

**INTERCULTURAL DISCOURSE BETWEEN IGBO AND SOUTH
AFRICAN SESOTHO PEOPLE RESIDING IN BLOEMFONTEIN**

by

Amaka Edith Ideh

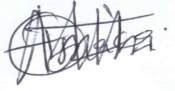
**A Thesis submitted to the Department of Afroasiatic Studies, Sign
Language and Language Practice, Faculty of the Humanities of the
University of the Free State, in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics.**

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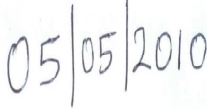
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Declaration

I, Amaka Edith Ideh, declare that the thesis hereby submitted for the Doctor of Philosophy degree at the University of the Free State is my own independent work, and has not previously been submitted by me at another university/faculty. I further more cede copyright of the thesis in favour of the University of the Free State.



.....
Signature



.....
Date

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List of Abbreviations

- CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis
- DA: Discourse Analysis
- EAP: English for Academic Purposes
- LIC: Language of the Immediate Community
- LIE: Language in Education
- L1: First Language
- L2: Second Language
- MT: Mother Tongue
- NE: Nigerian English
- NP: Nigerian Pidgin
- NPE: National Policy on Education
- SASL: South African Sign Language
- SFL: Systemic Functional Linguistics

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The necessity of the study

As the world economy becomes increasingly competitive, people move from one place to another for various reasons, including business, education, sports, tourism, politics and better health care. These movements lead to contacts between people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds and a need for them to communicate either through a common language or through interpreters, which may result in misunderstanding because of the communicators' different backgrounds. According to Samovar and Porter (1991:6), "intercultural communication is difficult and even after the natural barrier of a foreign language is overcome, one can still fail to understand" and to be understood fully. Intercultural discourse cannot be ignored, because there are always contacts between people from different countries, from different ethnic groups or from different socio-economic backgrounds on a daily basis. Cushner and Brislin (1996:1) point out that the conditions of the world are such that we are all increasingly coming into contact with those who are different from us internationally and intra-nationally. It is necessary to describe and analyse intercultural communication of specific cultures in contact by examining the uniqueness of each culture and the ways they relate and influence one another in the contact space. The description and analysis of intercultural communication may clarify misunderstandings of the two groups in contact situations, which are expressed through language. Cheshire and Trudgill (1998:195), state that "it is difficult to think of any social activities, which are not accomplished through language". Since language is part and parcel of being human and all our daily activities revolve around it, it is expedient to study the level of understanding in intercultural discourse between particular groups in contact.

Since 1994 with the opening of the South African borders, there has been a mass drift of people, including the Igbo people (one of the three main tribes in Nigeria (see Section 2.2.1)) to all the cities in South Africa. Most Igbo people in the Free State reside in Bloemfontein, the Province's main city, as these Igbo people are more into

business than into any other occupation (see Section 2.3). The Igbo people in Bloemfontein are frequently in contact with people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, most especially the Sesotho¹. Fifty-three percent (53%) of the Igbo people that participated in the preliminary study are in intermarriage with the Sesotho (see Section 2.3). Their language, also called Sesotho is the major language used in Bloemfontein (see Section 2.4.2).

One of the motivations for this study is the way in which the Igbo people in Bloemfontein switch from one language to another. During inter-communication, these Igbo people code-switch based on who their addressee is, as language is used as a marker of a person's identity and for social relationships. In addition, the researcher observed (from personal contact with these Igbo people) that some of them use their language (Igbo) to exclude non-Igbo people in their conversation, especially when they are discussing what they do not want outsiders (non-Igbo people) to understand. Language however, is an important factor in group identification, group solidarity and signalling of differences. When a group is under attack from outside, signals of differences may become more important and therefore exaggerated (Trudgill, 1974:12).

Another motivation for this study lies in the stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments in South Africa (see Section 3.6). Stereotyping is often most suffered by minority groups and foreigners. The way minority groups and foreigners are treated can often be seen in their negative portrayal in the media and the low position which they occupy in the community where they live. According to Van Dijk (1992b:115), as the power holders are seen as being tolerance and acceptance, the minority groups and foreigners are seen as a problem, deviance, or as a threat to their host country. Ethnic prejudices and stereotypes are acquired, shared and legitimated mainly through various kinds of discursive communication among members of the dominant group in the society (Van Dijk, 1996:90). These stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments are often expressed through language and are escalated in the media

¹ Sesotho is also known as Southern Sotho (Kamwendo, 2006:57).

(Van Dijk, 1989:115). In a multilingual city, such as Bloemfontein, where people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds reside, work, go to school and interact with one another, it is possible that negative words which one addressed to members of another group might contribute or fuel xenophobic sentiments among the groups involved.

In a multilingual society, each language community are often loyal to their own language, and at the same time learn the language of the wider communication or the dominant language of the community, so as to be identified with other people (Batibo, 2009:90). The loyalty of different people to their different languages and cultures and the number of languages each person speaks make it very interesting to study language use in different contexts; for example, in a shop, church, mosque, hospital, in social contexts: with friends and strangers; at home, school, bus station or garage. It is imperative to explore the various languages used not only by the Igbo people in Bloemfontein, but also by the Sesotho people who are in contact with these Igbo people. The investigation of different languages used by these two groups will help in discovering the patterns of language use and selection among the Igbo and the Sesotho people in their inter-communication.

In a country, such as South Africa and in a city like Bloemfontein (which is the focus area of this study), language attitudes play important role in the lives of language users and the language(s) concerned. If a person who is in a multilingual environment is a speaker of another language other than the dominant language of the community, s/he will be motivated to learn the dominant language. This essentially helps language in acquiring more speakers. However, the motivation to learn the said language can either be instrumental (just to communicate with others) or integrative — if the learners are willing to learn both the language and the culture to become part of the society (Huguet, 2006:413). The choice of one language over the other in a particular context is attributed to many factors. These factors according to Holmes (2008:9) include:

- i. “The participants (who is speaking and who are they speaking to?);
- ii. The setting or the social context of the interactions (where are they speaking?);

- iii. The topic (what is being talked about?); and
- iv. The function (why are they speaking?)”.

It is necessary to explore the impact of these factors on the choice of language, which the two groups (the Igbo and the Sesotho people) use in different contexts. This is because these factors influence “what” to say and “how” to say it, as well as the language use in communicating the message.

At present, there has not been much research on:

- i. The interaction of any non-South African language with Sesotho;
- ii. The relations between Igbo and another language group in South Africa; and
- iii. An intercultural linguistic study particularly on the Igbo speaking people of Nigeria residing in Bloemfontein and South African Sesotho people in Bloemfontein.

Therefore, a comprehensive analysis is necessary to reveal the intercultural linguistic features of this kind of discourse, for example the natural interactions recorded among the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein in different contexts and different discourse styles employed by these two groups during their intercultural communication.

1.2 The purpose of the study

The personal contacts with the Sesotho people in Bloemfontein have revealed that all the Sesotho people the researcher had direct contact with speak not only English and Sesotho, but also some of the other South African languages, such as Setswana, Sepedi and isiZulu. In the light of this and the way language is being used by the Igbo people in Bloemfontein, the purposes of the study are as follows:

- i. To examine the languages spoken by the two groups (the Igbo and the Sesotho people) and the different contexts in which they use each of these languages. This will help in discovering the patterns of language use and

selection in intercultural communication between the Igbo and the Sesotho people in Bloemfontein.

- ii. To assess the attitudes and feelings of the two groups during interactions because positive attitudes towards others could breed acceptance, while negative attitudes or feelings create communication gaps and are perceived barriers to intercultural discourse. The study seeks to assess the attitudes of the two groups to the different languages they use (that is, their attitudes towards their own languages and towards each other's languages), and to assess the level of spoken English understanding, which exists among them. The study equally explores the attitudes, feelings, and the opinions of the two groups towards the topic of discussion on the interactions recorded for this study. If the attitudes the Igbo and the Sesotho people have towards each other is negative, the negative attitude of one or both groups can affect the relationship and the inter-communication that exist among them. The effect will be enormous especially when over 50% of the respondents were in intercultural marriages, as discovered from the preliminary research (see Section 2.3).
- iii. To assess the discourse features employed by the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein during interactions. These discourse features include: turn-taking, interruption/overlapping, discourse dominance and code-switching.
- iv. To identify the frequency of interactions between the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein, especially those who are not in intermarriage. The study investigates how often the Igbo and the Sesotho people interact with one another or whether they avoid interacting with one another. The findings are useful for assessing the assumption that the Igbo and the Sesotho people in Bloemfontein have positive attitude towards one another. This hypothesis is based on the intermarriage between the Igbo and the Sesotho people in Bloemfontein (as 53% of Igbo married men have Sesotho women as their wives).

- v. To explore the issue of language and gender. The study examines the roles gender plays in communication among the Igbo people, on the one hand, and among the Sesotho people, on the other hand. The study also investigates if there is language restriction among the genders of each group. Although the preliminary study reveals that Igbo women in Bloemfontein are very few (11.4%), the study covers the derogatory words used to refer to the Igbo and the Sesotho women on the one hand, and those which are used to refer to the Igbo and the Sesotho men, on the other hand.

- vi. Finally, to investigate the language stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments in these two speech communities. This has been motivated by the problems encountered by immigrants in South Africa (which definitely cannot exclude the influence of language), especially the recent xenophobic sentiments. In addition, the language used to refer to foreigners might contribute to hatred among the groups in contact. The investigation of the words used to refer to foreigners will expose the impact of such words (if there is any) on the relationships that exist between the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein. The investigation will also reveal the effect of xenophobic sentiments which was experienced by the foreigners (the Igbo inclusive) in South Africa, specifically in Bloemfontein.

1.3 The research problems and questions

This section deals with the research problems and questions. The study endeavours to provide answers to the following questions:

- i. What languages are common to the Igbo people on the one hand and the Sesotho people on the other hand; and in which contexts do they use each of these languages? This will help us to discover the patterns of language use and selection in intercultural communication among the Igbo people and the Sesotho people.
- ii. What are the discourse features employed by the Igbo people and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein during their interactions?

- iii. What are the attitudes, feelings, and the opinions of the Igbo and the Sesotho people towards one another during interactions and towards the languages they speak? The study will assess the people who are in intermarriage on the one hand and those who are not, on the other hand.

Furthermore, the study tries to investigate and answer the following sub-questions concerning the discourse features employed by the Igbo and the Sesotho people in Bloemfontein during their interactions. The study extends to answer questions on language and gender, language stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments, as well as on the words used to refer to foreigners in the two languages:

- i. Do the Igbo people and the Sesotho people in Bloemfontein code-switch during interactions?
- ii. Are there any restrictions on the Igbo and the Sesotho women's speech in Bloemfontein?
- iii. What are the derogatory words used to refer to the Igbo and the Sesotho men and women?
- iv. Is the language used to portray the Igbo and the Sesotho in South African newspapers (the resource the researcher assessed concerning language sentiments) negative?
- v. Does language contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa, that is, does derogatory language about foreigners provide evidence for xenophobic sentiments?

1.4 The framework of the study/research

This section is devoted to the framework used for the study. This is done to put the study in the right perspective.

1.4.1 The discourse model

This study is connected to an analytical framework developed by Martin and Rose (2007), which is based on Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Taking SFL to language according to Halliday and Hassan (1990:4) involves asking both how

people use language and how language is itself structured for use. That is, how language is used by people to accomplish their purposes and express meanings in different contexts. Answering these questions involves the analysis of complete linguistic interactions (texts) and leads to a recognition of the importance of situational and cultural contexts in understanding “why” a text means “what” it does (Eggins, 1994:25). SFL is a functional theory of language oriented to the question of how language is structured to tackle its primary social functions (communicating messages). SFL is interested in relating the internal organisation of language, the various patterning which language exhibits, to the functions of language in a particular context, as well as the social situations in which language occur (Berry, 1975:1). Martin and Rose (2007:4) point out that SFL makes the functions of language (to enact relationships, represent experience and to organise discourse as meaningful text) central. That is, SFL looks into what language does and how it does it in each context of interaction. Discourse analyst therefore investigates the logic of the interaction, its organisation and structure, and the discrepancies (if any). According to Fasold (1990:65) and Yule (2006:125-126), the important features of the study of texts (written or oral) are the notions of coherence and cohesion; those features that contribute to the sense of unity in a text. However, SFL stresses the importance of social context in the production and development of language in a particular society and in terms of meaning in individual events (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:2).

Martin and Rose’s (2007) work is based on six discourse systems (appraisal, ideation, conjunction, identification, periodicity and negotiation) for the analysis of a text (either written or spoken). Out of these six discourse systems, this study explores part of appraisal; attitudes. This is concerned with the evaluation of the kind of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, either spoken or written. However, the attitudes explored in this study are those of the Igbo and the Sesotho people towards each other during their intercultural communication.

In discourse, ideation is central. This according to Martin and Rose (2007:73) is the content of the discourse which deals with how people’s experience is construed in discourse. Ideation focuses on sequences of activities, the people and the things involved, their associated places and qualities, as well as how these elements are

built and related to one another as the text unfolds. Identification is involved with tracking the participants and introducing people and things into a discourse and keeping trail of them. These are textual resources which are concerned with “how” discourse makes sense to the reader (or listener) in connection with their identities. We present people through reference if their identities are known, and presume a person’s reference if his or her identity is recoverable. This leads to periodicity.

Martin and Rose (2007:187) aver that periodicity is concerned with information flow, that is, the way in which meanings are packaged to make it easier for us to take them in or understand them. “Negotiation is concerned with interaction as an exchange between speakers: how speakers adopt and assign roles to one another in dialogue and how moves are organised in relation to one another” (Martin & Rose, 2007:219). The exchange of information between speakers includes; asking a question and answering it or demanding a service and complying with the command. We also use the resources of appraisal for negotiating our social relationships, by telling our listeners or readers how we feel about things and people around us.

Conjunction according to Martin and Rose (2007:219) is an interconnection between text processes, such as adding, comparing, sequencing, or explaining. These text processes are logical meaning that links activities and messages in sequence of occurrence. Conjunction is what Yule (2006:125) calls “cohesion”. In other words, what a speaker says or asks must have a link with the expected response from the listeners. And where there is no link, miscommunication is the result. Conjunction has two faces:

- i. It interacts with ideation, construing experience as a logically organised sequence of activities; and
- ii. It interacts with periodicity, presenting discourse as logically organised waves of information.

Martin and Rose (2007:73) assert that both ideation and periodicity use the same four general types of logical relation, namely:

- i. Adding units together;
- ii. Comparing them as similar or different;
- iii. Sequencing them in time; and
- iv. Relating them casually as cause and effect, or evidence and conclusion.

These six key sets of discourse systems (appraisal, ideation, conjunction, identification, periodicity and negotiation) are used to bring out the meaning out of a text (Martin & Rose, 2007:17).

However, this study explores an aspect of “appraisal” (that is attitude), which Martin and Rose (2007:25) claim is negotiated in a text and the strength of the feelings aligned. Appraisal deals with interpersonal meanings, which realise variations in tenor of social interactions enacted in a text. The interpersonal meaning is concerned with the way language is used in interaction to negotiate participant positions and to establish a particular relationship between the participants (Marshall, Adendorff & De Klerk, 2009:5). The analysis is set on appraisal, which Martin and Rose (2007:28) summarised as shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 The Basic System of Appraisal

Appraisal	Attitude	Affect (feeling)	Positive & negative Direct & indirect
		Judgement (character)	Positive & negative Explicitly & implicitly
		Appreciation (value)	Positive & negative
	Amplification		
	Source		

Source: Martin and Rose (2007:28)

In Table 1.1 above, Martin and Rose (2007:17) claim that appraisal is concerned with evaluation which can be observed from the kind of attitudes (that are negotiated

in either a written or a spoken text), amplification (of the attitudes) and source of information. This study evaluates the attitude of the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein. The evaluation will be based on the relationships between the interactants, and the context of their interaction. Martin and Rose (2007:17) point out the three main kinds of attitude, namely:

- i. The one that expresses emotion/feeling (affect);
- ii. The one that judges character (judgement); and
- iii. The one that values the worth of things (appreciation).

Martin and Rose (2007:18) assert that one of the important aspects of evaluation is the source of the opinion, namely “who” gives the information. These appraisal resources are used to establish the tone or mode of a passage or discourse, as choice resonates with one another from one moment to another as the text unfolds (Martin & Rose, 2007:59). Sourcing the thought of someone can only be done if one knows the person and what the person can do, probably from previous relationships and interactions. Martin and Rose (2007:42) argue that evaluation of attitudes can be more or less intense (amplifiable). In other words, evaluation of attitudes seems to be “gradable”. This means that we are able to say how strongly we feel about someone or something in words. The attitudes to be evaluated may be the writer’s or the speaker’s, either in written or spoken text. The study of intercultural discourse can not in any way exclude the implied meaning of a speaker’s thought, which is expressed through language. Language is a key resource for communication, which is used in expressing our mind, and attitudes towards people and things, and used in identifying whom a person is interacting with.

This study linguistically evaluates the attitudes and feelings of the Igbo and the Sesotho people in connection with part of Martin and Rose’s (2007) appraisal framework (attitude). The assessment and analysis will be based on the interactions (between the Igbo and Sesotho people in different contexts) recorded for this study. Under this framework, the analysis focuses on the two kinds of attitude: “affect” (the negative and positive feelings about people) and “judgement” (the way one assesses other people, either positively or negatively). The study also explores the “source” of information; who said what and to whom, including the profile of the source. This will

make us more aware of the attitudes of the Igbo and the Sesotho towards each other.

1.4.2 The research methodology

The study applied a variety of research instruments: questionnaire, interviews and recording of natural interactions (details in Chapter 4).

1.4.3 The delimitation of the study

This study addresses the issue of intercultural discourse between the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein. Since Sesotho is spoken in both South Africa and Lesotho, the focus of this study is on South African Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein, who have had direct contact with the Igbo people. Therefore, this study excludes citizens of other countries, such as Lesotho who speak Sesotho, either as first or second language. The study also excludes other South African Sesotho people who live in another country or Cities/Provinces other than Bloemfontein.

Before 1994, South Africa, Bloemfontein in particular, was not accessible to black people and foreigners, including the Igbo, due to various restrictive apartheid laws. The transition into a democratic government in 1994 opened borders for all blacks and other people from all over the world (including the Igbo) into South Africa. As the study explores the intercultural discourse between the Igbo and the Sesotho people, it focuses on the Igbo people who were born and brought up in traditional Igbo communities. This excludes those born in South Africa or other cities in Nigeria apart from Igbo traditional communities. The Igbo respondents must have lived in Bloemfontein for at least one year and had had direct contact with South African Sesotho people before they were sampled.

1.5 The outline of the dissertation

This dissertation is organised into six chapters, with chapter **one** as the general introduction to the research work.

Chapter **two** provides the background of the study with focus on language ecology of the Igbo and the Sesotho who are in contact with each other. The chapter explores the language situation in the two countries: Nigeria and South Africa, and also covers:

- i. The background of the Igbo and the Sesotho as well as their languages (Igbo and Sesotho);
- ii. The background of Nigerian Pidgin;
- iii. The position of English in Nigeria and South Africa;
- iv. The preliminary study, which led to this research; and
- v. The research site: Bloemfontein.

The exploration into the background of the two countries where these ethnic groups emerged will help in the assessment of the attitudes of the two groups in the way they relate with each other when they are in intercultural communication.

Chapter **three** focuses on the review of relevant literature. This chapter provides the theoretical perspectives of the aspects of intercultural discourse and intercultural communication as well as an overview of past studies by different discourse analysts, by addressing these key areas:

- i. Discourse analysis/critical discourse analysis (CDA);
- ii. Dimensions of discourse analysis;
- iii. Different methodologies used in previous CDA studies;
- iv. Discourse, racism and dominance;
- v. Language and gender;
- vi. Language, migration and loyalty ;
- vii. Language contact:
 - a. Causes/reasons for language contact; and
 - b. Effects of language contact;
- viii. Intercultural discourse and intercultural communication;
- ix. Conversation (interaction)/conversation analysis: including
 - a. Conversation style: (turn-taking, interruption/overlapping); and

- b. Code-switching/code-mixing;
- x. Language stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments.

