldom deliver what they promise and, in fact, are generally speaking ‘down-right failures’. Stroud maintained that the negative attitudes of speakers (both mother-tongue and non-mother-tongue) towards the use of African languages may be due to the perceptions of learners that the indigenous languages lack value in important social and economic markets. He also suggested that one can trace the source of the problems with mother-tongue programmes into the very social fabric of the postcolonial community itself. If speakers of the indigenous languages view their own languages as ‘dead ends educationally and of little use in official labour markets (Stroud, 2001: 341), then there is little chance that there will be ‘buy-in’ or belief in these languages from non-mother-tongue speakers. Attitudes are also strongly influenced by social and political factors. The English-speaking section of South Africans were forced to acquire Afrikaans at school during Apartheid times as a second language as it formed part of the requirements for the completion of the then matriculation examination. After being forced to study through the medium of Afrikaans – often a third or fourth language for many, Africans developed a negative attitude towards Afrikaans but a positive attitude towards English. This is largely because they associated the Afrikaans language with oppression, as it was the language of Apartheid and the dominant, oppressive

group. This culminated in the Soweto uprisings of 1976. Echoes of this policy were heard at the recent ANC conference in Mangaung in December 2012, where Deputy Arts and Culture Minister Joe Phaahla re-affirmed the decision taken by the social transformation commission at the conference that at least one African language must be included in all state education curricula nationwide. He is quoted as saying:

We have been assured by our colleagues in the basic education sector that the teaching of indigenous languages in school will be able to become government policy as from 2014 ... Once its approved as policy it will have to be implemented, regardless of the area the school finds itself in. Whether be it a white area or Indian area, and indigenous African language must be taught alongside English and Afrikaans. (Phaahla, cited in Bauer, 2012: 1)

However, most Africans acquire either English or Afrikaans (or even both) for political and economic reasons despite their resentment of Afrikaans. English and Afrikaans speaking people in South Africa, by and large, are able to speak the other language that is not their mother tongue (i.e., either English or Afrikaans) to the degree that they can be considered bilingual, but make relatively little effort to learn an African language. Ultimately, the schooling system and ineffectual government legislation must be held accountable. If the current government were to actually proceed with the implementation of legislation that forces learners to engage with an African language from primary school level, as the Apartheid government did with Afrikaans, the present call by Minister Nzimande to make it compulsory at first year university level would not be necessary, hence avoiding the need to force learners to acquire a language, as was the case with Afrikaans. As Lafon (2011:14) observed, children learn languages naturally by being exposed to them early in a social and family environment. They can master two (or even three) languages without difficulty, provided they are introduced with the correct level of intensity and attitude at the primary education level. This is borne out by large volumes of articles on the subject of successful early language acquisition (Chomsky, 1980; Clark, 2004; Crystal, 1987; Krashen, 1992; Slobin, 1992; Vos, 1998). Currently, in primary schools in KwaZulu-Natal, isiZulu is taught at less than half the time-intensity level of Afrikaans, with lessons being held only twice a week on average for isiZulu, compared to daily lessons in Afrikaans. Small wonder then that students who come into high schools and have to choose a subject package most often opt for Afrikaans over isiZulu as their level of preparedness is much higher in that language.

Introducing isiZulu as a compulsory language course at the level of higher education is already far too late in the learner's career. If it is intended to be taken seriously so that a real effort towards bilingualism is to be a reality, then it requires real time, energy and effort, as well as interest on the part of the learners. This can only be successfully inculcated over a sustained period of time, with initial introduction at primary school level (Lafon, 2011). However, despite the fact that many primary schools in KwaZulu-Natal *do* offer isiZulu as a subject, the implementation needs serious revision and intensification in order for it to be sustained and continued into secondary phase schooling. The problem is that far from the situation improving and more and more primary schools introducing isiZulu as a first additional language in KwaZulu-Natal, as stated earlier, the reverse is actually happening.