Chapter **four** focuses on the research methodology. This chapter describes the “preliminary” research instrument (only questionnaire), the structure of the questions, and target of the research as well as the administration, presentation and analysis.

Chapter four further describes the main research instruments (questionnaire, interviews and recorded interactions) used in this study, the area of the study, the research sampling, the procedure followed in the data collection, the participants and the administration of the questionnaire. The chapter also highlights the way the data collected are presented and analysed.

Chapter **five** is the presentation, analysis and discussion of data collected. The analysis covers the personal profiles of the participants, their language backgrounds, and extends to different discourse features employed by the Igbo and the Sesotho people during interactions. Attention is given to discourse/conversation dominance. The chapter is also broken down into sub-topics: turn-taking, overlapping/interruption and code-switching/code-mixing. The study investigates language preferences/choices among the Igbo and between the Igbo and the Sesotho living in Bloemfontein in different contexts, as well as the reasons for these language preferences. The study equally examines whether the Igbo and the Sesotho people in Bloemfontein understand one another during interactions.

The chapter also analyses the discourse features between the Igbo and the Sesotho women and their male counterparts, to know if there is restrictions on the language use of either of the groups or genders. In traditional Igbo society, Igbo women’s speech is restricted but that of their male counterparts is not. The chapter analyses the responses on discourse and gender, with focus on the lexical items used to refer to the Igbo and the Sesotho women and their men counterparts (that is, the derogatory words for Igbo/Sesotho women and men). The section on discourse and gender is sub-divided into:

- i. Language and gender; and
- ii. Derogatory words used to refer to men and women.

Finally, the chapter further analyses the lexical items used to refer to foreigners in both Igbo and Sesotho languages. It explores the roles and the impacts of such lexical words on the establishment and reinforcement of xenophobic sentiments and stereotypes in Bloemfontein, and the effects of such words on the Igbo, in particular. This will reveal if such words contribute to resentments among the group to whom the words are addressed, and if such words can trigger hatred among the groups (the Igbo and the Sesotho), which can mar intercultural communication between the Igbo and the Sesotho people.

Chapter **six** focuses on summary, conclusion and recommendation.

CHAPTER 2

LANGUAGE ECOLOGY OF THE IGBO AND THE SESOTHO IN CONTACT

2.1 Introduction

This study focuses on the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein. Therefore, in this chapter, there is need for us to assess the backgrounds of the two countries where these ethnic groups emerged, including their languages. This will help in the assessment of the attitudes, feelings and opinions of the two groups under study in the way they relate with one another when they are in intercultural communication.

Nigeria and South Africa are multilingual countries. Nigeria was colonised by Britain. This gave room for the dominant use of English in the country even after the country's independence. With regard to South Africa, British imperialism brought English to the Cape from 1795, but it was not until 1822 that Somerset proclaimed English as the only official language of the Cape Colony, giving it considerable advantages over other languages in South Africa (Mesthrie, 1995a:133). The status of English in the two countries is very high. According to Epstein (1999:5) and Glaser (2005:200), English is viewed worldwide as the most important language of business and economy, language of opportunities, the language of international communication, the language of economic power, and the language of science and technology, as well as the language of research and youth culture. There is emergence of Pidgin in the two countries. However, the position and the number of Pidgin speakers in the two countries vary. Nigerian Pidgin has acquired many speakers who use it in virtually all contexts, although informally. Conversely, South African Pidgin (or Fanakalo, as it is commonly known) "has been extensively developed for use within the mine industry" (Adendorff, 1993a:1).

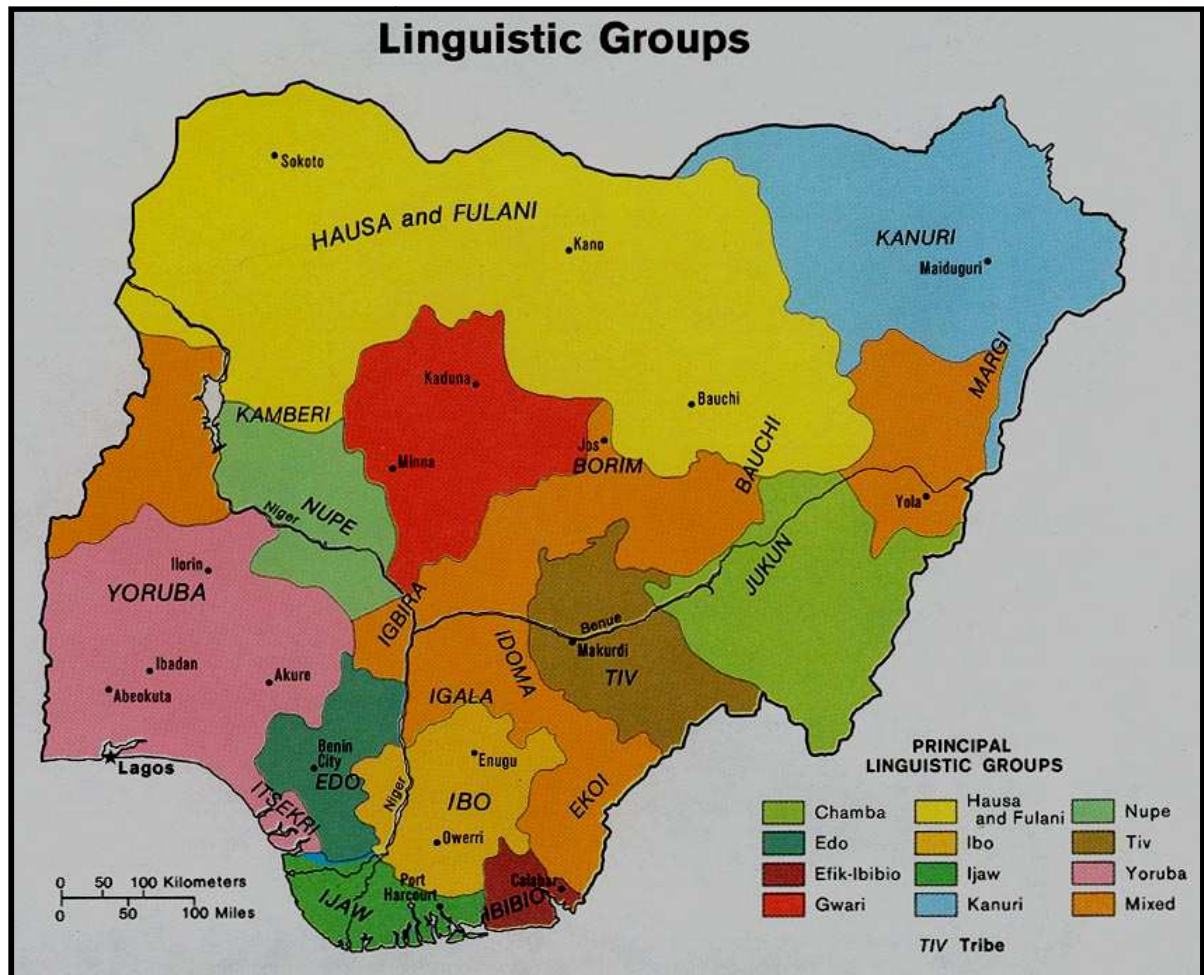
This chapter explores the language situation in Nigeria and South Africa and narrows it down to the Igbo and the Sesotho people, focusing on the distribution of languages in these two countries. The chapter also explores the position of English in Nigeria

and in South Africa, as well as the position of Nigerian Pidgin in Nigeria and the research site, Bloemfontein.

2.2 The distribution of languages in Nigeria

Nigeria is a country with over 140 million people (Nigeria Population Census, 2006). Nigeria is not only one of the most populous country in Africa, but also one of the countries with the highest form of linguistic diversity, with over 400 languages (Bamgbose, 1971:36; Adegbija, 1997:5; Aito, 2005:21; Nnebe, n.d). It is largely a multilingual country, with the languages showing different orders of hierarchical relationships. In other words, Nigerian languages are of unequal social, official and educational status (Akinnaso, 1991:31-32). The major ethnic groups in Nigeria are Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, with many minority groups. According to Aito (2005:18), the combined size of minority languages in Nigeria is estimated to be over 37%. With this figure, therefore, the major languages (Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba) should be spoken by about 63% of the population. The three languages were chosen as national languages of Nigeria based on the population of their speakers, their level of development and the availability of written materials in these languages. Figure 2.1 below shows the linguistic map of Nigeria.

Figure 2.1 Linguistic map of Nigeria



Source: <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/multimedia/8819>

According to Adegbija (2003: 309-310), the basic facts of the Nigerian sociolinguistic profile and classification include the following:

- i. "The population of the people;
- ii. About 50% of the population speak Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba (the three officially recognised major languages), implying that at least 397 languages are the languages of minority, many of the languages have several dialects to which their speakers are often very deeply loyal;

- iii. English, the official language, has grown functionally in most domains since its entrenchment during colonialism and later through policies, giving it further power and prestige above indigenous languages, especially in the domain of education; and
- iv. Such language policies, in addition to the official function which they gave to English, have, over the years, built up favourable attitudes towards English, especially in educational domain, but have resulted in the development of negative attitudes concerning the capacity of the Nigerian indigenous languages to function at all".

In most developing countries, institutional support through media, schools and administration is restricted to a few dominant languages of national or international distribution, leaving the majority of indigenous languages behind (Brenzinger, 1997:283). Awonusi (n.d.) points out that “the inequality of the languages shows that linguistic hierarchy is a harsh reality in the Nigerian linguistic situation”, however, Akinnaso (1991:35) summarises the hierarchy of Nigerian languages, as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 The Nigerian language hierarchy

	Rank	Language(s)
1	Official language	English
2	National languages	Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba
3	Regional languages	Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, Fulfulde, Efik, Kanuri, Tiv, Ijo, Edo, Nupe, Igala, Idoma
4	Local minority languages	Over 380 languages
5	Neutral lingua franca	Nigerian Pidgin

Akinnaso (1991:36)

According to Table 2.1 above, English is the only official language, while Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba are relegated to the status of national languages. Nigerian Pidgin,

which is the most widely used communication system (both among educated and illiterate people) in Nigeria is regarded as neutral. Akinnaso (1991:36) states that Table 2.1 does not reflect Arabic and French, which may be regarded as languages for special purposes. The former is used for Islamic religion and Quranic pedagogy and the latter, which has been declared Nigeria's second official language, is used for diplomatic relations and foreign language learning. Section 1 No. 10 of the National Policy on Education (1998) declares that for the smooth interaction of Nigeria with its neighbours, it is desirable for every Nigerian to speak French. In line with this, French was accorded the role of the second official language in Nigeria and was made compulsory in schools (Igboanusi & Pütz, 2008:235). The government pronouncement of the three major languages (Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba) awakened the language loyalty of Nigeria's minority language speakers. They rise up to resist what they regard as attempts to make them socially, economically, and politically subservient to the speakers of the dominant languages (Oyetade, 2003:107).

However, the multilingual nature of Nigerian society does not permit the use of a single indigenous language in government or education across the nation. Any attempt to do so will certainly be met with resistance from the groups whose languages are not used. Nigerians prefer English to be used at all levels of governance or education (as English is seen not only as the official language but also as a neutral language), rather than the use of any of the indigenous languages across the country (Kari, 2002), which can trigger racism.

The National Policy on Education (NPE) encourages bilingualism and multilingualism. In Section 1, sub-section 8, the NPE encourages children to learn one or more of the three major languages in Nigeria, namely Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba other than their mother tongues, in the interest of national unity. The policy also makes provision for the use of the mother tongue in the first three years of primary education (Kari, 2002).

According to Emenanjo (n.d), language in education (LIE) in Nigeria provides for:

- i. “Mother-tongue (MT) and/or language of the immediate community (LIC) as the language of initial literacy at pre-primary, junior primary levels and of adult and non-formal education.
- ii. The three major (national) languages, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, at L2² as the languages of national culture and integration.
- iii. English – the official language – as the language of formal literacy, bureaucracy, secondary and higher education and courts of law.
- iv. Selected foreign languages, especially French and Arabic, as the languages of international communication and discourse”.

However, according to Igboanusi (2008b:271), the provision is not yet realistic as only the three major languages – Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba – have widespread use at primary level (particularly in the States where these language are used as L1³) along with English. There are also many private schools in many places which defy the mother tongue policy and use English for basic literacy education – even in nursery classes. With the status accorded to English in Nigeria, most of the elite prefer to send their children to private schools because they have better staff and more adequate materials for the learners (Adegbija, 2003:300).

2.2.1 The background of the Igbo

The Igbo are one of the three major tribes in Nigeria, alongside Hausa and Yoruba. The word “Igbo” is used to refer to the Igbo – the people, their language, land and culture (Onyemaechi, 2007). The Igbo live in the south-eastern part of Nigeria. According to VanderSluis (2007), in the past decade, the Igbo have grown to around 30 million and they are increasingly mobile. The reasons for their mobility include tourism, sports, politics and religion, but business and studies dominate. Part of the Igbo way of life is their adventurous spirit (Odi, 1999:159). Ozumba (2005) avers that “the Igbo have become one of the most sophisticated tribes of Nigeria. They are

² L2: Second language

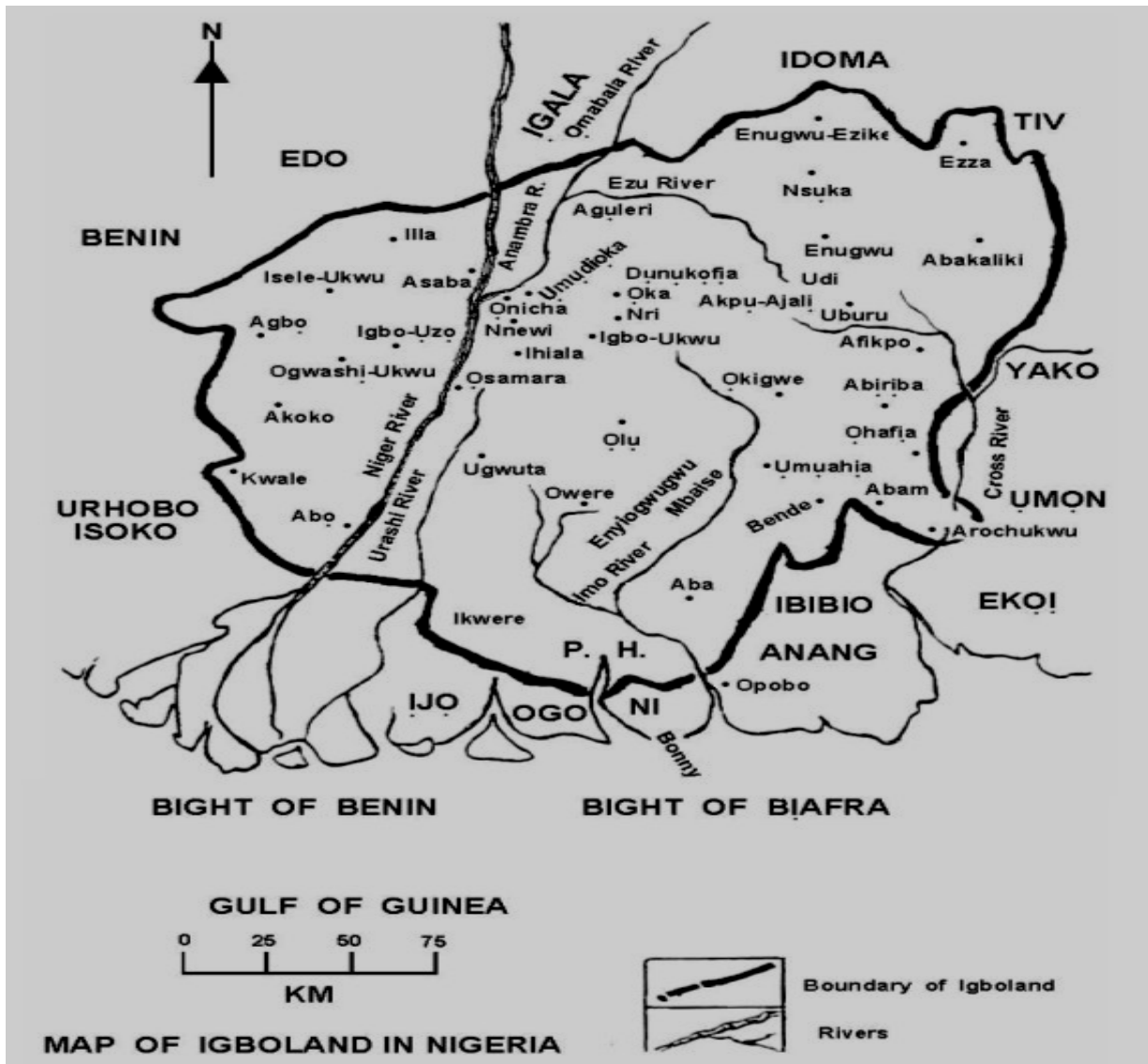
³ L1: First language

profoundly educated, widely travelled, economically advanced, socially advanced and psychologically active”.

Although there have been phenomenal changes in the Igbo traditional society due to colonisation, modernisation, education, information technology, population growth, infrastructure and human resources development, modern economic activities, the very essence of Igbo world view, their belief system, hospitality, marriage, kinship and non-kinship networks, the Igbo traditional ways of governance and affinity to the fatherland, to a large extent, are still upheld by the Igbo (Nwagbara, 2007:99).

The Igbo exposure to different cultures has made it possible for them to modify/adjust their social, religious, economic and political structures in order to accommodate the changes and still retain other basic patterns of their cultural/traditional lives. This sense of adventure is accentuated by economic opportunism. According to Onyemaechi (2007), the Igbo are hard-working, proud, dynamic and ambitious. They are very rich in culture, live and place a great emphasis on communal cooperation and democratic life (based primarily on consensus of opinion – one man, one vote). Moreover, the Igbo philosophy defines a person in the community in terms of his social group membership (Iloanusi, 1984:105). The average Igbo citizen, according to Isichei (1976:21), has no power to alter the network of regulations which govern his life. Isichei states further that one of the things that struck the first Western visitors to the Igbo land was the extent to which democracy was truly practised in each community. Figure 2.2 below shows the map of the Igbo land.

Figure 2.2 Map of Igbo land



Source: Igbo World at <http://igbology.igbonet.net/docs/igboworld/detailedmap.html>

Although many Igbo people are in public service in Nigeria, the majority of them are engaged in private businesses and constitute the bulk of the country's informal economy. For example, at the time of Nigeria's political independence in 1960, the Igbo were well represented in certain areas of lucrative commercial activity and controlled 11% of its real estate brokerage, 25% of its retail trade, 30% of the

clothing trade and 79% of department stores (Odi, 1999:159). In recent years, the Igbo traditional identity has been eroded, as many Igbo people leave the country. There has also been a mass Igbo immigration to other African countries (including South Africa) and other countries of the world.

2.2.2 The Igbo language

The Igbo language belongs to the Niger-Congo language group where it is part of West Benue-Congo (Williamson & Blench, 2000:31). Igbo is spoken predominantly as L1 in the south-eastern part of Nigeria as well as in the border areas of Delta and Rivers States. Igbo is one of the main African languages with many dialectal variations, but these are almost universally mutually intelligible.

The different varieties of spoken dialects initially made standardisation of the Igbo orthography very difficult and raised a lot of controversies from different institutions, such as government, religious bodies and Igbo writers. According to Igboanusi (2006b:157), the Igbo writing system has been the focus of a number of crises and conflicts during its development and this has been a major worry for many Igbo people and different institutions involved. He states further that these crises and conflicts reflect in:

- i. The attitudes which the Igbo have towards their language;
- ii. The perception of the Igbo on the adequacy or appropriateness of the language as a medium for literature and mass media;
- iii. Their appreciation of the language's relevance in modern education; and
- iv. The measure of their loyalty and love for the language.

The conflicts and controversies in standardisation of the Igbo orthography took many years before it could be resolved by the nationalist organisation; the Society for Promoting Igbo Language and Culture (SPILC), in 1961 (that is, Ọnwụ Orthography).

Igbo is taught in schools (from primary to the university level). It is also used extensively on radio, television, public notices, and in newspapers and magazines (Nwoye, 1978:130). Although English is the official language in the Igbo

geographical area, Igbo is the dominant language. The Igbo are also proud to speak their language wherever they are with people who understand the language. But this does not change the fact that some Igbo children in big cities (Bloemfontein inclusive) are growing up with other languages, (such as English – the language of international communication or other languages, such as Sesotho, which is the dominant language of their community) as their first language.

2.2.3 Nigerian Pidgin

Pidgin generally is used as a mode of speech which can be demonstrated to have developed from at least two languages (Elgin, 1979:112). Nigerian Pidgin (NP) is English-based⁴ pidgin, which is spoken in Nigeria (Mafeni, 1971:96). It cuts across all language, ethnic, and social groups, and is spoken by most people in urban areas in Nigeria, especially commercial cities, such as Lagos, Benin and Port-Harcourt, though informally. NP has become a lingua franca in these cities, to make communication easier for people who come from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. It also bridges the communication gap between the educated and the illiterate. NP is also used by most uneducated Nigerians in the Diaspora, who come from different linguistic backgrounds.

Faraclas (1996:2) ask: “is NP really a Pidgin?” The answer to this question is contentious. The controversy lies on different NP users in Nigeria and beyond. Although NP has acquired some native speakers (especially around the Warri and Sapele areas), it is still used in many different places in Nigeria and beyond just to bridge communication gap between people. While some people use NP only as a means of communication in market places, others use it as a means of communication with low class people who cannot speak English; yet, others use it as their only means of communication in their day-to-day lives.

⁴ The term “based” means that the bulk of the lexicon is drawn from that language, while the grammatical structure typically shows influence from other (usually non-European) languages (Romaine, 1994:164).

However, Mafeni (1971:95) describes NP as a lingua franca for many, and also the mother tongue for a number of families in certain areas and communities. NP can be found in all strata of Nigeria society and in all age groups (Barbag-Stoll, 1983:39), and among people with different status, such as educated/illiterate, rich and poor. Egbokhare (2006:197) states that it is generally accepted that NP is the largest means of communication in Nigeria as far as second means of communication speakers are concerned. However, “NP has no standard or generally accepted writing system” (Igboanusi, 2008a:76). According to Faraclas (1996:2), NP speaking community is divided into three groups:

- i. People who speak Pidgin as a pidginised speech form (for the people that use Pidgin in restricted areas or only for transactions);
- ii. People who speak Pidgin as a creolised speech form (people that use Pidgin as their first means of communication); and
- iii. People who speak Pidgin as a decreolised speech form (people that have taken it as their daily means of communication).

What Faraclas means here is that some people use NP in some limited places (such as in market for transactions, in public transports, playgrounds, and any other places where someone meets people from different language groups), and some use this NP as their first language (mostly children in urban areas and whose parents are not educated), while other NP users are those that use it as their only means of communication. With this varied NP users, as well as lack of standardisation of orthography, NP is used in this study to refer to any of the above mentioned Pidgin usages (pidginised, creolised, or decreolised speech form). This is because the focus of this research is not on either Pidgin generally, or specifically NP. Therefore, the study does not argue deeply on the issue of NP being classified as *Pidgin* or *Creole*. However, an independent study will be recommended on the exploration of a *true* status of NP.

According to Igboanusi (2008a:76), NP is different from Nigerian English (NE), although the line between the two is sometimes difficult to draw, particularly at the lexical level, as shown in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2 The differences between Nigerian Pidgin and Nigerian English

	Nigerian Pidgin	Nigerian English
1	I no know	I don't know
2	I no understand it	I don't understand it
3	Put pot for fire	Put pot in fire
4	E/I ⁵ tell me sey e/i go come today	S/he told me that s/he will return today

Source: Igboanusi (2008a:76)

NP or what Mann (1993:167) calls Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin (ANP) is essentially a product of the process of urbanisation (Mafeni, 1971:98), which has been developed from a mere trade communication system to the most popular medium of inter-group communication in various heterogeneous communities throughout Nigeria and beyond. Mann (1993:167) states further that NP developed into a lingua franca during the early years of European contact, first in the coastal areas, later throughout the south, and lately throughout the entire country (Akinaso, 1991:35), and yet it is not accorded any official recognition.

According to Akinaso, NP remains a stigmatised means of communication in official domains, partly because it is still viewed as a “corrupt” form of a language and largely associated with “illiterate” and “uneducated” users and partly because it poses a threat to standard (Nigerian) English, which is taught in schools and used in formal settings. Consequently, NP has no place in the nation’s language policies, despite its widening influence. This is because “Pidgin”, in general, is seen as inferior, haphazard, broken, bastardised versions of older, longer established languages. Akinaso (1991:36) argues that attempts have been made in academic fields in recent years to remove the stigma so frequently attached to Pidgin by

⁵ “E” or “I” is used in NP to represent the third person singular pronoun – she/he.

pointing out that there is no such thing as a primitive or inferior means of communication.

Although NP is the most widely spoken means of communication by both educated and illiterate Nigerians in urban areas in Nigeria, it suffered and is still suffering from lack of acceptability. Samarin (1971:119) claims that the usefulness of Pidgin is clear, but there is a little or no support for Pidgin in general, which is also applicable to NP. The negative societal attitude towards Pidgin is a global phenomenon. Pidgins are faced with lack of acceptability and low social rating by its numerous users. Todd (1994:3177) states three reasons for these negative attitudes towards Pidgin in general:

- i. "Pidgin speakers were usually non-Caucasian, slaves or servants and their low prestige was transferred to the language they spoke;
- ii. Pidgins tended to be spoken only (that is with no written form) and therefore lacked the status of languages with long literary traditions; and
- iii. Pidgins are recognised as varieties of European languages and were presented as simplified or corrupted versions of these".

The reasons above (on the negative attitudes towards Pidgin in general) are also applicable to NP. However, NP has a written form, which is not standardised or generally accepted. Nevertheless, there are some columns in Nigerian newspapers set aside for NP, for example, "leisure" in *Sporting Champion*, a weekly sport publication, is written in NP. Although NP is widely used more than any Nigerian language, the attitudes of its users/speakers are often determined not by fairness or objective assessment of its functions in the society, but rather stereotyped views. Igboanusi (2008a:68) summarises why Nigerians' attitude towards NP is negative:

- i. NP has no official recognition;
- ii. There is exclusion of NP from the education system;
- iii. There is lack of prestige (because it is often perceived as a bad form of English) for NP; and
- iv. NP is associated with non-literate persons and a socio-economically deprived group.

This stigmatised position given to NP is portrayed, for example, in the roles given to the speakers in Nigerian movies. In Nigerian movies and television dramas, the people who use NP are those that represent less-privileged and uneducated members of the society, such as house-keepers, gardeners and drivers. According to Mann (1993:175), most Nigerians enjoy the humour Pidgin conveys on television programmes but do not give any serious thought to enhancing and extending its social status. Adendorff (2002:176), while recognising the usefulness of Pidgin, states that “it is an interactional solution of contact involving two or more groups of speakers who do not share a common language”. From a linguistic point of view, all languages are to be treated as full means of communication without prejudice about their adequacy or aesthetic value and these languages include Creoles (Fasold, 1990:188), based on many number of its speakers. Equally, Pidgin should also be treated in the same way like “languages”. This is because Pidgins are full means of communication to its users, and if number of speakers is used to account for a true language, Pidgin speakers, such as NP users are more than the number of some “languages” users.

2.2.4 The position of English in Nigeria

English is the main official language of Nigeria, followed by French, which is the second official language of Nigeria. The choice of English as the official language was partially to avoid favouritism among any indigenous Nigerian language to be chosen as an official language.

Nigerian English (NE subsequently) has come to be recognised and accepted as referring to a legitimate sub-type of English, which is peculiar to Nigeria (Idowu, n.d). According to Akinnaso (1991:35), English came into Nigeria first as the language of traders in the sixteenth century, later as a missionary language in the eighteenth century and becomes a colonial language in the following century (19th century). Finally, English was adopted as the nation’s official language. Today, English is the *de facto* official language of Nigeria. It is the predominant language of government and bureaucracy, education, business and commerce, mass communication, international trade, politics, science and technology. Moreover, it is used as the language of inter-ethnic communication among the educated elite, literature, and

much internal as well as external communication (Bamgbose, 1971:35; and Akinnaso, 1991:35).

English is Nigeria's lingua franca, the official language of education; from mid-primary to university, a subject in primary and secondary. For over two decades now, it is a credit bearing EAP⁶ provision in the first year of tertiary education (Bamgbose, 1971:35).

The English language in West Africa, particularly in Nigeria, has acquired certain peculiarities which are a product of the different environments within which it is learned and used. The environmental influences, such as linguistic, social, cultural, religious, political and economic factors, have combined to produce the variety of English which can easily be called *Nigerian English* (Akere, 1978:407). The multilingual nature of the Nigerian society leads to many regional varieties of NE, depending on the detailed nature of the local languages (Laver, 1966:156). The varieties of NE, according to Igboanusi (2006a:492), is caused by two factors:

- i. Indigenous language interference with English; and
- ii. The influence associated with the country of origin of the missionaries and teachers alike who brought and imparted English in a particular geographical area in Nigeria.

However, the different local languages have their accents directly transferred into English. Table 2.3 shows the examples of some English words with the distinctions between the Igbo English and the Yoruba English pronunciations.

⁶ EAP: English for Academic Purposes.

Table 2.3 The distinctions between Igbo English and Yoruba English pronunciations

	English words	Igbo pronunciations	Yoruba pronunciations
1	Shirt	/ʃɛt/	/ʃat/
2	Term	/tɛm/	/tam/
3	Outskirts	/əʊtskɛts/	/əʊtskats/
4	Learn	/lɛn/	/lan/
5	Early	/ɛli/	/ali/
6	Service	/sɛvis/	/savis/
7	Thirty	/θɛti/	/θati/
8	Tertiary	/tɛ.ʃəri/	/ta.ʃari/
9	Merciful	/mɛsifəl/	/masifəl/

Source: Igboanusi (2006a:493)

According to Igboanusi (2006a:494), most of the pronunciations that are peculiar to Igbo English have been eroded by the cultural disposition of the Igbo to imitate and to wish to lose themselves in larger customs and cultures.

The importance of English in Nigeria can never be ignored; its status is very high. However, many factors contribute to this high esteem held for English in Nigeria. These factors are summarised by Igboanusi (2008b:724): the role of English as the dominant language of administration, organised commerce, the mass media, the judiciary, the legislature, as well as the principal medium of instruction in the educational system (sometimes from pre-school and kindergarten stages to the university level). These factors also include the role of English in securing good jobs in the country, as well as a credit pass in the language is a prerequisite for admission into Nigerian universities. These factors according to him (Igboanusi) make English to be associated with prestige, power and opportunities. Many Nigerian parents based on these factors wish education in the English language for their children.

2.3 The preliminary study

Many people from different cultures and linguistic backgrounds reside in Bloemfontein. The Igbo immigrants in South Africa have added a language to the existing number of languages spoken in South Africa, and specifically, in Bloemfontein. The preliminary research was conducted to determine the number of the Igbo people living in Bloemfontein, their general backgrounds and their relationships with South Africans.

The instrument used to collect information for the preliminary research was a questionnaire (see Appendix 1). This questionnaire solicited information on the background of the Igbo participants, such as their age, educational level, gender, marital status, language(s) spoken and the level of their relationships with South Africans. The study reveals that 88.6% of the Igbo in Bloemfontein are male, while only 11.4% are female. The reason for the dominance of Igbo males in Bloemfontein in comparison to the female counterparts may be attributed to their adventurous and ambitious spirit, and more freedom (and societal positive attitude attached to their adventurous spirit). Men have to travel wide in search of greener pasture than women. These figures (88.6% male and 11.4% female) show that there is a wide gap between the Igbo males in Bloemfontein and their female counterparts.

One unique revelation made by this preliminary research about the Igbo in Bloemfontein is that they are all relatively young people. According to the preliminary research, 89% of the Igbo people in Bloemfontein were between the ages of 18 and 45. Being mostly young people, they are the agent of change in the society. The Igbo accept changes easily, adapt to them and relate freely with their hosts. According to the preliminary research, 68% of the participants were married. Out of the married people, 53% of the Igbo men married South African women (see section 5.1 for possible reasons), but the anti-foreigner sentiments prevalent in South Africa as a whole have affected these cordial relationships.

The Igbo (anywhere and wherever they find themselves) mostly speak their language with one another, but this does not stop them from code-switching from Igbo into English or into NP, and any other language they understand and speak,

and which is common to them and their addressee. Watching the way the Igbo people in Bloemfontein speak and use language is of interest to the researcher. For example, the researcher once visited an Igbo person's shop. In the shop, apart from the owner of the shop who was an Igbo, she found two other Igbo people (men) discussing a traditional wedding ceremony they attended. Within fifteen minutes, the owner of the shop had used three languages, namely Igbo, English, and Sesotho, he also used NP. He switched between Igbo and NP with his two friends; used English to communicate with the researcher, despite the fact that most of the researcher's responses were in Igbo; and then switched to Sesotho when a Sesotho man entered the shop to buy a battery. The researcher later asked him (the shop owner) why he used only English with her. His response was as follows: "Is not only you students that can speak English. Even if I didn't go to university, I can speak English – any day, any time". This illustrates one of the reasons why people use and switch between different languages, namely to identify with a particular group. This confirms Chung's (2006:294) claim, that in a multilingual society, every language a person can speak uniquely fulfils certain roles and represents distinct identities of an individual or a group.

The Igbo are proud of their language, but they do not mind their children learning foreign languages, or the language of their immediate environment. The preliminary research shows that 99% of the Igbo in Bloemfontein agreed that they encouraged their children to learn and speak Igbo, but seven of the children the researcher met during the preliminary study, contradicted these responses. The researcher discovered that none of these children could speak Igbo fluently. Although the children could understand Igbo, they could not speak the language. This indicates that the parents have not ensured that Igbo (part of the children's identity) is transmitted to them. Most of these children are growing up with English as their first language, and more mastery of Sesotho (the language of their mother and also the language of their immediate environment), but with a passive knowledge of Igbo. This could eventually make room for language shift.

The preliminary research covered a total of 695 (281 adults and 414 children) Igbo people, who are living in Bloemfontein. This figure is the number which the researcher could reach during the study (preliminary), and the study also covered

the languages they speak. The preliminary research indicates that the Igbo living in Bloemfontein were bilingual or multilingual. All the adults can speak both Igbo and English, but the languages the children can speak were not investigated. Sixty-eight (68) of the participants (adults) indicated that they could also speak Sesotho. The other languages the participants of the study indicate they could speak were isiZulu (10 participants), Afrikaans (4), French (6) and Yoruba (8). The Igbo share a common language with Sesotho people, namely English, which makes intercultural discourse between the two groups easier. Understanding different languages is a key to economic adaptation and socialisation. According to Deumert (2006:58), in order to maintain control of one's environment, individuals need to have the ability to participate (act) both politically and materially, a participation which is not possible without adequate knowledge of the language(s) in which public life and labour markets operate. In order to do this, one also needs to know that there are differences in cultures and in non-verbal communication, making the communicators not only to be conscious of how they address people from other cultures, but also to avoid (or be prepared to manage) any conflict that may arise during inter-communication.

Apart from English and Igbo, NP is also very common among the Igbo people in Bloemfontein. From personal observation, all the Igbo speakers the researcher came in contact with in Bloemfontein before and during the preliminary research could understand and speak Igbo, English, and NP (with some of these Igbo speaking other languages, such as Sesotho and Setswana); and they (the Igbo) code-switch between these languages in their interactions, based on the language of their addressee. However, during the preliminary research, none of them (the Igbo participants in the study) indicated speaking NP, but only English and Igbo. This was probably because they regarded NP as a variety of NE with very low status. Although many Nigerians use NP as a register in the family context, they are ashamed to be associated with it in public.

Gudykunst and Kim (1992:171) point out that “the acquisition of the host language is necessary not only to communicate and meet daily challenges, but also to become acculturated into the new ways of living and to begin to develop a new group identity”. The ability of the Igbo people in Bloemfontein to speak more than one

language and Sesotho (the language of their immediate environment) helps them to feel at home, belong to the community and to communicate effectively with people from other cultural backgrounds, including their host community (in this case Bloemfontein, South Africa). It also helps them to feel part of their new community, making it less difficult for them to adjust and adapt to their new environment and to integrate themselves properly into the community. The knowledge and ability of the Igbo people to communicate with the language of their immediate environment also helps them in business, as there is no language barrier between them and most of their customers. It is common for people to have a positive attitude towards others who understand or share the same language with them and a negative attitude towards those who do not understand their language.

The researcher once came in contact with a person speaking another language to her. She tried to explain to the person that she did not understand the language, but the person immediately turned to another woman who might have responded to what she asked the researcher. This shows that language unites people and, at the same time, creates a barrier for people who do not understand one another's language. The understanding of a language goes a long way in socialising and associating with people and also drawing them closer to one.

Although there are many reasons for people to migrate, the preliminary research indicates that 86% of the Igbo in Bloemfontein moved to the city for business. As business people, they are more in contact with different people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds (and also different educational backgrounds), thereby strengthening their chances of learning South African indigenous languages, especially Sesotho, to socialise and do business with them.

Given the presence of high number (695) of the Igbo in Bloemfontein (of which 281 are adults and 414 are children) as revealed from this preliminary research, the study would not at this stage advocate the introduction of Igbo as a medium of instruction for early primary education in South Africa. However, as the new constitution of South Africa promotes multilingualism and respect for all languages used in South Africa (Language in Education Policy, 1997:1), the study recommends that Igbo should be accommodated in South Africa's language planning.

2.4 The distribution of languages in South Africa

South Africa is a multilingual country, like most countries of the world. According to Webb (2004:217), there are about 80 languages in South Africa, eleven of them are considered as major (official) languages, with the rest being immigrant languages and so called heritage languages, namely the languages of the Indian population. The languages one hears most frequently spoken in South Africa depend on the part of the country where the person stays.

The eleven official languages of South Africa are: English, Afrikaans, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sepedi (Northern Sesotho), Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, and Xitsonga. The South African Sign Language (SASL) is also recognised, to cater for the needs of the deaf community. The South African constitution guarantees equal status to all the official languages and to SASL (*The Constitution of South Africa*, 1999:4). According to South African constitution, “all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably”. In addition, the South African constitution does not ignore the rights of other languages spoken in South Africa. Section 6(5) of South African constitution provides for the establishment of Pan South African Language Board (PSALB) by national legislation, which must promote and create conditions for the development and use of all the official languages as well as Khoi, Nama and San languages (which are oldest spoken language in South Africa) and various immigrant and religious languages, namely German, Greek, Gujarati, Hebrew, Portuguese, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telegu, Hindi, Arabic and Urdu. These different ethnic groups and their language rights are also protected in the constitution.

However, in practice, all the official languages do not enjoy equal status and recognition. Many years after the policy was enshrined in the country’s new constitution, it seems that not much progress has been made in attempts to implement the policy, especially with respect to the issue of mother-tongue education. Rather, English and Afrikaans remain the media of learning in English-medium and Afrikaans-medium schools, respectively, much as they were in the apartheid era (Kamwangamalu, 2000:119).

Van der Merwe and Van Niekerk (1994:8) point out that Afrikaans is the dominant home language of more people in South Africa (in different Provinces) in comparison with English, which is a dominant home language of only a few small districts (see Table 2.4). But of all the languages spoken in South Africa, English according to Schuring (1995:63), is apparently the most widely accepted language by the majority of South African, followed by Afrikaans and then by the various African languages, each within its own geographical heartland. Although English is the mother tongue of only 8.2% of the population, it is the language most widely understood, and the second language of the majority of South Africans (*South African Yearbook*, 2006/2007:2). Table 2.4 below shows the language distribution in South Africa.

Table 2.4 The distribution of languages in South Africa

Home language	Black	Coloured	Indian or Asian	White	Total
Afrikaans	0.7%	79.5%	1.7%	59.1%	13.3%
English	0.5%	18.9%	93.8%	39.3%	8.2%
IsiNdebele	2.0%	0.0%	0.3%	0.1%	1.6%
IsiXhosa	22.3%	0.3%	0.1%	0.1%	17.6%
IsiZulu	30.1%	0.3%	0.2%	0.1%	23.8%
Sepedi	11.9%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	9.4%
Sesotho	10.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%	7.9%
Setswana	10.3%	0.4%	0.0%	0.1%	8.2%
SiSwati	3.4%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	2.7%
Tshivenda	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.3%
Xitsonga	5.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.4%
Other	0.3%	0.2%	3.8%	1.1%	0.5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	35.42m	3.99m	1.16m	4.29m	44.82m

Source: Human Sciences Research Council

The distribution of these languages applies only to first language speakers. Among all these languages, the research focus is on Sesotho and extends to Setswana, Afrikaans and English, as these are common languages spoken among the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein.