CURRENT PROBLEMS FACING KWAZULU-NATAL SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES IN IMPLEMENTING ISIZULU AS A FIRST ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE

The current negative attitude towards isiZulu being taken as an additional language at schools in KwaZulu-Natal is a result, generally speaking, of the perception that isiZulu and other African languages are exceptionally difficult. This perception was gleaned in correspondence directly with the heads of the six senior KwaZulu-Natal schools, whose statistics are quoted in Annexure A. This difficulty is reflected in the extremely challenging examination papers set for genuine non-mother-tongue speakers that are set at the Grade 12 level for both the Independent Examinations Board and for the Provincial examinations. In examining the statistics of genuine second language (non-mother-tongue) learners who write the examination as a second language and then comparing the average of those students who manage to obtain A and B aggregates to other subjects that they write, the results show that far fewer learners are able to achieve high aggregates in isiZulu than they are in Afrikaans, English or indeed any other 'foreign languages'. This issue has been addressed on numerous occasions, not only by teachers of isiZulu as a second language at the post-Grade 12 subject teachers forums (at which the author has been present on several occasions) but also by academics at the University of KwaZulu-Natal who are involved in the teaching and promotion of the isiZulu language. Letters have been sent to the Examining Bodies outlining the problems expressed by teachers in various forums, such as KNATZU (KwaZulu-Natal Teachers of Zulu), the Conference of University Teaching and Learning held at the University of KwaZulu-Natal at the Pietermaritzburg campus in 2010, and at Examination Board subject revision meetings. These letters, to date, have had no positive effect. In these letters, the issues raised by teachers have referred to points such as:

- The level of difficulty of the Second Language papers when compared to the parallel Afrikaans Language Papers.
- The fact that these papers are set by mother-tongue speakers who are often more interested in 'catching out' the first-language isiZulu speakers who are the large majority of learners who write isiZulu as a second language.
- Examiners from Gauteng who are multi-lingual using Tswana/Sotho/Xhosa words that are foreign to isiZulu learners in the examination paper.
- The inappropriate content of comprehension texts in the examination papers which often touches on issues outside of the learner's life experience, such as articles pertaining to subjects such as HIV AIDS and references to shebeens and drinking and violence.
- Lack of suitable material available for the teaching of isiZulu as an additional language.
- Lack of adequately trained teachers and lack of sufficient second language methodology training courses.

Another issue negatively affecting the successful implementation and teaching of isiZulu at more schools is the attitude of not only the teachers and heads of schools but also of learners themselves. Learners, when interviewed, often state that they opt for Afrikaans over

isiZulu because not only is it easier but also because it offers them wider opportunities in the global scenario than isiZulu does as Afrikaans has a closer relationship to Germanic languages. An African language seems to be perceived to be unimportant to non-African language speaking scholars and students in the wider international (and implicitly business) field, where English is clearly the dominant language. (Baldauf & Kaplan, 2004; Balfour, 2007; Silva, 1997)

During the surveys conducted at six of the large private and government secondary schools in the greater Durban area, some of the teachers at the KwaZulu-Natal schools also admitted to actively intervening by suggesting that students be wary of taking isiZulu as the likelihood of them receiving a distinction in the subject is more remote than if they opt for Afrikaans. This information is documented in inter-personal email correspondence with several of the headmasters and headmistresses of these schools. The reason behind the intervention is that the pupil's choice of subjects for Grade 12 affects the number of 'straight-A' learners the school may produce, as well as the number of individual subject distinctions that a school is keen to achieve. One of the larger private schools in KwaZulu-Natal, St Mary's DSG, actually recommend to learners on their website the value of taking Afrikaans as a subject in Grade 12 as it seen as an easier subject to cope with.

RECOMMENDED GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN THE CURRENT LANGUAGE IMPASSE

The government's commendable language policies and intended implementation plans to rectify the 'serious decline' in the status of African languages in South Africa to date must be lauded and acknowledged. However, Beukes' view (2009: 47) is accurate – that the government's executive body in language-in-education matters, the Department of Education must take the blame for its failure to devise and put into operation a suitable strategy that can effectively be implemented. Calls like that of Minister Nzimande are made, which have merit, but the follow-through with practical support for implementation is lacking. In addition, PanSALB must take part of the blame. As a statutory language planning agency which has an extended infrastructure comprising provincial language committees, national language bodies and lexicography units for each of the official languages as well as an administrative head office with provincial branches, it has failed to fulfill its mandate described in section 6(5) of the constitution (1999), which is to 'promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of ... all official languages ... and to promote and ensure respect' (Beukes, 2009: 47) for not only African languages but all the languages of South Africa. In order to address the current situation of negative attitudes towards African languages in South Africa, not only of the mother tongue speakers themselves but also of other South Africans who do not engage in learning an African language either at school or university, the opinion of Beukes (2009: 48) is accurate. She maintains that negative attitudes towards the value of African languages, as well as the lack of knowledge about the value of these languages as languages of learning and teaching cannot change markedly without a dedicated plan of action and focused strategies. She explains that as the average South African is not well informed about the Government's Language-in-Education Policy, it is vital to delineate what the policy objectives are. By so doing, she stated (2009: 49) that:

Applying marketing principles could thus prove to be a solution to bridging the gap between ‘intention’ and ‘performance’... Giving concrete effect to government’s Language-in-Education Policy will require proper language management, of which awareness and marketing campaigns are arguably pivotal.