Table 2.5 illustrates the geo-linguistic diversity of these four South African languages (Sesotho, Setswana, Afrikaans and English), which are widely spoken in Free State as well as the number and percentage of the speakers of these languages in other Provinces of South Africa as a whole.

Table 2.5 The first home languages by population number and percentage in each South African Province

Province		Sesotho		Afrikaans		Setswana		English	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
1	Eastern Cape	152 340	2.5	600 057	9.3	1 946	0.0	232 952	3.6
2	Free State	1 742 939	64.4	323 083	11.9	185 392	6.8	31 246	1.2
3	Gauteng	1 159 589	13.1	1 269 176	14.4	741 219	8.4	1 105 192	12.5
4	Kwazulu-Natal	66 925	0.7	140 833	1.5	5 195	0.1	1 285 011	13.6
5	Limpopo	69 370	1.3	122 531	2.3	83 133	1.6	28 939	0.5
6	Mpumalanga	114 169	3.7	192 129	6.2	84 911	2.7	51 833	1.7
7	Northern Cape	9 101	1.1	559 189	68.0	171 340	20.8	20 668	2.5
8	Western Cape	31 441	0.7	2 500 748	55.3	5 522	0.1	874 660	19.3
9	North West	209 315	5.7	275 681	7.5	2 398 368	65.4	42 709	1.2

Source: Statistics South Africa 2001b (Census in Brief, 15)

From Table 2.5, none of the nine South African Provinces is linguistically homogeneous (Du Plessis, 2000:101), as the number of each language speakers varies from one Province to another.

2.4.1 The background of the Sesotho

The Sesotho are an ethnic group which lives in South Africa and in the Kingdom of Lesotho. The Sesotho are made up of two major related groups: the southern Sotho (Sesotho) and the northern Sotho (Sepedi), the division between the two is based on their different dialects.

The Sesotho emerged from the accomplished diplomacy of Moshoeshe¹ who was the founder of Basutoland. Moshoeshe, during his time, gathered disparate clans of the Sesotho and Setswana origin, who had scattered across southern Africa in the early 19th century, together and ruled over them. The ancestors of the Basotho⁷ people had lived in southern Africa since around the fifth century. Most Basotho today live in South Africa. This is because the area of the Orange Free State was originally part of Moshoeshe's nation (The Kingdom of Lesotho). Table 2.6 below shows the South African population who speak Sotho languages as their home languages from 1946 to 2000.

Table 2.6 The number and percentage of South African population who speak Sotho languages as their home languages from 1946 to 2000

	Northern Sotho		Southern Sotho		Setswana		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1946	854 556	6.86	959 531	7.71	640 665	5.15	2 454 752	19.72
1951	1 073 210	7.66	1 045 332	7.46	801 574	5.72	2 920 116	20.85
1960	1 107 083	6.18	1 494 020	8.34	1 329 703	7.43	3 930 806	21.95
1970	1 795 691	7.64	1 524 798	6.48	1 872 686	7.96	5 193 175	22.07
1980	2 667 013	8.75	2 180 333	7.15	2 344 614	7.69	7 191 960	23.59
1990	3 437 971	8.70	2 652 590	6.71	3 601 609	9.11	9 693 170	24.52
2000	4 702 450	9.15	3 321 797	6.46	5 103 020	9.92	13 127 267	25.53

Source: Schuring (1995:84)

⁷ Basotho is the people of Sesotho.

2.4.2 The Sesotho language

Sesotho is considerably more homogeneous than other Sotho-Tswana languages and dialects. This may be attributed to the unification of diverse groups by Moshoeshe 1 and the influence of the missionaries as well as Western education (Bailey, 1995:47). Sesotho belongs to a Sotho language group⁸. According to Bailey, Sesotho and Setswana linguistic and cultural unity is a historical illusion, and the linguistic evidence suggests that the mainstream Sesotho-Setswana groups (Sesotho, Setswana and Sepedi) are in fact the product of recent expression powered by their adoption of the central cattle pattern. Although Sesotho is very similar to Setswana, it is an independent language. According to Finlayson and Slabbert (1997:66), Sesotho and Setswana are mutually intelligible and “it is difficult to linguistically draw any real boundary between the two languages” (Webb, 1995:27). Although the two languages are similar, their independent is based on their political domination of their speakers (Bailey, 49).

Sesotho is one of the eleven official languages of South Africa, which is particularly spoken in the Free State Province (which has Bloemfontein as its capital), southern Gauteng and in the vicinity of Pretoria and Brits. It is also one of the two official languages in the Kingdom of Lesotho, a country which is entirely surrounded by South Africa.

Sesotho is a home language to 7.9% of the South African population in general (see Table 2.2). According to *South African Yearbook* (2006/2007), 64.4% of the people in the Free State speak Sesotho, while 11.9% speak Afrikaans as their first language. There is no record of the percentage of other languages spoken in the city, including Igbo, which is one of the reasons why this research is conducted.

Although Sesotho is the dominant language in Bloemfontein, followed by Afrikaans, English is widely spoken by the majority with different levels of proficiency. Sesotho,

⁸ Sotho language group comprises of Northern Sotho (Sepedi), Southern Sotho (Sesotho), and Setswana (Du Plessis, 2000:100).

like Igbo, has many dialects. However, there is a degree of uniformity among the Sesotho dialects. This uniformity can largely be ascribed to the wisdom in earlier years of Chief Moshoeshoe 1 of the kingdom of Lesotho who promoted a standard language and custom throughout the area under his control (Wilkes, 1995, 92). Nevertheless, some differences occur due to the isolation of the Sesotho language communities. For example, the Sesotho spoken in the kingdom of Lesotho varies from the one spoken in South Africa.

2.4.3 The position of English in South Africa

English is one of the eleven official languages in South Africa. The supremacy of English started in 1822, when the first official language policy was introduced in South Africa and English was declared the only official language of the Cape Colony (replacing Dutch). According to Phaswana (2003:118), English was used by the English colonists to maintain political domination over the Dutch and indigenes of South Africa, which led to the negative attitudes of Afrikaans speakers towards English. In the words of Jones (1966:13), “Boers disapproved when the British declared that the English language should be used as the only official language” in South Africa.

On the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, which united the former Boer Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State with the Cape and Natal Colonies, English was made the official language together with Dutch (Afrikaans) in 1910 (Perry, 2004:101). A great challenge to Dutch was mounted by Afrikaans speakers who claimed that Dutch, as enshrined in the constitution, referred to Afrikaans as well. The Afrikaans speakers’ resistance towards the use of Dutch and not Afrikaans as an official language led to the amendment of the constitution which led to the legal equality of Afrikaans being written into the constitution. According to Phaswana (2003:118-120), Afrikaans was then developed and elevated to a position to compete with English in all contexts, as well as a medium of instruction in schools. Phaswana states further that, today, English is the primary language of government, business and commerce, competing with Afrikaans, although the majority (black South Africans) prefer English to Afrikaans because Afrikaans is associated with apartheid (Kamwangamalu, 2000:119). Pluddemann (1999:328) notes that the

enforcement of apartheid LIE policies generated resistance in the liberation movement among black Africans and culminated in the 1976 Soweto uprising and massacre against the use of Afrikaans as a language of learning and teaching in secondary schools.

According to Niedrig (2003:424), since 1976⁹, African children receive their initial education in the medium of one of the African languages, followed by a sudden transfer to English as medium of instruction in grade 5. Kotzé (1995:99) avers out that most parents (80% to 50%) prefer mother tongue instruction up to the second year at school. When the senior phase of primary school is reached (5th year level), only 22% are in favour of an autochthonous language, while 27% prefer Afrikaans and 45% English as the medium of instruction. English is a compulsory subject in all schools and the medium of instruction in most South African schools and tertiary institutions. According to Young (1995:235), English is currently a medium of instruction in all schools for black learners under the former Department of Education and Training (DET), as well as in all schools in the former independent and self governing countries (TBVC¹⁰) from the fifth year of schooling (standard 3) to the 12th year (standard 10).

Although English is the mother tongue of only 8.2% of the population of South Africa (see Table 2.2), it is the language most widely understood and the second language of the majority of South Africans (*South African Yearbook*, 2006/2007:2). According to Webb (2004:229), “although numerically, English is a small language in South Africa, it is politically, economically and educationally dominant and is, by far, the preferred language of the public media, with a very high status”. South African English is an established and unique dialect, with strong influences from Afrikaans and the country’s many African languages. De Klerk *et al* (2006:207) state that South African English is influenced by mother tongue and second language (L2) varieties,

⁹ After the Soweto uprising in 1976, as a result of the subsequent change in policy, that secondary schools were not only to use English as a medium of instruction but also Afrikaans for some subjects, Afrikaans was banished from black schools; mother tongue medium education was restored up to the first four years (Perry, 2004:114).

¹⁰ TBVC: Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. It is Bantustans/homelands given nominal independence within South Africa during the Apartheid era.

and the level of education, which significantly influences speech patterns and creates identifiable dialect groups in the wider speech community. There are some social, regional and ethnic variations within South African English, which Brandford (1995:137) calls “Aflishes”. These are based on the background language of the speaker, for example the accent of a white person (Afrikaans speaking) English would be different from that of a black person, who is a Sesotho.

Statistics shows that there is no national lingua franca in South Africa (see Table 2.1 on the distribution of language in South Africa). But English is the lingua franca of South Africa, according to Webb (1995:21) and Meerkotter (1986:136). For example, English is used in most domains, such as national political debate, higher education and higher echelons of the financial world. According to Wood (1995:187), not only is English already established as a lingua franca in South Africa, it is also the lingua franca par excellence internationally and is associated with a vast literary heritage.

2.5 The research site: Bloemfontein

The Free State is one of the nine South African Provinces demarcated in 1994. It has the same boundaries as the former Province, the Orange Free State. The Free State houses more than 2.9 million people on about 129 480 km² of land (*South African Yearbook, 2006/2007*). The Provincial capital of the Free State is Bloemfontein, which is a city situated in the middle of the Province, and in the central area of South Africa. Bloemfontein was founded in 1846 and was the capital of the former Afrikaner Republic called the Orange Free State. In 1909, Bloemfontein was the site for the final negotiations between the British and the Afrikaners/Boers that led to the founding of the Union of South Africa a year later (*South African Yearbook, 2006/2007*). Most of the residents of Bloemfontein are from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, which include the Igbo people. It is chosen as a research site because it is the biggest city in the Free State and houses people from all walks of life. The study covers the city centre and other central parts of Bloemfontein, as this is where most Igbo people reside in the Free State.

In the Free State and in Bloemfontein in particular, ethnolinguistic diversity offers challenges and opportunities to sociolinguistic research. According to the 2001

Census of South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2001b), 13.12% of the residents of the Free State Province speak English as their first language. The other languages recorded are Afrikaans, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sepedi (Northern Sotho), Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga and “others”. This “others” would, of course, include Igbo. Table 2.7 below compares the population of South African selected language speakers from Census 1999 and that of 2001.

Table 2.7 The first home languages in 1996 and 2001 Population Census

Languages	1996		2001	
	NO	%	NO	%
Afrikaans	379 994	14,4	323 082	11,9
English	35 154	1,3	31 246	1,2
Sesotho	1 625 954	61,7	1 742 939	64,4
Setswana	171 253	6,5	185 392	6,8

Source: Statistics South Africa (2001a:4-5)

Although, according to Table 2.7 above, the number of South Africans who speak English as a first language is very minimal, English does play a major role in education for all but the Afrikaans communities (Mesthrie, 1995b:171). The Soweto protest of 1976 made clear the preference of black learners and their parents for English, rather than Afrikaans in education. Seventy-three percent (73%) of the population of South Africa are black Africans, who number 35.4 million of the total population of 44.8 million. This number (35.4 million) and their preference of English, shows that English definitely has more second and third language speakers, than other languages spoken in South Africa.

As different languages are being spoken in South Africa, English still plays a major role in inter-ethnic communication, government, media and education. According to Epstein (1999:9), without English in South Africa, South Africans would be denied of many opportunities and the fulfilment of their needs. In South Africa, different

language groups are living in the same area (for example, the city of Bloemfontein) and need to communicate or interact and also work together, which is made possible by a common language, English. The contact between people from different groups, for instance between the Igbo and the Sesotho people in Bloemfontein, brought about the study of intercultural discourse.

According to *South African Yearbook* (2006/2007), Bloemfontein has a well-established institutional, educational and administrative infrastructure. “The City of Roses”, as it has become known, is also home to some of the Provinces’ tertiary institutions, including the University of the Free State and the Central University of Technology. Until 1994, the city was the sole Judicial Capital of South Africa. It remains the seat for the Supreme Court of Appeal (formerly the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court) and is, therefore, generally regarded as the Judicial Capital. These attributes attract people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds of South Africa and beyond to Bloemfontein. Prior to 1994, South Africa, Bloemfontein, in particular was not freely accessible to blacks and foreigners due to various restrictive apartheid laws. The end of apartheid in 1994 opened the borders for people from all over the world. The emergence of first democratic government in South Africa led to a mass drift of people from rural to urban centres. It also led to the migration of people from different countries and cultures to South Africa particularly to Bloemfontein. These free movements brought people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds together in the cities, which include Bloemfontein. This is because pipe-borne water, electricity and housing for many residents in rural areas were challenges and these, coupled with freedom of movement, led to mass migration of people to urban areas, due to the state’s resources, infrastructure, job opportunities and other social services. The increase in urban settlement led to contact between people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds; and this requires people to live together in peace and to equip themselves with common means of communication.

2.6 Conclusion

The language situations in Nigeria and South Africa have been explored. The status of English in the two countries differs, while there is no native speakers of English in

Nigeria, South Africa has native English speakers. However, the status of English is the same in the two countries, official. Igbo and Sesotho occupy different positions in Nigeria and South Africa, respectively. While Igbo is accorded the position of national language in Nigeria, Sesotho is one of South African's official languages. The knowledge of the status of language in Nigeria and South Africa is necessary in the investigation of intercultural discourse between the two groups. The knowledge and understanding will help the people in contact to deal with the attitudes of the other group members during such inter-communication, and level of understanding of a common language especially English which might exist among them.

Although Igbo is a major/national language in Nigeria, it is one of the immigrants' minority languages in South Africa, particularly in Bloemfontein. Bloemfontein has Sesotho as the dominant language. Most Igbo people in Bloemfontein (86%), according to the preliminary study are business people thereby coming into constant contact with both educated and illiterate Sesotho people. Thus, they are more exposed to the learning of the language (Sesotho) to be able to interact with these different people.

The next chapter explores selected literature on different aspects of intercultural discourse and intercultural communication, and different studies conducted that relate to the present study.

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

3.1 Introduction

Discourse analysis (DA) is a very diversified and rapidly growing field of study. DA is used within a variety of linguistic sub-disciplines, such as sociolinguistics, pragmatics, semantics, phonology and psycholinguistics. Moreover, “DA is applied within other areas of the social sciences and humanities” (McHoul, 1994:940), such as anthropology, sociology, psychology, artificial intelligence and mass communication. Discourse analysis as a multi-disciplinary field of study emerged “from the realisation that language, action and knowledge are inseparable”. This means that some actions can be performed only through language (Stubbs, 1983:1).

In this chapter, literature related to intercultural discourse and intercultural communication is reviewed. The review of related literature describes the field of discourse analysis and situates the current study within this field of research. The review includes the following research areas:

- i. Discourse/discourse analysis;
- ii. Past studies on critical discourse analysis, with focus on;
 - a. Discourse, racism and dominance; and
 - b. Language and gender.
- iii. Language, migration and loyalty;
 - a. Language contact.
- iv. Intercultural discourse and intercultural communication;
- v. Conversation analysis (interaction); including
 - a. Conversational features; and
 - b. Code-switching and code-mixing.
- vi. Language stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments.

3.2 Discourse/discourse analysis

This section explores the ways in which scholars have viewed and analysed discourse and situates the research goals of the current study with respect to their research. The section also explores the aim, focus and the features of discourse analysis.

Discourse analysis is used in various ways, with the result that the terms “discourse” and “discourse analysis” have different meanings to scholars in different fields. Some of these scholars see discourse as a multi-utterance unit of talk, a text or anything beyond the sentence; language-in-use; speech acts in intercultural discourse; conversational interactions, interactive activities, and as a form of a social practice. A fuller description of these different views of discourse as describe by different discourse analysts follows:

First, discourse may be viewed as a multi-utterance unit of talk (Tracy, 2002:21). In other words, discourse is anything someone uttered in different situations or contexts, which can vary in size from a word to a whole text. Discourse as a multi-utterance unit of talk in essence involves any kind of social interaction, both formal and informal.

Second, discourse can be referred to as anything beyond the sentence or a text according to Tannen (1982:ix & 1984:6); an idea which is also shared by other scholars such as Cameron (1985:187). According to Fairclough (1995:4), discourse as “a text is the words used in a conversation (or their written transcription)”, can either be written or spoken. This means that anything can be analysed as a text according to Wooffitt (2005:148), including, for example “recordings of ordinary conversations, shopping receipts, speeches, songs, official government reports, and advertisements”.

Third, discourse is viewed by Clyne (1994:48) as speech acts in intercultural discourse. Speech acts theory relates to the social meaning of a short segment of talk, which means that it names the utterances in term of their purpose in a particular context, that is, whether the speaker is making a request, criticising somebody, or

apologising (Tracy, 2002:64). According to Martin and Rose (2007:12-13), speech acts focus on the questions of what people are doing when they use language. These acts include: promising, ordering, directing, expressing, appealing, and commanding. The analysis of language use in these different acts is the work of discourse analysts.

Fourth, Thomas, Wareing, Singh, Peccei, Thornborrow and Jones (1999:213) argue that discourse is conversational interactions or interactive activities, see also Tannen (1982:ix). Conversational interaction here means any form of exchange of information by the participants. In this regard, discourse as conversational interactions deals with how people talk, how they interpret others, and how their co-participants understand them and are able to interpret whatever they meant effectively. This kind of effective exchange is what Grice (1975:45) calls the cooperative principle, which states that the communicator should make his or her conversational contribution relevant to the topic of their interaction and the context in which the conversation takes place. The problem may arise if the participants are from different backgrounds; or have low proficiency in their common language, or if they have different accents (Fasold, 1990:65). Conversational interactions use the tools of conversation, such as paying attention to the participants' turn exchange, the way they interrupt one another, and the way in which they code-switch from one language into another. Discourse as interaction also looks at the context of interaction (Holmes, 2008:372).

Fifth, discourse according to Fairclough (1992:63) can refer to spoken or written language use, as a form of a social practice, rather than a purely individual activity. What this means is that language is part of society; all the social activities involved linguistic phenomena. For example, if people are celebrating, mourning, singing, debating, or if there is conflict among members of the society, all involve the use of language, which must be according to the social principle of the people. According to Fairclough (1989:23), when a person speaks, s/he does so in a way that is understandable and acceptable by other members of the society. The language is used to give orders, make request, and show acceptance as well as discrimination. In this regard, "discourse can be seen as a reflection of power relations in society" (Renkema, 2004:282). What this means is that the aim of analysis in this respect is

to detect societal problems through the language people use, especially discrimination and stereotypes among the members of the dominant group over the minority groups or foreigners. Here, the current study investigates the language stereotypes and sentiments among the Igbo and Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein.

Finally, Fairclough (1989:21) and Van Dijk (1985a:1) perceived discourse as language-in-use. What this means is that discourse is used for different kinds of language, which is used in different social contexts or situations and often at professional places, such as in the hospital (medical discourse), school (classroom discourse), different sectors of government (political discourse). The study of language use in these different contexts is the study of discourse (Fasold, 1990:65; and Blackledge, 2005:7).

In this current study, discourse is used to refer mainly to language use in the form of interactive activity in different contexts (as postulated by Thomas *et al*, 1999:213), such as in the shop, hospital, church, at home, and among friends. The use of language is determined by a variety of factors, such as the relationship between the participants, their status, the context of interaction, as well as the topic of discussion. In this regard, Schegloff (1991:64) avers that language in the form of talk or conversation is not understandable or analysable in isolation without reference to social and institutional contexts. In the same view, Tsui (1994:3) states that it is very difficult to see how any useful study of language can be conducted independently of context and use.

Discourse analysis deals with interpreting and analysing a conversation or a speech between two or more people, and extends to the communicators who use speech to perform different social activities (Tracy, 2002:21). The study of DA from the perspectives of linguistics and sociolinguistics tries to analyse the relationship between different components of discourse either written or spoken (Wooffitt, 2005:39). However, this study focused only on the analysis of spoken interaction by the Igbo and the Sesotho people as recorded in different contexts.

There are many possible features of discourse which may be investigated by means of DA, including features of an individual speaker's talk (such as stress and intonation, word order, lexical style, rhetorical figures of speech, coherence), social relations of the speakers as they are exhibited through features of the speech itself (such as turn-taking, topic choice, interruption and overlapping, discourse dominance, speech acts, and code-switching/code-mixing). The current study, explores only a few of these discourse features (turn-taking, interruption and overlapping, code-switching/code-mixing and discourse dominance) in the interaction between the Igbo and the Sesotho people.

When engaged with DA, the discourse analyst does not focus his or her attention on the message (spoken or written; surface and underlying meaning) alone. Rather, the focus extends to the context (where the act is performed) of the discourse, as well as the people involved. The attention is also directed at the status of each interactant and the relationship between one participant to another, their different roles in the conversation and the topics of discussion. Yule (1985:104) describes DA as the answer to the following questions:

- i. How is it that language users interpret what other language users intend to convey?
- ii. How is it that language users make sense of what they read in texts, understand what speakers mean, despite what they say?

McCarthy (1991:14) points out that DA deals with how people make sense of what they read in texts, how they understand what the speakers mean, and how they distinguish between logical and incoherent discourse, as well as how they take part in interaction in different contexts effectively. In this regard, the present study focuses on spoken interaction. One of the objectives of the current study is to assess the level of understanding with regard to spoken English between the Igbo and the Sesotho during intercultural communication. "DA however, provides tools for sociolinguists to identify the norms of talk among different cultural and social groups in different conversational and institutional contexts, as well as to describe the discursive resources people use in constructing different social identities in interactions" (Holmes, 2008:356). According to Martin and Rose (2007:282), the

most prominent approach to discourse and culture is critical discourse analysis (CDA).

CDA is a type of discourse analytical research method that primarily studies the way social power abuses, dominates and enacts, reproduces and resists inequality through text and talk in the social and political contexts (Fairclough, 1989:20; and Van Dijk, 2001:352). CDA looks into the place of language in social relations of power and ideology, and the role of language in intercultural discourse, which leads to linguistic adaptation of people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds as well as their discourse styles.

According to Van Dijk (1985a:1), the origin of CDA can be traced back to the study of language, public speech and literature. Many conversation analysts analyse interactions in the hope of gaining insight into how people communicate successfully with one another even with people from different backgrounds. The critical discourse analysts, however, see discourse as an instrument to gain insight into societal challenges (Renkema, 2004:282) in different contexts, with regard to language use.

CDA is founded on the idea that there is unequal access to linguistic and social resources that are controlled institutionally by people in power (Van Dijk, 2001:352). Van Dijk states further that CDA is focused on the role of discourse in (re)production and the challenge of dominance in society (Van Dijk, 2001:300). In other words, CDA deals with how the power of one group is promoted over the other and how such power can be challenged, or even what can be done to challenge such dominance/power and discrimination in different contexts.

Context is normally used to refer to the situation/setting in which an utterance/discourse takes place, or it can be used to refer to the preceding text/discourse into which an utterance/discourse is situated. Neuliep (2000:18) describes context as a complex combination of a variety of factors, including the setting, situation, circumstances, background and overall framework within which communication occurs. It can apply to written or spoken texts, such as words, clauses/sentences, conversational turns and speech acts or what Austin (1976:100-101) calls illocutionary acts. Speech acts, according to Searle (1981:16), are the

basic or minimal units of linguistic communication, such as making statements, giving commands, asking questions, making promises, which are performed in accordance with certain rules for the use of linguistic elements.

However, the context of discussion influences the way and manner in which people understand and respond to messages and expressions. In this regard, the current study focuses on the variety of languages used in different contexts by the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein, and on the different discourse features employed by them, which will shed light on the attitudes of the two groups towards one another. Thus, the study:

- i. investigates the attitudes and feelings of the Igbo and the Sesotho people towards one another during interactions;
- ii. examines previous studies concerning discourse styles employed by different people during conversations;
- iii. explores the language use in different contexts by the Igbo and the Sesotho in Bloemfontein;
- iv. examines the issue of language and gender; and
- v. assesses the impact of language to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa.

The method used in each study reviewed is taken into consideration. According to Van Dijk (2001:352), "CDA is not a specific direction of research, and does not have a unitary theoretical framework". Nonetheless, this study is connected to an aspect of Martin and Rose's (2007) appraisal (particularly attitudes) for the critical analysis of recorded interaction.

In summary, discourse analysis is a multi-disciplinary field of study, which has different meaning to different scholars in varied disciplines. However, the common meaning appears to revolve around anything someone said in any interaction in diverse forms and contexts, which can be in form of written or spoken. However, discourse in the current study refers to language use in the form of interactive activity; a view which is based on Thomas, Wareing, Singh, Peccei, Thornborrow and Jones (1999:213). While there are many possible features of discourse which may be investigated by means of DA, this study focuses on the interactions among

the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein in different contexts, such as in the shop, hospital, church, at home, and among friends. The analysis of the recorded interactions focuses on different discourse features: turn-taking, interruption and overlapping, discourse dominance, and code-switching/code-mixing.

3.2.2 The dimensions of discourse analysis

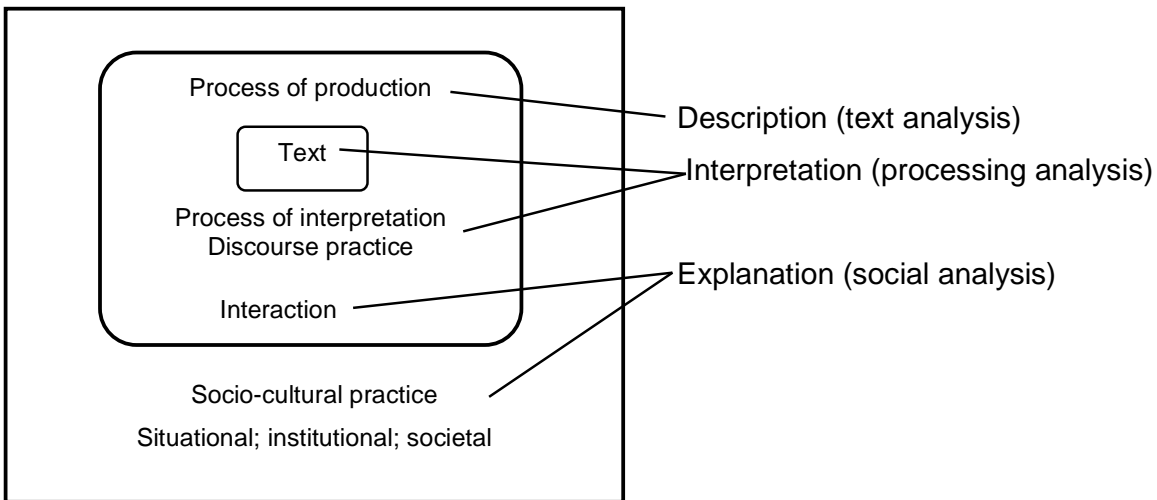
In DA, there are different aspects or dimensions in which the relationship between language and social context can be analysed: description, explanation, interpretation. As mentioned earlier in this chapter (see Section 3.2), discourse analysis is used in various ways by scholars in different fields. Different discourse analysts (such as Stubbs, 1983; Fairclough, 1989; Van Dijk, 1998; Gee, 2005; and Martin and Rose, 2007) have laid down different methods of analysing language use in different contexts. These different discourse analysts' view on the dimensions of analysing discourse are summarised below.

Stubbs (1983:45) argues that all speakers are multidialectal or multi-stylistic, in the sense that they adapt the style of speaking to suit the social situation in which they find themselves and the different people with whom they talk. Stubbs (1983:2) avers that language is used to perform actions, such as giving instructions, orders, commands, consoling, giving thanks and advice. These different social activities may be analysed by discourse analysts with respect to the following aspects or dimensions: description, explanation, interpretation, institutionalised use of language and different registers. However, the main aim of each of these different dimensions of analysis by Stubbs is to understand the different structures and functions of language use in different contexts, to communicate meanings not only to people from the same linguistic and cultural backgrounds, but also to people across diverse cultures and languages. In addition, the dimensions of discourse help analysts to know the areas where attention should be focused during analysis of discourse in different social contexts.

Fairclough (1989:22) argues that whenever people speak, listen, write or read, they do so in the ways which are determined socially and have social effects; they use language in ways which are subject to social convention. Discourse analysis is,

therefore, the analysis of production and interpretation of text (either written or spoken), which is drawn from the knowledge which people have of their language, and representations of the natural and social world they inhabit, values, beliefs, and assumptions (Fairclough, 1989:22). Figure 3.1 summarises the relationships between discourse dimensions and levels of analysis.

Figure 3.1 Dimensions of Discourse Analysis



Source: Fairclough (1995:98)

Description in the above figure is the stage which concerned with the properties of the text, interpretation deals with the relationship between text and interactions, while explanation is concerned with the relationship between interactions and social contexts — with the social determination of the process of production and interpretation and their effects (Fairclough. 1995:98).

Of all the many possible properties of analysis of text and different contexts of speech, Van Dijk (1998:381) focuses on those that most clearly exhibit the discursive properties of the exercise of dominance. He asserts that “the analysis of any kind of text incorporates access, setting, genre, communicative acts and social meanings, participants’ positions and roles, speech acts, macro-semantics (topics) and super structures”. The local meanings and coherence are a few of the levels of analysis

that are revealing and relevant for a critical analysis of the semantic study of local meanings of text (Van Dijk, 1998:381). For example, the propositional structure of clauses and sentences, relations between propositions, implications, presuppositions, vagueness, indirectness and levels of description are all relevant for a critical analysis of the semantic study of local meanings of text.

However, according to Gee (2005:11-13), the discourse analyst should have seven questions to answer when analysing any piece of language-in-use and where his or her analysis should be based. The focus should be on:

- i. Significance: to use language to give meaning and value to things.
- ii. Activities: people use language to get recognition by engaging in a certain activity.
- iii. Identities: to use language to be recognised as taking on a certain role at a particular time and another in other places.
- iv. Relationships: people use language to build social relationships with other listeners or readers.
- v. Politics: to convey our perspectives on the nature of the distribution of social goods.
- vi. Connections: used to connect to what we had said or done before to the present.
- vii. Sign system and knowledge: we use language to make a certain sign and a certain form of knowledge and belief relevant in a given situation.

All of the above focus on language use in different contexts and are relevant to the analysis of any form of text. The discourse analysts should explore any of the issues.

Finally, Martin and Rose (2007:7) state that there are two general perspectives for looking at the phenomena of discourse, which are:

- i. The three levels of language, namely grammar, discourse and social contexts (known as the strata of language); and
- ii. The three general functions of language in social contexts, known as meta-functions,¹¹ which are:
 - a. to enact relationships;
 - b. to respect experience; and
 - c. to organise discourse as a meaningful text.

Martin and Rose (2007:4) claim that “grammar, discourse and social context are different phenomena, operating at different levels of abstraction”. What this means is that the focus of the grammatical analyst is on the type of sentences/clauses, and the elements of a sentence/clause, as well as the organisation of sentences. However, the focus of the discourse analyst is to identify the role of wordings in the passage of text by employing the tools of the grammatical analyst and social theorist to explain why the words have the meanings they do (Martin & Rose, 2007:4).

Therefore, the relationship between these strata (grammar, discourse and social context) “is described in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as realisation, which means that social contexts are realised as text, which are realised as sequences of clauses” (Martin & Rose, 2007:4).

Language in social contexts recognises three general functions of language. What these mean is that language is used to establish relationship between the members of the society. The experiences the people have consist of sequences of activities in the society, which happen in their day-to-day lives with other members of the society. The discourse analyst therefore, looks at any piece of discourse and identifies different functions which language performs in different contexts and different patterns of meaning realised. These sets of meanings are called “discourse styles”, which, according to Van Dijk (1985c:2), have to do with the context-dependent variations of language use. Thus, sociolinguistics pays attention to the choice of a

¹¹ “Meta-functions” according to Martin and Rose (2007:7) are functions of language in social contexts; that is what we use language to do in our society.

specific style as a function of a social situation, class or ethnic membership or of social factors, such as gender, age, status or power.

Martin and Rose (2007:17) analyse any language in its social contexts, whether it is written or spoken language, following their six tools of analysis or discourse systems – appraisal, ideation, conjunction, identification, periodicity and negotiation (see Section 1.4.1). However, Martin and Rose’s (2007) analysis concentrates only on written discourse. Their analysis focuses on a small set of “extracts” that are concerned with the process of truth and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa. The analysis is based on four issues:

- i. *Story*; Helena’s story: the story is presented in Emeritus Archbishop Desmond Tutu’s book *No Future without Forgiveness* (Tutu, 1999);
- ii. *Argument*: About amnesty (the argument in Tutu’s book about amnesty for people that violated human rights during apartheid);
- iii. *Legislation*: An Act of Parliament establishing the Truth and Reconciliation Commission at the end of apartheid; and
- iv. The film *Forgiveness* (Martin & Rose, 2007:2-3).

While Martin and Rose (2007) dedicate each chapter of their work to a particular discourse system, all the above issues are concerned with the process of truth and reconciliation in South Africa. The analysis of each of the issues however, followed their six discourse systems. The aim of the analysis is to provide the readers with a system of analysing discourse in social context, and the discourse systems and their different meta-functions are shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Discourse system and meta-functions

	Discourse system	Meta-functions
1	Appraisal: Negotiating attitudes	Interpersonal
2	Ideation: Representing experience	Ideational
3	Conjunction: Connecting events	Ideational
4	Identification: Tracking people and things	Textual
5	Periodicity: Information flow	Textual
6	Negotiation: Enacting exchanges	Interpersonal

Source: Martin and Rose (2007:8)

Table 3.1 above illustrates the six tools employed by Martin and Rose (2007) to analyse the four issues: story, argument, legislation and film. The tools are grouped into three social functions of language: to enact relationships (appraisal and negotiation – interpersonal), to respect experience (ideation and conjunction – ideational) and to organise discourse as a meaningful text (identification and periodicity – textual). However, the six tools are interconnected with one another and can be applied to the analysis of any text (spoken or written).

Of all the six discourse systems or six tools of analysis, this study is connected to the first one: appraisal, which is sub-divided into attitude, amplification, and source (see Table 1.1). Chapter 2 of Martin and Rose (2007) discusses “appraisal” in detail. They focus on how attitudes may be expressed and amplified through text features and how different voices and attitudes can be included within a text and be identified. The chapter is also devoted to appraisal as a system of interpersonal meanings. The resources of appraisal are used “for negotiating our social relationships, by telling our listeners or readers how we feel about things and people; that is, what our attitudes are” (Martin & Rose, 2007:26). According to Martin and Rose (2007:29), there are three kinds of attitude. They are:

- a. Affect: this deals with people's feelings, which vary in two general ways; our feelings about something can be positive or negative, and people can express their feelings either directly or indirectly.
- b. Judging people's character: like affect, this can equally be positive or negative and people may be judged explicitly or implicitly.
- c. Appreciating things: like affect and judgement, people or things can be appreciated either positively or negatively (Martin & Rose, 2007:29).

According to Martin and Rose (2007:42), one distinctive feature of attitudes is that they are gradable (amplifiable). What this means is that attitudes involves a set of resources for adjusting how strongly we feel about people and things. This gradable resource allows us to compare our feelings with those of others, that is, to assess whether the degree of the attitude is high or low.

Another feature of analysing attitudes is the "source". In an analysis of any kind, the sources of information are very important. Martin and Rose (2007) state that the immediate, intermediate and ultimate sources of opinions in discourse are important variables in discourse that we need to keep track of when analysing evaluations. In spoken discourse, speakers might use special intonation or voice quality to signal projection of this kind. In addition, people may mimic quotation marks by acting out the special punctuation by means of "scare quotes"¹² (Martin & Rose, 2007:52). The analyst uses different means of collecting data in order to determine what the sources of information are in the analysis of text, especially spoken text. However, this study focuses more on attitudes than amplification and the source of the information, though the three are interwoven.

3.2.3 The methodologies used in previous CDA studies

It is very difficult to give a single definition of CDA or DA as a research method. Gee (2005:137) stresses that there is no "lock step" method to be followed in doing

¹² Scare quotes are using one's fingers as if one is putting quotation marks in the air.

discourse analysis. Research in CDA is derived from different theoretical backgrounds and methodologies and also relies on a variety of grammatical approaches.

In this section, different methods that discourse analysts used in collecting data were explored. The methods explored include: questionnaire, interview, intuition, and observation. What follows is their brief description.

- i. *Questionnaire*: This is the most widely used method in collecting data from a target population, especially when the number of population is high. Each item in the questionnaire is structured in a way that addresses one particular objective. The questionnaire can be in two different forms: a structured (that is close—ended) or an unstructured (that is open—ended).
- ii. *Interview*: This form of data collection instrument provides in-depth information which is not easily available through a questionnaire. Unlike a questionnaire, an interview entails the oral administration of questions. Interviews can be done face-to-face or through telephone. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003:83), a successful interview requires that a researcher establish rapport with the interviewees. Interviews can either be recorded with audio/video recorders, or the responses can be written down. Interviews, like questionnaires, can be in a structured or an unstructured form. Using audio/video recorders to collect data does not require the researcher to make notes, while the interview is in progress. While recording, the researcher also does not have to pay attention to the exact interaction or wordings of the participants, as he can play and rewind the recordings as many times as needed after the actual recordings. The researcher who does not use either audio or video recorders needs to make comprehensive note of the interview for analysis.
- iii. *Intuition*: Mugenda and Mugenda (2003:4) describe intuition as a perception, an explanation or an insight into phenomena through instinct. It is the ability to gain new knowledge without conscious reasoning or rational processes.

- iv. *Observation*: Direct observation is useful because some behaviour involve habitual routines of which people are unaware. Direct observation allows the researcher to put behaviour in context and thereby understand it better (Kombo & Tromp, 2006:96). If observation is used in connection with the questionnaire, the researcher will compare the answers from the questionnaire with what actually happened in the participants' real lives, which can validate the results from the participants. To avoid bias using the observation method, Sarett (1984:206) notes that each observer should know what and how long to observe, which situation is most relevant and how each observation is to be recorded. During observation, the researcher can take note of his observations. The researcher should make the note as soon as possible. Field notes, according to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003:37), serve two purposes, namely to provide additional information and to indicate the source of an idea.

Each of these research instruments has its own limitations. Therefore, discourse analysts can combine two or more of the above mentioned methods in the study or use only one, depending on the nature and the objective(s) of the study.

3.3 Past studies on critical discourse analysis

CDA has grown to an important and popular academic study. It attempts to describe, explain and examine how different communities, institutions and organisations use language to operate in different social contexts in terms of power, interaction, control, management, policy and communication. There are many studies conducted on CDA, with varied foci, which include: discourse and gender (West & Zimmerman, 1985) and political discourse (Seidel, 1985).

One of the notable figures in CDA, Teun van Dijk, applies his discourse analysis theory to media texts, mainly focusing on the representation of ethnic, minority groups and immigrants (foreigners) in the press. He also studies different cases of news reports, focusing on dominance of major groups in society and access to different kinds of discourse, such as discourse and racism (1999); discourse, power and access to communicative events (1996); the portrayal of a minority group in the

press (1988b); ethnocentrism, antisemitism, nationalism and racism (2001); discourse and domination/power; and discourse and ideology (1998). Other works by Van Dijk are concerned with discourse, injustice and inequality of power dominance in public, mind control, discourse bias, stereotypes in media and politics.