This cannot be left to government departments alone but needs to be addressed urgently by the language planning agency, PanSALB. This body has been described by critics as a ‘docile body’ (Heugh, 2003: 14) and a ‘toothless watch dog’ (Webb, 2002; Perry 2003, 2004). PanSALB may well claim that its potential to create awareness of the role of African languages in education is restricted in its effectiveness due to its lack of collaboration with the Department of Education and inadequate funding from the government via the Department of Arts and Culture. Against this background and criticism made public about this board, it is obvious that any new policy review or remake should address PanSALB’s role and function. However, Alexander’s point also needs consideration at this point in the discussion. Alexander (2004) maintained that although parents who are African language speakers choose English as the medium of instruction for their children, one must take cognisance of the reason why many of them do. It is not only for the reasons already mentioned of English being perceived as the language of progress and economic capital, but also because of the superior resourcing and academic expertise offered by the English-medium schools.

Providing funding for students wanting to pursue first additional African language training at teacher training institutions is imperative in order to increase the number of qualified teachers available to schools and universities. This is a fairly simple initiative that could be funded by the Government to ensure that the pool of teachers available to teach first additional African languages does not become a stumbling block to the successful implementation of any proposed new language policy.

CONCLUSION

Cooper’s accounting scheme (1989:58) for rationalising language planning is useful for determining whether the Government intervention in language planning, in terms of legislation passed and proposed new legislation, is successful or not. He proposed that one must consider eight components in this language planning framework: the actors, the attempt to influence what behaviours, of which people (target), for what ends, under what conditions, by what means, through which decision-making process, and with what effect? These points will be used in determining the possible success or failure of passed and intended language policy legislation by the government. To quote the Minister of the Department of Higher Education and Training, Blade Nzimande (2011: 1), on what is stated as the proposed ends of the government’s language planning, section 6 (2) of the Constitution states that

Recognizing the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.

He continues that ‘therefore ... we should not allow our languages to die, but we need to strengthen them in line with our constitution and broader educational and societal needs.’ (Nzimande, 2011: 2)

The new Curriculum and Development Policy Statement which was promulgated by the Government (which Cooper, 1989 would term ‘the actors’) in 2011, comes into effect in various grades in 2012 and 2013, but already appears to be having the reverse effect to that of improving the status of African languages in schools. Evidence in KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape already documents fewer schools offering an African language as an additional language after the promulgation of this new curriculum. Beukes’ view (2009: 45) is that the Government’s Language Policy (which Cooper terms ‘the means’) “has not realised its intended purposes owing primarily to the failed policy implementation of changes in the status of the African languages” (Cooper, 1989: ‘attempt to influence peoples’ behaviour’). Instead of this new curriculum improving the situation whereby more schools introduce an African language into their school curricula, it appears that more schools are just offering English and Afrikaans as the languages available for learners to study (Cooper 1989: ‘means and effect’). The reasons for this are mainly attributed to lack of adequately trained teachers, lack of financial resources to fund three languages, and lack of adequate teaching material in the African languages (these would constitute Cooper’s ‘conditions’).

Nzimande’s call to make indigenous languages a compulsory course for students (the targets) at tertiary institutions can be regarded as inspired intervention – it is just aimed at the wrong level. Lafon (2008, 2011) who has done extensive research in this area, made the point that it is imperative that African languages be assigned a greater value in our society. Without a determined language policy in South Africa (Cooper, 1989: ‘decision-making process’) which is successfully implemented, the African people in this country, just like the people of Indian origin in South Africa, may lose their mother tongues and communicate in the country’s hegemonic mode, which is English, eventually leading to a situation which Singh (2009: 59) described as “lingocide”, the loss of mother tongue through adoption of the language of domination (Cooper, 1989: ‘effect’).

Nothing short of making an African language compulsory in each province as a second language (or in the latest terminology, *first additional language*) and, more importantly, implementing this policy from junior level through to Grade 12 (as has been the case with Afrikaans in the past), will make this aim achievable. Making an African language a compulsory second language at school level would ultimately mean that all school leavers would reach a level of bilingualism that could make compulsory courses at tertiary level eventually unnecessary. Without the implementation of a determined language policy favouring the learning of African languages in South African schools, Nzimande’s call to strengthen the expansion of African languages may remain an illusory initiative.