However, some other discourse analysts have focused on theories of discourse (Macdonell, 1986); and interpreting discourse (Yule, 2006). Nevertheless, Fairclough (1989) worked on language, power and ideology, discourse and sociological change, textual analysis, critical language awareness and a host of other subjects. All these sub-topics are inter-related with a common focus on language use in different contexts of the society, as well as the attitudes of one group towards the other. According to Wodak (2004:199), the problems in our society are too complex to be studied from only one perspective. This is why DA incorporates many fields in the humanities and the social sciences, with complex and diversified objectives, methods and approaches.

Any description or analysis involving language implies some theory of how language works in society (Martin & Rose, 2007:3). The way language is used in different contexts of our society leads to the development of CDA. Jones (2007:338) points out the inadequacies of CDA to language and communication. According to him, “the problem of CDA is that the categories, elements and procedures involved in the various forms of CDA are based on conventional descriptive linguistics and pragmatics that do not afford any critical analysis of communicative processes”. These do not actually get into the way of how we communicate in real life situations. In this section, different CDA studies are reviewed. However, the review does not focus on a particular discipline or field of study; rather, it is based on the works that relate to this present study.

Ruth Wodak is a discourse analyst who has carried out various research using CDA in different institutional settings, such as in courts (1984, 1985); hospitals (1997a); and on a variety of social issues, such as language, power and ideology (1989); disorders of discourse (1996); and gender and discourse (1997b). Although these studies centre on diversified subjects, they are oriented towards a single objective,

namely to develop ways of analysing language, which addresses its involvement in the working of contemporary society (Fairclough, 1995:1).

The study by Stubbs (1983) focused on the functions which the utterances can serve in conversations. Stubbs (1983) studied classroom interactions, and collected his data through observation, note-taking and audio-recording (an ethnographic approach). The classroom observation was conducted over a period of six weeks with the learners aged 12, 13, 16 and 17 in an Edinburgh secondary school. During the period of his observation, he took down observational notes to verify the speech recorded. Stubbs wrote down as much as possible of what the teacher said, the learners' responses and other classroom events, which were later analysed. Although the class he studied was large, he preferred to record (audio-recordings) small groups comprising of teacher and six learners. Stubbs' study gives detailed examples of different types of conversational organisations.

Stubbs' study indicates the significance of the addressee in the interaction. He states that speakers must understand their audience and have some idea of what the audience already knows, what they want to know and how they will select their present information. The understanding will help to minimise miscommunication between people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Stubbs' study also shows that it may be easy to record large groups, but to study and analyse these recordings might pose difficulties to the analysts. He suggests that discourse analysts who want to tape-record should divide the large group into smaller groups to be able to obtain higher quality recordings which cannot be obtained in a normal classroom with its echoing walls where the number of children is between thirty and forty. However, recording of a small group, according to Stubbs, helps to get and identify each voice in the recording, which makes the analysis easier.

As stated on Section 3.2, discourse in this study means conversational interactions or interactive activities, which involves both verbal and non-verbal interaction. According to Bavelas, Rogers and Millar (1985:9), most interpersonal conflict is not physical, but verbal. They assert that the conflict is the argument itself, which means that the interpersonal conflict is the speech events: the arguments, quarrels, insults or disagreements.

Here the study explores three different studies which centred on conflicts: Lein and Brenneis (1978), Camras (1977), and Labov (1972). According to Bavelas, Rogers and Millar (1985:9), for data to qualify for analysis on a conflict as a discourse, they should meet the following three defining criteria, namely:

- i. A direct conflict should be identified and studied;
- ii. The conflict should be interpersonal, that is, occurring between individuals (between two or more people); and
- iii. The actual discourse of the conflict should be recorded and analysed.

The study conducted by Lein and Brenneis (1978) focuses on arguments between three different speech communities: white American children in a small town in New England, black American children of migrant harvesters and rural Hindi-speaking Fiji Indian children. Lein and Brenneis used a standard format for eliciting data through role-plays and a uniform analytical framework. The researchers arranged for a conflict to occur by asking the children to role-play an argument, for example: "Who is the strongest?" or "Whose ball is it?" They tape-recorded the children, while they were role-playing the conflict. In the analysis, Lein and Brenneis identify content categories (for example commands, threats) and stylistic categories (such as volume and speed) in the speech of the children. The findings suggest that repetition, inversion and escalation are common to all the three cultures (white American children in New England, black American children of migrant harvesters, and rural Hindi-speaking Fiji Indian children). However, there is considerable variation as to how they are used in interaction among the participants. The findings counter their (Lein & Brenneis) earlier view that conflict is equal to chaos. Rather, the study reveals that arguments are rule-governed, socially organised and frequently quite complex events. In addition, argument is emotionally loaded and, therefore, likely to get out of hand among the participants (Lein & Brenneis, 1978:308).

Camras (1977) investigated the claim that the use of aggressive facial expressions by a child is related to the child's and his/her partner's behaviour in conflict. Camras studied six classes of pre-school children between the ages of four and eleven attending a middle-class sub-urban public school. Seventy-two children (37 males

and 35 females) were paired according to their genders. Each pair was given a 12-minute play session, where they were given an object with which only one child could play at a time. The members of each pair were not informed of the timing of the play in order to maximise the amount of communication needed to resolve conflict between them. The interactions among the children were video-taped by a concealed camera, which provided an overall view of each participant and their spoken interactions and facial expressions. The children were seated together and were left on their own with no instructions on how to share or how to compete for the object (that is when each child should use the object).

The study reveals the importance of spoken words during interaction or conflict, and the relation between one child's facial expression and the partner's response. The results indicate that aggressive facial expressions can provide information — they can enable the observer to predict something about the behaviour of the child who produces them. The results also suggest that facial expressions can carry information relating to the subsequent behaviour of the child who produces them and can influence the behaviour of the child who observes and takes action based on them (Camras, 1977:1434).

Labov (1972) conducted a study on a verbal conflict. Labov studied insults as part of complex and co-ordinated patterns of verbal conflict. His study focuses on a speech event among young American black male in south-central Harlem and their white peer groups in the urban centre (New York City). In this study, Labov examined the differences in the use of language to understand the speech events and standards of verbal skills which govern a language in the vernacular culture. He used observations and long-term interactions with several adolescent peer groups. He also recorded conversations during group sessions, where each person was recorded individually. Further recordings were conducted in a bus during the children's bus trips. The observations also covered adult speakers. The most common targets of the insults recorded in the study were insults to the "other person's mother, relative, self, or home" (Labov, 1972:131-137). The analysis of the data shows that such insults exchanges often end in hard feelings, including protestations of unfairness.

The three above-mentioned studies (Lein & Brenneis, 1978; Camras, 1977; and Labov, 1972) relate to the present study, especially on the issue of xenophobic sentiments. The three studies have a common focus on the power of spoken words, which, if not controlled, can lead to a rift among interactants. For example, the study by Labov (1972) shows that insults to the “other person’s mother, relative, self, or home” can lead to hard feelings (negative attitudes or feelings), resentments, hatred, and anger. These negative feelings can, in turn, lead to arguments. Moreover, Lein and Brenneis (1978) reveal that arguments are emotionally loaded and might get out of control, probably resulting in resentment by the participants or the groups involved.

It is especially the significance of the power of words (whether spoken, as in conversations which could lead to verbal conflict; or written, for example the power, unfairness and unbalanced report of the press) which are significant for this study. The power of words can trigger xenophobic sentiments if the arguments are so deeply emotional, and are not controlled among the people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. As Bavelas *et al.* (1985:9) rightly state; “conflict is verbal, not physical” (involving unpleasant and negative words). This kind of verbal conflicts (arguments) could result in xenophobic sentiments and stereotypes, which this study investigated.

The different methods people use to analyse discourse vary and many aspects may be relevant during the process of data collection and analysis. Yet, not all the data collected may be accounted for in an analysis. For example, among all the data Stubbs (1983:42) collected in his research, his study concentrated only on a particular transcript of conversational data, where he investigated the organisational features of the conversation. However, the analysis in this study will be based on some conversational features; turn-taking, interruption, code-switching/code-mixing and discourse dominance.

3.3.1 Discourse, racism and dominance

This section reviews the related literature on the attitudes of dominant groups over minority groups and foreigners, with focus on discourse, racism and domination.

Attitudes have to do with evaluating things, people's character and their feelings (Martin & Rose, 2007:26). The attitudes and feelings of people towards one another can be positive or negative, and can be expressed either implicitly or explicitly. However, the access to discourse in the society can be limited to some people over the other. Fairclough (1989:62) avers that the CDA researcher needs to look at access to discourse, and the people who has power behind the discourse, however, he asks the following questions that need to be answered on the analysis of discourse and access:

- i. Who has access to which discourses?; and
- ii. Who has the power to impose and enforce constraints on access?

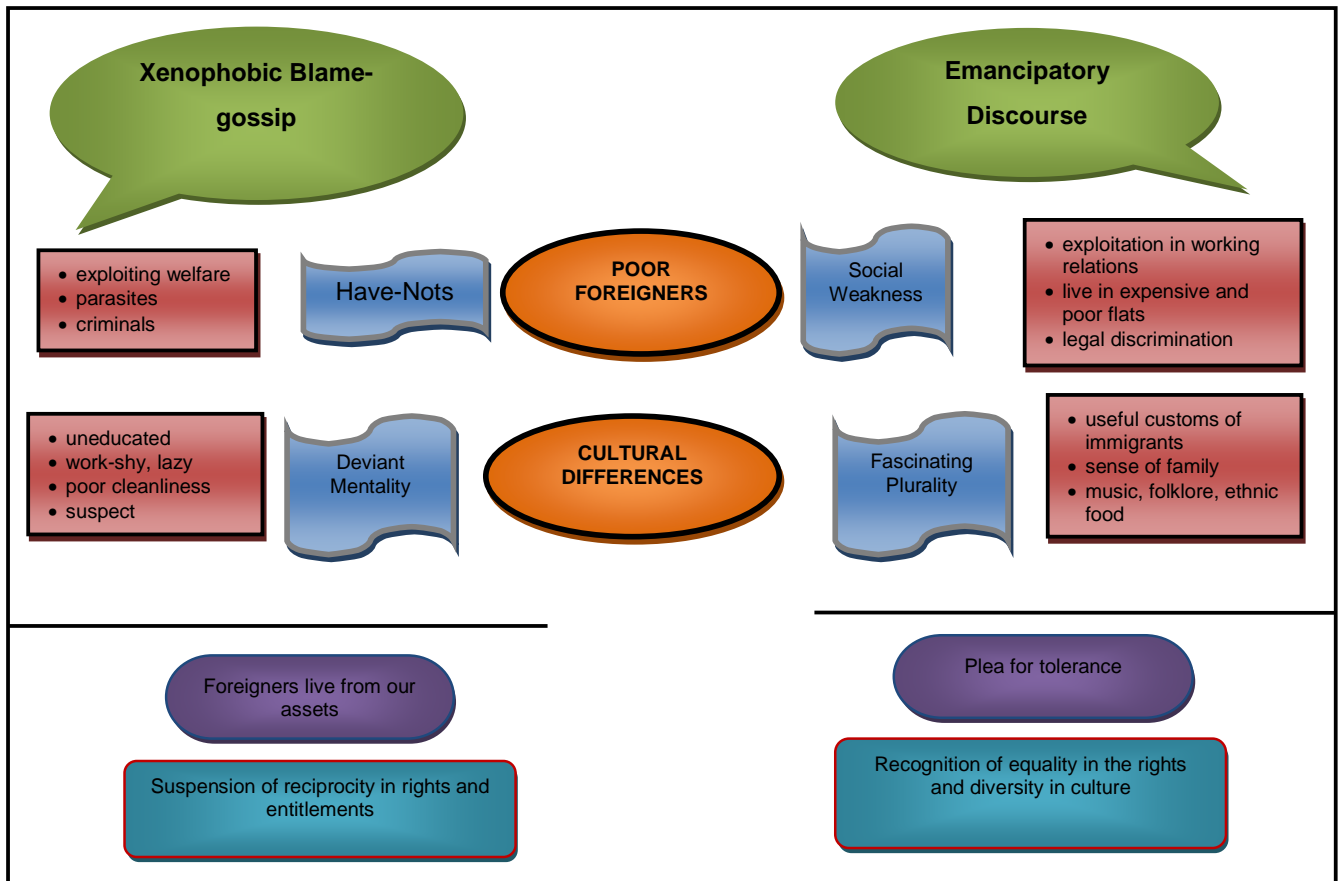
Van Dijk (1996:85) answers these questions by stating that not everyone has equal access to medical, legal, political, bureaucratic or scholarly text and talk. In big cities, where people come from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, the measures of discourse access may be rather faithful indicators of the power of dominant groups and their members. In education, educators control the communicative events and distribute speaking turns among learners (Van Dijk, 1996:86). At home, parents control not only the manner of the children's communication, but also what they read or what they watch, especially on television. In regards to this, there is a connection between power, dominance and access. According to Van Dijk (2001:357), there are three ways that power and dominance are involved in mind control of the people. They are:

- i. "Recipients tend to accept beliefs, knowledge and opinions through discourse from what they see as authoritative, trustworthy or credible sources, such as scholars, experts, professionals or reliable media;
- ii. Participants are sometimes obliged to be recipients of discourse, for example job instructions; and
- iii. There are, in most cases, no public discourses or media that can provide information from which alternative beliefs may be derived".

One of the objectives of this study is to determine the impact of language on anti-foreigner sentiments encountered by the Igbo in Bloemfontein. The exploration of the

impact of language on anti-foreigner sentiments would help to identify the hidden power of the press in the dissemination of information in the society, the people that have access to this information, and how this information steers one's mind and directly or indirectly controls it. Van Dijk (n.d.a) claims that the media plays a fundamental role in the reproduction of racism in society by defining minority groups as problematic, deviant or criminal and by installing or confirming prevailing ethnic stereotypes and prejudices among the public at large. The negative attitudes to foreigners are summarised in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2 Semantic fields in discourse about “foreigners”.



Source: Gotsbachner (2001:739)

Figure 3.2 is organised by Gotsbachner (2001) around two topics; “poor foreigners” and “cultural differences”. The topics, according to him, have been identified as focal

concepts of discourse about foreigners which can vary in meaning from different people. It is possible to talk about the “cultural differences” of “poor foreigners” using language which results in emancipation by viewing the cultural differences of poor foreigners as fascinating plurality. However, it is also possible to talk about the “cultural differences” of “poor foreigners” using language that is xenophobic so that the foreigners are blamed for the difficulties that their presences causes – they are “have nots” (do not have anything) and they exhibit a “deviant mentality.” The different representations (positive and negative perception of the foreigners) are concluded under the bottom line. “Emancipatory discourse” represents a plea for tolerance and recognition of equality in the rights and diversity in culture of all the foreigners, while “xenophobic blame-gossip” is a legitimisation of why immigrants need not be treated as having equal human rights like the citizens. Figure 3.2 shows that, in any country, the attitudes towards the foreigners is either positive (tolerance and recognition of equality in their rights and the diversity in culture of all the foreigners) or negative (marginalisation, deprivation and unequal treatments).

Van Dijk’s selected articles that deal with the way ethnic minorities and immigrants are portrayed in the European press, with special attention on the headlines of news reports (in other words, the dissemination of information to the public through the press) are reviewed. The review focus on the following of Van Dijk’s publications:

- i. “Race, riots and the press: An analysis of editorials in the British press about the 1985 disorders”; (Van Dijk, n.d.a);
- ii. “Discourse, power and access” (Van Dijk, 1996);
- iii. “Discourse and racism” (Van Dijk, 1999); and
- iv. “How they hit the headlines: Ethnic minorities in the press” (Van Dijk, 1988a).

The background to the first paper, “Race, riots and the press: An analysis of editorials in the British press about the 1985 disorders”, deals with an aspect of the reproduction of racism by the media through the definition and evaluation of ethnically relevant events in newspaper editorials taken from five British national newspapers (*Times*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Mail*, *Sun* and the *Guardian*). The corpus comprises of all the editorials about the riots that took place at Handsworth, Birmingham; Brixton and Tottenham, London in 1985, focusing on the evaluation of

the events, and the recommendations about actions to be taken to contain or avoid future riots (Van Dijk, n.d.a.:229).

In “discourse, power and access”, Van Dijk (1996), focuses primarily on the relationships between discourse and social power. More specifically, it is an analysis which describes and explains how power abuse is enacted, reproduced or legitimised by the text and talk of dominant white groups over ethnic or racial minorities, refugees or other immigrants. He argues that dominant groups or institutions influence the structures of text and talk. As a result of their influence, the knowledge, attitudes, norms, values and ideologies of recipients are indirectly affected in the interest of the dominant group. According to Van Dijk, the elements in the reproduction process are the structures and strategies of access, which control “the preparation, participants, goals, language, genre, speech acts, topics, schemata (for example headlines and quotes), style and rhetoric” (Van Dijk, 1996:102).

The paper depicts the attitudes of the British people towards minority groups and immigrants, which (the attitudes) are often negative. According to Van Dijk (1996:99), the portrayal of illegality in the press is never on the power holders, such as the employers, business owners and all the others who exploit the minorities or immigrants and pay sub-standard wages or on those who are involved in illegal hiring. This is because the immigrants and minorities have limited or no access to the press but rather are dominated and controlled.

The newspaper headlines emphasises in bold capital letters and attention-seeking bullets, various forms of deviance, violations and crimes attributed to minorities and immigrants. These include “lies, frauds and not paying taxes” (Van Dijk, 1996:95). The article however, presents the British people as tolerant, tough and valiant as well as victims of crime. The news of this sort is not balanced. This is because the access to media and its contents are in itself unbalanced.

In his article, “How they hit the headlines: Ethnic minorities in the press”, Van Dijk (1988a:221) here examines the manner in which ethnic minority groups are portrayed in the European press, looking at the contents, structures and strategies of (re)production of social dominance, whether they are part of a conversation or a

news report or other genres and contexts. The paper is based on the assumption that the press plays an important role in what white people learn about ethnic minority groups and ethnic relations in Europe. According to him, if ethnic news (that is news on minority groups) is prominent at all in the media:

- i. It is usually negative or presented in a negative form, such as the ones related to crime, violence, riots and demonstrations; and
- ii. If the news is *not* negative, it tends to be highly stereotypical. In other words, the minority groups are described as:
 - a. Living in ghettos or poor inner city neighbourhoods;
 - b. People who depend on welfare;
 - c. People doing badly at school;
 - d. Unemployed people;
 - e. People who make constant demands;
 - f. People who are never satisfied; and
 - g. People who cause difficulties to the society (Van Dijk, 1988a:224).

In the journalistic world, editors and news reporters have free access to how the topics appear in the newspapers. They (editors and news reporters) also control the styles of the texts and the pictures, which directly or indirectly control the mind of every reader to some extent. Van Dijk (1996:99) points out that the role of media is biased and has unequal reporting on issues of dominant and minority groups, and foreigners in the society. The news and style of reporting are never in favour of the immigrants or the minority groups but the people in power. Thus, an assessment, such as “most immigrants can do any kind of job for any wage, even working for a pittance which also implies that they out compete white British workers”, according to him (Van Dijk), supports the familiar racist conclusion that immigrants are taking away the indigene’s jobs. He claims further that the emphasis in the newspaper articles has never been that most white British people no longer want these odd jobs. Since the focus of the article is on minorities or foreigners, the writers never mention that these desperate minorities (or foreigners) are under-paid and over-worked. This kind of negative report breeds sentiments among the minority groups and foreigners towards the dominant groups.

All the studies by Van Dijk explored in this section show the negative portrayal of ethnic minority groups and immigrants in the European press. One common feature of Van Dijk's work is his attention to power abuse, dominance and inequality as they are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in different social and political contexts.

In any kind of discourse, the crucial form of access consists of the power to control various dimensions of speech. Participants need to know which mode of communication may or must be used (spoken or written), which language may be used by whom (dominant or standard language or dialect), which genres of discourse or types of speech acts are allowed, or who may begin or interrupt turns in talk or discursive sequences? DA provides us with powerful, but subtle and precise insight to pinpoint the everyday manifestations and displays of social problems in communication and interaction (Van Dijk, 1985a:7).

3.3.2 Language and gender

Gender differences and stereotypes with respect to language and communication deserve investigation. De Klerk (1991:90) defines a stereotype as an "abstraction, simplifying what otherwise might have overwhelmingly diverse meaning". This section explores gender differences in communication patterns, derogatory words used to refer to a specific gender, and language restrictions in society and language stereotypes based on gender. The review of literature on language and gender will help to reveal if the way language is used among the Igbo and the Sesotho also people has a dimension of gender differences. Where there are gender differences that are culturally-determined and the differences are not taken into consideration during interactions, intercultural communication between the two groups can be marred, as many Igbo people in Bloemfontein have Sesotho women as their wives (see Section 2.3).

Some studies have been conducted on language and gender, especially with respect to discourse dominance and conversational style of men and women as reflected in spoken interactions. Many of these studies adopt a quantitative approach, examining the amount and distribution of interactional features, such as the amount of talk,

interruptions and overlaps, turn-taking, questions and topic initiations of both genders (Hirschman, 1994; Kollock, Blumstein and Schwartz, 1985; and Nwoye, 1998), all pointing at differences in men's and women's speech. According to Holmes (2008:157), men and women use different language styles in all speech communities. Holmes (1992:171) discusses a list of what some writers call "sociolinguistic universals" that mark the speech of women in comparison to that of men. Among these sociolinguistic universals are the following:

- i. "Social class and its related status (women tend to interact in a manner which will maintain and increase solidarity);
- ii. The role of women in the society as guardian of society's values;
- iii. Women's status as a subordinate group, which must be polite; and
- iv. Women's tendency to use linguistic devices in expressing gender identity" (Holmes, 1992:171).

The research on language and gender can be divided into two according to Coates (1988:65), namely:

- i. The dominance approach, which interprets linguistic differences in women and men's communicative competence as a reflection of men's dominance and women's subordination; and
- ii. The difference approach, which emphasises the idea that women and men belong to different sub-cultures (that is the differences in women's and men's communicative competence are interpreted as reflecting these different sub-cultures).

Discourse dominance is an area of concern in the investigation of gender differences in mixed gender interactions. There is a partition between women, who take the role of the subordinated or oppressed during mixed gender interactions, and men's desire for conversational dominance when interacting with women (Coates, 1993:203). Spender (1980:81) argues that, in most cultures, the male is afforded more attention in the context of conversation because the register for public discourse has been encoded by men (see the study by Swann, 1988: Section 3.8.3). Women appear to attach more importance to listening in conversation than

interrupting, especially when the interactants are mixed genders. According to Spender (1980:121), women may be more familiar with and more appreciative of the art of listening (which is perhaps a more appropriate description than the art of conversation) and perhaps more skilled at it in comparison with their male counterparts.

The difference approach sees the speech of men and women as being different. The example of study in respect of this is the one by Heungsik (n.d.; see also Tannen, 1991:77). Heungsik (n.d.) points out that in the Korean context, sexist or “man made” language originated from a traditional patriarchal society and its socio-political attitudes, ignoring women as subordinate beings from birth, thus providing justification for men’s predominance over women. Heungsik states further that this kind of thinking (the second position given to women in society) is accepted as a social value in Korean society by both genders and is naturally expressed in language. Therefore, the position and roles of men and women in language use in this culture are superiority versus inferiority roles, and their discourse styles vary according to their genders. Discourse styles involve the styles employed by interactants during conversation, which may be affected by the gender of the interactants, as well as languages spoken by the people involved and the contexts of interactions. The communicative competence and style of men and women differ in their use of different responses in interactions. These differences in speech are manifested in the discourse or conversational styles of both genders, which are characterised by dominance of one gender, turn-taking, interruption, overlapping and listening/silence.

According to Tannen (1991:26), the cross-gender interactions of women and men often result in their having different meanings and reactions to what was said and what was meant. While women speak and hear the language of intimacy, men speak and hear the language of status and independence, which means that communication between men and women can be similar to cross-cultural communication (p.42). On comparing conversational goals, Tannen (1991:77), argues that “men have a report style, aiming to communicate factual information, preserve independence and negotiate and maintain status in a hierarchical order, whereas women have a rapport style concerned with building and establishing

connections and maintaining relationships". Since women are subordinate and are viewed as weaker in society, their language is also placed in the same position.

The subordinate positions occupied by females in the society are also manifested in their speech. Lakoff (1975:8-19) avers that women's speech is often filled with hesitancy and with powerless and differential language because they have been taught from early childhood to do so. Men, on the other hand, speak and use more powerful language filled with "dominance and control" over their female counterparts. Coates and Cameron (1988:13-14) give the following three explanations with regard to gender differences in communication:

- i. "Conservative: women stick to older forms of verbal expression because they are more conservative;
- ii. Status consciousness: women speak more correctly because they are sensible to the social connotations of speech; and
- iii. Solidarity: men need social networking, but women do not experience the same pressure to adhere to vernacular norms¹³".

According to Coates and Cameron (1988:13-19), the gender differences in communication present women's style of language use in a society (where women are seen as subordinate to men) as filled with consciousness (not to be labelled), their language being often stereotyped. Spender (1980:7) claims that "the deficiency in women's speech has its origin in the initial assumption that there is something wrong with women's language".

The question of whether difference in communication patterns are obvious by a speaker's gender or power has been raised by many scholars, such as Coates and Cameron (1988:13; see also Holmes, 1992:164; and Spender, 1980:2). These studies reveal that men of lower status, just as women of lower status, use more

¹³ According to Coates and Cameron (1988:19), the speech of women shows a drift away from the focused vernacular norms accepted by the men's group but not a drift towards the prestige norms of Standard language preferred and used by women.

features of Lakoff's (1975:10-19) "women's language" (that is hesitations, tag questions, intensifiers, qualifiers, empty adjectives, trivial lexis and rising intonation on declarative answers to questions); while women of higher status, just as men of high status, use them less. According to Wodak and Benke (1997:140), the weaker a woman's position is, the more she tried to be polite to raise her social status. No matter how one considers Lakoff's study today, it is important to acknowledge that virtually every language and gender researcher owes much to this classical work, which has influenced our thinking on the issue of language and gender in the past thirty-four years.

Some scholars, such as Holmes (1992:171) suggest that women use more standard speech than men, because they are more status-conscious than men. According to her, standard speech forms are associated more often with high social status. Women use such speech forms to claim the same status as their male counterparts. Men's speech is classified as sharing certain linguistic characteristics (high) that are opposed to the linguistic characteristics (low) supposedly shared by women.

3.3.2.1 Previous studies on language and gender

This section explores different studies conducted on language and gender, bearing in mind varied methods used in the collection of the data. The section focuses on gender that talk more during interactions, with review of the studies by De Klerk (1991), Swann (1988), and Hirschman (1994). The study extends to the discourse style and gender-based distinctions in the grammar of males and females during interaction, with attention to the language of respect.

The work by De Klerk (1991) explores the extent to which the language of women has been devalued as a result of inaccurate stereotyped views by members of the society. She evaluates the widely held view that women are excessively talkative in comparison to their male counterparts. De Klerk tape recorded 160 English-speaking adolescents (school children) between the ages of 12 and 17. Each of the informants was told to describe two pictures in detail and to imagine describing it to a blind person (who really wants to know what they look like). The study reveals that

talkativeness was not a purely sex-related phenomenon, contrary to the widely held view that women talk more than men.

Swann (1988) conducted a study on classroom talk between boys and girls. The study examined the mechanisms of turns allocation and turns exchange which support male dominance of classroom talk and the roles played by boys, girls and their educator in achieving such interactional dominance. The data were collected in the classroom through video recordings of two twenty-minute sequences of small group of primary school children in two different schools. In the first school, there were six children (three boys and three girls) aged between 9 and 11 years and a female teacher. The second school involved eight children (four boys and four girls) between the ages of 9 to 10 also with a female teacher. The discussion in both recordings was set up for research purposes. However, the work the children were engaged in was part of their normal class work at the time of recording (Swann, 1988:130). The study reveals that boys dominate girls in the classroom interactions, both in terms of the number of words and the number of turns taken. Swann argues that there was interaction between the behaviour of all the participants. For instance, the greater attention the educator paid to the boys may have encouraged a greater participation on their part and less contribution by the girls.

Hirschman (1994) explored the possible differences in how females and males interact in conversation. He examined some phenomena, such as amount of talk, fillers, qualifiers, personal pronouns, and interruptions: all linguistic strategies that have become standard objects of analysis for researchers examining conversation from the perspective of language and gender. The objective of the study was to isolate quantifiable entities related to controlling or directing the conversation, specifically in how to characterise who talked; how much; how fluently or confidently; and how the two people in the conversation react to each other's talking: whether they solicit the other person's input or ignores it, and whether they attempt to interrupt or to show support to the person they were talking to. The study also covers questions, such as: how is a conversation dominated by a person and how are things like assertiveness, verbal aggressiveness, or supportiveness indicated in a person's speech?

The paper analysed data from a study where two females and two males talked to each other in all possible pairs. Each pair was given a question to discuss for 10 minutes in a room with a tape recorder. At the end of the 10 minutes, the two pairs were interrupted, partners were rotated, and a new question was provided. A total of 60 minutes of conversation was recorded and transcribed. Hirschman (1994:438) notes that it is impossible to make any kind of generalisation about female and male patterns of conversational interactions, because of the sample size (four people) used in the study. However, the study reveals that:

- i. The female speakers used more first person pronouns and fewer third person references than the male speakers;
- ii. The female speakers used *mm hmm* at a much higher frequency than the male speakers;
- iii. The female speakers also interrupted each other more; and
- iv. The female speakers' conversation seemed more fluent than the other conversations, as measured by number of affirmative transitions upon speaker change.

Despite the widespread stereotypes of women as the talkative sex, most of the research evidence points the other way (Holmes, 2008:305). Studies, such as the one conducted by De Klerk (1991) show that talkativeness is not purely a sex-related phenomenon. Research by Swann (1988) also reveals that classroom talk is often dominated by boys, contrary to the widely held view that females talk more than males (see Section 3.3.2.1).

In studying gender difference in language use of Igbo men and women, Nwoye (1998) explored the differences in the discourse style of Igbo men and women during interactions. The data for the study were collected from the interactions in two Igbo mixed-gender groups. The first group consisted of co-workers in a grocery shop, who were friends and neighbours. The second group consisted of three married couples; all were professionals, and friends as well as neighbours, who worked in different sectors of schools, living close to one another in a housing project. The couples frequently exchanged long informal visits. A general atmosphere of cordiality existed

among the members of each group. All the participants in the interactions spoke Igbo and English fluently. The focus of the study is on discourse dominance.

A total of 7 hours, 50 minutes was recorded, transcribed and analysed. Nwoye conducted a pilot analysis of discourse in mix-sex groups earlier. The results of the pilot study show that women tend to use fewer speech acts like orders, criticism, and complaints that are confrontational, and more speech acts of the conciliatory types, like apologies, explanations, and request. However, his analysis of his main study does not fully support his pilot studies findings, rather, the study reveals that women use relatively more speech acts that are supportive and empathetic (explanation, requests, masked orders, apologies and questions). Surprisingly, the sample shows women using slightly more non-supportive and non-empathetic speech acts than men (orders/commands, contradictions, criticisms, accusations, and assertions).

Nwoye (1998:99) argues that these apparent differences in conversational strategy portray the hierarchical nature of Igbo male-female relationships, which is based on an imbalance of power in Igbo society. According to him, the differences help to complementarily contribute towards making conversation cooperative. Coates (1993:10) states that, in language use, women seem to adopt cooperative styles as opposed to competitive strategies adopted by men in mixed gender conversation. In Nwoye's study, men exercised firm control over topic maintenance, shift, and interruptions, with 62% of successful control, while all unsuccessful control attempts were initiated by women. This study notes that, on the surface, there exist no structural differences between men's and women's language in Igbo, such as obtained in languages such as Japanese. However, differences exist at the level of language use in hierarchical relationships (Nwoye, 1998:99).

There is a lack of gender-based distinctions in the grammar of most African languages. However, there is gender difference in the use of language in most African languages. For example, there is a traditional language of respect, known as *ukuhlonipha* (literally "to respect") among Nguni (see Section 2.4.2 for Nguni languages), and *Hlompha*, among the Sesotho, while it is called *isiHlonipho* in isiZulu. This language of respect is commonly used by women in Nguni and Sotho cultures, as *hlonipha* and is generally but not exclusively applied to the female sex.

According to Rudwick and Shange (2006:476), it is not tenable to ascribe the responsibility of *isiHlonipho* usage exclusively to females; an isiZulu male who is a member of a *lobolo*¹⁴ delegation may use the linguistic register as a term of respect when addressing his mother-in-law, as married men should also not call the names of their parents-in-law.

Hlonipho is not a specific linguistic variety with its own grammar, but rather a lexical sub-form or variety of the language. These words: *ukuhlonipha*, *Hlompha*, and *isiHloniph* describe a relationship between the couple (mostly on the part of wives) and their in-laws. According to Thetela (2002:177), *hlonipha* is realized through politeness encodings, such as euphemism, avoidance and profanities. Women who are married in these cultures (Nguni and Sotho) are not allowed to pronounce or use words which have for their principal syllable any part or syllable of the names occurring among her husband's relatives (Finlayson, 2002:282).

Finlayson (2002) explores women's language of respect (known as *isihlonipho sabazi*) by Southern Africa Bantu-speaking people, most especially Nguni and southern Sotho-speaking women. He argues that *hlonipha* linguistic custom of syllable avoidance is applied to the names of the father-in-law, mother-in-law's brothers and their wives and the mother-in-law's sisters and their husbands. His study focuses on a language variety associated with respect in the Nguni language. He interviewed 19 women to ascertain the extent to which women in urban areas uphold the tradition of respect for their in-laws through *hlonipha*. Twelve (12) respondents claimed that they had retained this custom and knew how to *hlonipha*. However, Finlayson discovered from his interaction with these respondents that some words of *hlonipha* origin were used by them (the respondents), but the consciousness of syllables occurring in the family names of their husbands was not followed as expected in their culture. According to him, only a core vocabulary which consists of words that were generally known and accepted as *hlonipha* words were used by his respondents. The decreased use of *isiHlonipho* in urban settings is

¹⁴ *Lobolo* is the bride price payment.

indicative, among other things, of the broader trend towards a less “traditional” and a more “Westernised” lifestyle among urban residents. It also suggests that South African female youth question traditional patriarchal customs and legacies which position women in a submissive role (Rudwick & Shange, 2006:474). Examples of core *hlonipha* vocabulary in isiXhosa are given in Table 3.2:

Table 3.2 Language of respect in isiXhosa

	IsiXhosa	Core-hlonipha	English
1	Ukutya	Ukumunda	Food/to eat
2	Isonka	Isiqhusheko	Bread
3	inyama	Imheya	Meat
4	Inkomo	Inombe	Cow
5	lhagu	Ingulube	Pig
6	Umlungu	Umanyepha	White man
7	Ixhego	Ikhitha	Old man
8	Isifuba	Isinyamba	Chest
9	Indlu	Inkumba	House
10	Ukufa	Ukunoboka	To die

Source: Finlayson (2002:287-288)

The examples on the above table illustrate some of *hlonipha* words used only by isiXhosa women. The table also shows their equivalents in English and common isiXhosa words. The process of *hlonipha* is randomly replacing or deleting some consonants, although this does not apply to the core vocabulary (Finlayson, 2002:288-289).

In a similar study, Rudwick and Shange (2006) explored the language of respect in isiZulu; *isiHlonipho*. *isiHlonipho*, as embedded in isiZulu may thus be regarded as an isiZulu register spoken with an extended lexicon in order to avoid “forbidden” syllables (Rudwick & Shange, 2006:478). The isiZulu *isiHlonipho* has numerous

stable lexical items which are known by the majority of isiZulu females. Some of these *isiHlonipho* words are given in Table 3.3 below:

Table 3.3 Language of respect in isiZulu

	isiZulu	isiHlonipho	English
1	Amanzi	Amandambi/Amakwate	Water
2	Imali	Inkece	Money
3	Isicathulo	Isinyathelo	Shoe
4	Umfana	Umkhapheyana	Boy
5	Inkomo	Imeshe	Cow

Source: Rudwick and Shange (2006:479)

The custom of *hlonipha* according to Finlayson is a mark of dominance by the male members of the family, from the time the woman enters her in-law's home, until she dies. The woman should *hlonipha* if she does not want to be ostracized by her in-laws. However, the custom of *hlonipha* according to Finlayson (2002:279) is fading away due to urbanisation and modernisation.

Further studies on the linguistic differences of men and women were conducted by Trudgill (1983:78). He investigated the linguistic differences in the speech of men and women across many societies. Trudgill discovered that:

- i. "In some dialects of American English, it has been found that women's vowels are more peripheral (more front, more back, higher or lower) than those of men.
- ii. In Gros Ventre, an American Indian language from the north-eastern USA, palatalised dental stops in men's speech correspond to palatalised velar stops in the speech of women.

- iii. In Yukaghir, a north-eastern Asian language, /tj/ and /dj/ in men's speech correspond to /ts/ and /dz/ in the speech of women, respectively" (Trudgill, 1983:78).

In addition, there are some language groups, such as Japanese that have clear differences in the grammar of their males and females. The study by Shibamoto (1987) reveals that a Japanese woman might use a different form of language to what a man might use, but the meaning of the words remains the same. According to Shibamoto (1987:28), there are several morphological forms which are used by women only and that differ from the form that their male counterparts use. These differences are compared in given words in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Words with different forms for men and women in Japanese

	Men's Form	Women's Form	Gloss
1	Hara	Onaka	Stomach
2	Tukemono	Okooko	Pickles
3	Mizu	Ohiya	Water
4	Bentoo	Obentoo	Box lunch
5	Kane	Okane	Money
6	Hasi	Ohasi	Chopstick
7	Umasi	Oisii	Delicious
8	Kuu	Taberu	Eat
9	Kutabaru/Sinu	Nakanaru	Die
10	Hon	Gohon	Book

Shibamoto (1987:28)

It is observed from Table 3.4 that most of the female forms of the nominal are prefixed with "o". Bonvillain (2003:223) avers that the prefix is a polite or honorific marker that can be used by either gender. But when it occurs with much greater

frequency (that is when its occurrence is *excessive*) it is socially stigmatised in Japan, as often occurs in women's speech (Shibamoto, 1987:28-29).

Another area in respect to language and gender that needs investigation is on language stereotypes and derogatory words/phrases in different societies. There are many examples of words on language and gender that are associated with the female, which are euphemistic, detrimental or sexually immoral. Lakoff (1975:4), for instance, states that "women experience linguistic discrimination in two ways: in the way they are taught to use language, and the way language is used to refer to them".

These two ways in which language is used in discriminating against women relegate women to certain subservient functions especially, that of sex object or servant. This means that certain lexical items or words can mean one thing to men and mean another thing when applied to women (Lakoff, 1975:4). For example, a "governor" wields considerable power as the executive of a political administrative unit, while a "governess" is employed by wealthy parents, to take care of their small children (Fasold, 1990:113). Lakoff (1975:29) and Spender (1980:18) argue that words, such as "mistress" are derogatory because they are often used in a euphemistic way for a prostitute/concubine. The equivalent, "master", however, usually refers to a "man who has acquired consummate ability in some field, but normally nonsexual" (that is a superior person or one's boss). In addition, "witch" and "warlock" possess evil supernatural powers, but no one would describe a man as ugly and ill-tempered by calling him an "old warlock". It is, however, very common to hear a woman being referred to as a "witch". Furthermore, "sir" and "madam" are words which are used to refer to people with high status, while "madam", unlike "sir", can also be used to refer to a "manager of a brothel" (Fasold, 1990:113). Pauwels (1998:53) reveals that there are more words, phrases and metaphors designating women who engage in (promiscuous) sexual activity than words referring to sexually active (promiscuous) men in different world languages.

These arguments above confirm Spender's (1980:17) assertion that words associated with women assume negative connotations even where the word designates the same state or condition as related words used for men; in other words, words for women occupy a negative semantic space. In the Igbo language,

there are some examples of derogatory words that describe women in a way that men are not described. This study investigates such derogatory words for women in both Igbo and Sesotho. These derogatory words are presented and analysed in Chapter 5.