ANNEXURE A: STATISTICS OF NON-MOTHER-TONGUE LEARNERS AT 6 KWAZULU-NATAL HIGH SCHOOLS

Durban Girls High School First Additional Language Statistics (Government Girls School)

YEAR	TOTAL NO. OF LEARNERS	GRADE 12 ZULU FIRST ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE LEARNERS			GRADE 12 AFRIKAANS FIRST ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE LEARNERS	TOTAL NO. OF GRADE 12 LEARNERS
		ZULU SPEAKERS	NON ZULU SPEAKERS	TOTAL		
2005	1313	58	0	58	202	261
2006	1284	52	4	56	194	251
2007	1230	47	3	50	204	255
2008	1199	51	4	55	180	235
2009	1223	65	2	67	192	260
2010	1216	47	6	53	183	237
2011	1219	31	1	32	129	163

Maris Stella African Language Learner Statistics (Private Girls School)

YEAR	TOTAL NO. OF LEARNERS	GRADE 12 ZULU FIRST ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE LEARNERS			GRADE 12 AFRIKAANS FIRST ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE LEARNERS	TOTAL NO.OF GRADE 12 LEARNERS
		ZULU SPEAKERS	NON ZULU SPEAKERS	TOTAL		
2005	352	6	9	15	50	65
2006	342	7	7	14	47	65
2007	352	3	8	11	55	65
2008	351	2	9	11	61	72
2009	353	9	6	15	49	64
2010	380	10	0	10	58	68
2011	380	12	5	17	51	68

Westville Girls High School Language Learner Statistics (Government Girls school)

YEAR	TOTAL NO. OF LEARNERS	GRADE 12 ZULU FIRST ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE LEARNERS			GRADE 12 AFRIKAANS FIRST ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE LEARNERS	TOTAL NO. OF GRADE 12 LEARNERS
		ZULU SPEAKERS	NON ZULU SPEAKERS	TOTAL		
2005	1074	6	9	15	175	204
2006	1075	7	7	14	155	182
2007	964	3	8	11	179	206
2008	1056	2	9	11	187	204
2009	1075	9	1	15	167	196
2010	1097	10	0	10	197	236
2011	1084	12	0	17	186	211

Westville Boys High School Language Learner Statistics (Government Boys School)

YEAR	TOTAL NO. OF LEARNERS	GRADE 12 ZULU FIRST ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE LEARNERS			GRADE 12 AFRIKAANS FIRST ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE LEARNERS	TOTAL NO. OF GRADE 12 LEARNERS
		ZULU SPEAKERS	NON ZULU SPEAKERS	TOTAL		
2005	1180	10	0	10	195	205
2006	1186	11	0	11	179	190
2007	1182	13	0	13	183	196
2008	1152	19	1	20	216	236
2009	1159	16	1	17	204	221
2010	1270	22	7	29	176	205
2011	1288	16	2	14	196	210

Kearsney College Language Learner Statistics (Private Boys School)

YEAR	TOTAL NO. OF LEARNERS	GRADE 12 ZULU FIRST ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE LEARNERS			GRADE 12 AFRIKAANS FIRST ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE LEARNERS	TOTAL NO. OF GRADE 12 LEARNERS
		ZULU SPEAKERS	NON ZULU SPEAKERS	TOTAL		
2005	538	6	6	12	82	94
2006	570	11	9	20	90	112
2007	610	figures	not		available	
2008	596	13	12	25	75	108
2009	603	11	9	21	90	114
2010	610	11	16	27	68	100
2011	605	8	8	16	97	117

Glenwood Boys High Language Learner Statistics (Government Boys School)

YEAR	TOTAL NO. OF LEARNERS	GRADE 12 ZULU FIRST ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE LEARNERS			GRADE 12 AFRIKAANS FIRST ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE LEARNERS	TOTAL NO. OF GRADE 12 LEARNERS
		ZULU SPEAKERS	NON ZULU SPEAKERS	TOTAL		
2005	1193	33	19	52	146	196
2006	1203	45	14	59	152	211
2007	1155	38	18	56	160	216
2008	1141	36	16	52	175	175
2009	1146	42	11	53	166	218
2010	1143	27	2	29	162	191
2011	1142	23	2	25	158	186

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