3.4 Language, migration and loyalty

Migration is a global phenomenon. According to Deumert (2006:57), migration (trans-national, as well as rural-urban) is likely to continue to rise over the coming decades. Governments and the general public will need to be prepared to address the attitudes of people towards social, cultural, linguistic and economic challenges raised by human mobility.

As the number of migrants rises, many people try to be loyal to their languages, that is, to retain their home languages and culture in their new environments. But this results in cultural and linguistic interferences in every context that involves people from different groups, especially in urban areas where there are better opportunities for jobs, more social amenities and more schools. Therefore, all the languages and cultures in contact with one another in this kind of environment fight for survival and recognition. However, it has become difficult for migrating groups to maintain their linguistic identities by passing it on to their children in this world of globalisation, urbanisation and industrialisation. For instance, during the preliminary study, it was discovered that none of the Igbo people's children the researcher met in Bloemfontein could speak Igbo fluently (see Section 2.3).

Migration movement according to Deumert (2006:58) supports language diversification through geographical dispersion and as well creates the condition for inter-group contact and linguistic convergence. During contact, there are structural borrowings from one language to another (most especially from foreign to native language). Contact between different linguistic groups according to him equally leads to the formation of new forms of speech. Trade jargons and other contact jargons (Pidgins, second language varieties) have emerged as a direct result of human mobility.

3.4.1 Language contact

There is a growing incidence of contact between people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. According to Deumert (2006:57), “cross-border movements are on the increase, with currently about 3% of the world’s population living and working in a country other than that in which they were born”. “The growth in foreign travel for business, study and pleasure, the migration of people seeking work in other countries, the continuous flow of refugees, who are fleeing persecution or war, and the expansion of international trade have naturally all led to a concomitant increase in contacts across national and ethnic borders” (Knapp, Enninger & Knapp-Potthoff, 1987:1). Other reasons for this kind of inter-communication are the contacts within social areas, such as tourism, entertainment, sports, mass media, science, and military cooperation. In addition, natural disasters, such as earthquake and flood can force people out of their environments to where different languages are spoken.

The term “language contact” applies to situations where two or more groups of people who do not have a common native language and culture are in social contact with one another or come into such contact (Trudgill, 1992:45). When the people are in contact, so are their languages. With this multiplicity of contact (people in contact versus language in contact), there is the issue of attitudes towards different languages, which are in contact.

The groups in contact often happen not to have a common means of communication, and if they do, the language is often neither of the speakers’ first languages or mother tongues. For example, the contact between the Igbo and the Sesotho in Bloemfontein, the focus of this study, involves the use of English as a common means of communication among the two groups and yet English is the mother tongue of neither of the groups. This kind of contact mostly occurs in urban areas, the environment often defined by its multiplicity of everything, including language. The choice of a language in an environment like this is attributed to many factors, such as the socio-economic and political status of a language and the attitudes of people towards their language. According to Holmes (2008:21), “who you are talking to, the social context of talk, the functions and topic of discussion – turn out to be

important in accounting for language choice in many different kinds of speech communities”.

Once contact exists, the most prestigious language or the language of wider communication is often chosen to bridge communication gaps and for adaptability. People often learn the language of their immediate environment to identify with their host community and to socialise. If the two groups involved in intercultural discourse do not have a common language to bridge the communication gaps, there may be an emergence of a newly created communication system from the two groups, probably a Pidgin/trade jargon.

A multilingual situation raises the need to study language contact and inter-communication. According to Thomason (2001:1), language contact does not require fluent bilingualism or multilingualism, but some communication between speakers of different languages is necessary. The major point is to be able to communicate with different people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds and to be understood. In respect to multilingualism, anyone that chooses to migrate or explore beyond his cultural and linguistic boundary is most likely to become bilingual. This is because his needs have taken him beyond the reach of his mother tongue and he needs to communicate with different people other than the ones from his language group to survive. As our preliminary study shows that all the Igbo in Bloemfontein are multilingual (see Section 2.3), the choice of any of the languages they could speak in each context they find themselves is investigated in this study in comparison with that of the Sesotho. Glaser (2005:203-204) notes that the languages we learn are not used equally under the same circumstances. This means that we draw on the different languages that we master at different levels for different purposes in different contexts. While one language may be in constant use for the professional context, others are only used for conversations with acquaintances. Some language skills may be sufficient to understand an announcement or to read instructions, whereas others may require more skills to analyse a text.

In an environment of language contact, different non-indigenous languages co-exist with the official, national language as well as with and other migrant minority languages. Each of these languages plays one role or the other, such as intra- or

inter-ethnic contact, formal and informal communication roles. Bonvillain (2003:299) claims that in multilingual communities, each language has a particular status. She also identifies some factors that contribute to linguistic ranking, which include the social status of native speakers (including economic and political status) and social context of contact. The study of discourse in its social and cultural contexts conceivably leads to the study of communication patterns that are dependent on differences between cultures (Renkema, 2004:291). Whatever people's level of proficiency is in the second or other languages, it is often acquired primarily for easier communication and understanding of other people from other cultures or language groups in order to communicate, live and work together.

Thomason (2001:49) points out one major economic reason for bilingualism in the modern world, which is the need to know English in order to carry out most large scale international businesses. This is true not only for people at the top of the business, like managers, but also for lower paid employees, such as secretaries and messengers, for whom bilingualism is likely to be one of the major job requirements.

3.4.1.1 Reasons/causes of language contact

In recent years, there is a great need for people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds to work together. Many companies in major cities around the world employ or hire people from all over the world with different languages and cultures. This prompted a number of companies to start investing resources towards training employees in intercultural communication, adaptation and tolerance with the help of in-service programmes or trainings (Bennett, Bennett & Landis, 2004:7).

The movement of people has led to language contact, where they are directly or indirectly forced to learn a new language in order to easily access the community. The immigrants mix the new language with their own language (if they are in contact with people that share the same language with them), or totally abandon their first language or mother tongue. However, the choice of one language over the other is based on the proficiency of the migrants on the said language, the relations with the addressee and the context of discussion. Cheng (2003) investigated the issue of language choice, language shift and language maintenance in mixed marriages

among a Malaysian-Chinese family. One partner was from Thailand, while the other was from China but they were living in Malaysia. The fact that they were both migrants also meant that they had to acquire a language to communicate with their neighbours. For economic reasons both of them learned a Pidgin variety of the Malay language, known as “Bahasa Pasar”, which is used as a petty trading language spoken by persons whose grasp of the language was limited. This Pidgin variety of Malay became a link language that the couple used to communicate with each other and with people with whom they had to have daily transactions.

Therefore, in language contact, the most common language bridges the communication gaps that would have existed between people from different linguistic backgrounds. If this couple has children, the children’s language ability might extend to the formal language of education, as well as other languages spoken in the environment as the children play with other children in their neighbourhood.

In addition, language contact occurs when speakers of distinct speech varieties interact at language borders or as the result of migration or invasion. Even in about 50 to 100 years ago, when people moved from one place to another for business, hunted, partook in inter-tribal wars, multilingualism was common, as tribes needed to communicate with neighbouring peoples, and people captured in war needed to communicate with their captors. According to Trudell (2009:1), multilingualism in Sub-Saharan Africa is a pragmatic response to contact between language communities, the need to trade and cooperate and just get along with each other. He states further that 65% or more of Africans who live in rural areas are quite likely to be multilingual, although not in English or French. The fluency in each of these languages may vary, from rudimentary competency in the language to native-speaker-like competency. Multilingualism also extends to homes where intermarriage and extended family relationships cause people to regularly speak more than one language within their circle of loved ones. Multilingual people dominate areas of Sub-Saharan Africa, where there is much variation in language over short distances, especially people who have dealings outside their own towns or villages, for easier communication and association.

3.4.1.2 The effects of language contact

Language contact may result in some people learning the language of their immediate environment and thus becoming bilingual. Many bilinguals and multilinguals are adept at exploiting the rhetorical possibilities of their linguistic repertoires; they have proven very interesting to linguists who want to know how they cognitively and mentally organise the structure of their language(s) and how those structures may interact with one another in different contexts (Holmes, 2008:40). Linguists are also interested in determining how communities determine who speaks what language to whom and when.

The phenomenon of language contact has been of great interest to linguists. Language contact, being interdependent with intercultural discourse, can lead to language shift. This means that a particular community gradually abandons its original native language and goes over to speak another language. A shift from the native language to a second language (often the language of the immediate environment) happens when the people involved consider their language to be a minor/inferior language. Shifting to another language can also occur when there is no official recognition of the language in question or when people are far away or have moved beyond their cultural background and are dominated by the language of their immediate environment. People's contact with speakers of another language not only opens the door to more language learning, knowledge of other people and their culture, but sometimes leads to a total shift to this new language (Holmes, 2008:52-53). Cheng (2003) investigated the factors which contribute to language shift and language maintenance. According to him, the factors include: education, mother's choice, the socio-economic status of the language, culture, and religion. All these causes of language shift are the effects of language contact. In a society where only one language exists, there would be no reason for language choice; neither would there be a shift from one language to another.

Linguistic diversity increases when people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds are in contact with one another (Deumert, (2006:58). This increase in linguistic diversity leads to different attitudes towards languages in a community. According to Adegbija (2000:75-76), there are three categories of languages in West

Africa. These are exoglossic languages, imposed by European powers; endoglossic languages, which are indigenous to the different countries; and exoendoglossic means of communication, which is pidgin and has largely developed as a result of contact between the first two languages identified here (exoglossic and endoglossic languages). Adebija points out that these different languages have different, complementary, or competitive roles, which have generated a wide range of attitudes towards them. In a multilingual society, one is likely to find either positive or negative attitudes towards the languages involved. Positive or “favoured languages”, as described by Wei (2000:14), tend to be those that are both international and particularly valuable in international trade. A lower status ranking is given to minority languages which are small, regional and of less perceived value in the international market place; thus they are “disfavoured languages”. The negative attitudes given to disfavoured languages are often directed at the people who use the languages.

3.4.2 Intercultural discourse and intercultural communication

This section explores the ways in which scholars have viewed and analysed intercultural discourse and intercultural communication, and situates their research with respect to the research goals of the current study. The section also explores the relationships between culture and discourse and the reasons for miscommunication between people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Some scholars, such as Pierce (1978:523; see also Kim, 1984:16; and Jandt, 1998:36) has defined intercultural communication as a communication phenomenon in which participants, different in cultural backgrounds, come into direct or indirect contact with one another. Intercultural communication also extends to intra-national communication ¹⁵ , to international communication ¹⁶ , and to inter-group

¹⁵ Intra-national communication occurs when the people from the same country, but from different cultural groups, are in contact.

¹⁶ International communication occurs when the people from different countries with different languages and cultures are in contact.

communication¹⁷. However, Gudykunst and Mody (2002:ix) consider intercultural and international communication as separate areas of research. While the former focuses on an individual as a unit of analysis, the latter is interested in the macro level by using units of analysis, such as the nation, firm, world system, groups and movements.

According to Samovar and Porter (1991:6), intercultural communication involves not only international contact, but also domestic contact. In domestic or intra communication, members of different cultures are citizens of the same country. For example, in South Africa, English, Sesotho, Afrikaans, Setswana and other indigenous languages, co-exist in the same country. Nigeria also has a similar situation where English, Igbo, Hausa, Yoruba and many other languages co-exist. However, members of the same culture or language group can also be citizens of different countries. For example, Yoruba is one of the major languages in Nigeria and is also spoken in Togo and Benin. Likewise Sesotho is spoken in South Africa and in the Kingdom of Lesotho. In whatever domain intercultural communication occurs (international or domestic); the common issue is that there is contact between people from different backgrounds.

Most urban centres around the world have attracted many immigrants from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, giving rise to urban linguistic pluralism, where communications are often filled with problems of misunderstanding based on different backgrounds of the contact people. According to Tannen (1991:13), when speakers from different parts of the country, ethnic groups or different class talk to one another, it is likely that their words will not be understood exactly as they were meant. Scollon and Wong-Scollon (1990:260) assert that in intercultural communication, it is the discourse system that produces the greatest difficulty. They further state that the way ideas are put together into an argument, and the way some

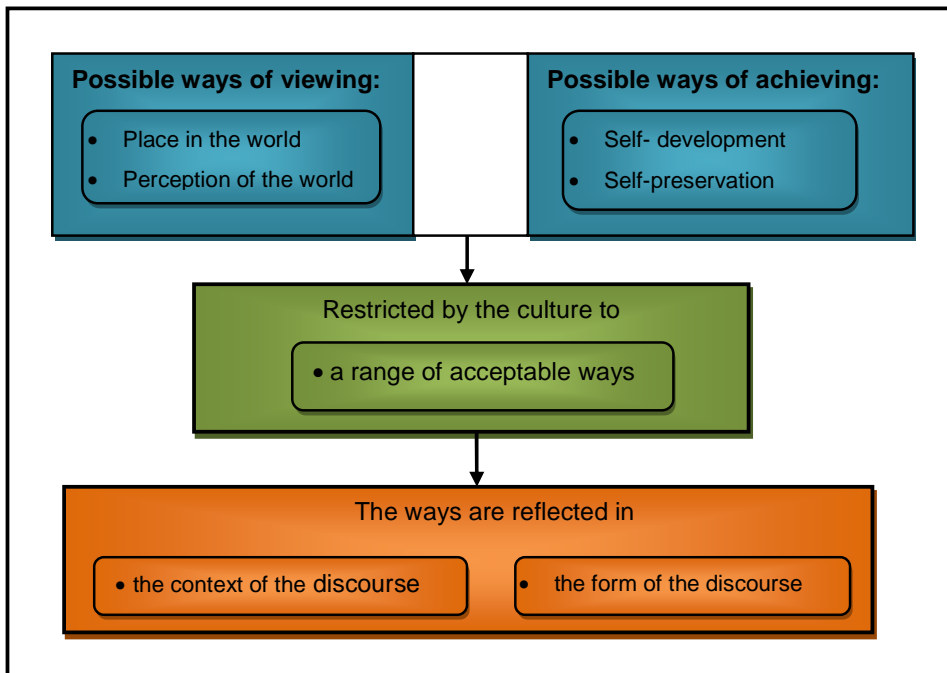
¹⁷ Inter-group communication includes many types of communication that may not ordinarily be included under the rubric of intercultural communication, such as communication between able-bodied and disabled persons, inter-generational communication, communication between the members of different social classes and inter-racial or inter-ethnic communication (Gudykunst, 2002:179).

ideas are selected for special emphasis, as well as the way the emotional information about the ideas is presented may result in miscommunication across ethnic boundaries. Carbaugh (1990:57) argues that the occurrence of misunderstanding in conversation is due to lack of coordination in moment-to-moment interactions, discrimination among classes of people and negative stereotyping as a result of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

However, in order to have effective communication, the participants have to be aware of differences in the culture, class, gender of their co-participants and show tolerance. People who belong to the same speech community are more likely to interpret events similarly and will know the norms for behaving appropriately in the regular communicative events of the community (Holmes 2008:371). Kiesling and Paulston (2005:1) point out that, inter-communicators need a whole range of competencies that go with language to minimize misunderstanding from different people.

In intercultural communication, the misunderstanding may bring negative attitudes towards the other group. However, the participants in the interaction can infer the intended meaning (Tappe & Härtl (2003:1), which can be attributed to the culture of the person. Figure 3.3 below illustrates the relationships between discourse and culture.

Figure 3.3 The relationships between culture and discourse



Source: Chimombo and Roseberry (1998:7)

Chimombo and Roseberry (1998:7) explain Figure 3.3 above, claiming that:

- i. The first box above provides the cultural context of discourse: place in the world, perception of the world, self development and self preservation;
- ii. The second box contains different discourses, which arise from the first box, namely ethnicity, solidarity, power and exploitation, prejudice, sexism, ideology, territory and time; and
- iii. The first and second are reflected in box three; “the contexts of discourse and its form”. Language cannot exist in isolation from the culture of the people and all the norms of the society are embedded in the culture.

What this figure illustrates is the relationship between the culture of the people and discourse. Culture and tradition mould a person’s way of life, his/her thinking, and the way s/he talks and responds to other participants; all these are based on the accepted way of the people’s culture, which might differ from the culture of other

people thereby leading to misunderstanding. Nonetheless, Clyne (1994:3) states the three main ways in which the role of culture in discourse can be and has been studied. These are:

- i. “The contrastive approach: comparing native discourse across culture;
- ii. The inter-language approach: examining the discourse of non-native speakers in a second language; and
- iii. The interactive inter-cultural approach: examining and comparing the discourse of people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, interacting either in a lingua franca or in one of the interlocutors’ languages”.

Finally, the occurrence of intercultural communication extends to people who have never travelled, but are in contact with people from other cultures, who have travelled and come to their environment. People coming in contact with the outside world for the first time may be afraid and nervous in socialising. This kind of fear is what Neuliep (2000:26) calls “intercultural communication apprehension” (ICA) – the fear or anxiety associated with either real or anticipated communication with a person from another culture or co-culture. Neuliep thinks that where there is fear and anxiety among the interactants or communicators, communication there will not be effective. However, this form of fear and anxiety has either disappeared or has been minimized in recent years due to the emergence of modern technology. With the help of technology, one can easily access information about a country they want to visit, know their laws, political situations, any form of disaster and take necessary precautions as required for their own good and safety.

3.4.2.1 Past studies on intercultural communication

In this section, the study explores past studies conducted on intercultural discourse and intercultural communication. The section covers the language adaptation of people in their new environment, and the conversational style of people from different ethnic groups during interactions.

As mentioned in Section 3.4.2, Clyne (1994:3) points out that one of the ways in which the role of culture in discourse can be studied is by examining the discourse of

non-native speakers in a second language. Here, the study by Marley and Qing Gu (2008) investigated the way tertiary-level Chinese students in the United Kingdom (UK) adapt to their new environment with the aim of helping them. The study examined the intercultural experiences of Chinese students at British universities and investigated the pedagogical, socio-cultural and psychological challenges that they encounter, as well as the level of their English understanding, which is the only common means of communication between them and people from other linguistic backgrounds.

The study reveals why Chinese students do not take part in class discussions. The reason, as revealed by the study, is that the Chinese students often do not understand what the teacher is saying during teaching. It is often a big challenge to live, study and adapt in a place with a different culture and where different language(s) are being spoken. According to Marley and Qing Gu (2008:230), the Chinese students feel that language is the main barrier to their general adaptation into their new environment. The inability to communicate well, to understand and be understood is often a major frustration, not only to students, but to everybody in the new environment, especially the foreigners.

In Section 3.4.2, the study mentioned that intercultural communication extends to intra-national communication, that is, when the people from the same country, but from different cultural groups, are in contact. In relation to this (intra-national communication), the study by Tannen (1981) investigated the conversational style of New York Jewish people. In the study, Tannen tape recorded naturally occurring conversation at dinner on thanksgiving among six friends; two females and four males. The recording lasted two and a half hours. The participants came from varied places, and quite different backgrounds, but spoke the same language (English) and seemed to understand one another. However, there were sub-cultural differences that resulted in repeated misunderstandings of one another's intentions.

The analysis of their interactions shows that three of the participants (all natives of New York of East European Jewish background) shared many stylistic features which have a positive effect when used with one another during the interaction. However, these stylistic features have a negative effect when used with the three

other participants (two from Los Angeles and the last person from England). The analysis shows that people's communication style differs based on different backgrounds and the relationships that exist between the speakers, even when the participants are proficient in a common language.

However, the study conducted by Scollon and Wong-Scollon (1990) focuses on inter-ethnic communication between Athabaskans¹⁸ and speakers of English¹⁹. The study by Scollon and Wong-Scollon was motivated by the frequent confusion, misunderstanding and conflicts that often fill the communication between members of different ethnic groups in Alaska and northern Canada. Scollon and Wong-Scollon state that the confusion and misunderstanding that result from this inter-ethnic communication is a source of frustration for both the native people, who think that their legitimate needs are being ignored or misunderstood, and English-speaking people, who feel that they are unable to make their point of view understood. According to Scollon and Wong-Scollon (1990:259), miscommunication increases racial and ethnic stereotyping, which begins to develop and impede further communication. In their study, they followed their four areas of discourse study (see Section 3.2.3).

They outline the main issues involved in Athabaskans-English's inter-ethnic communication that lead to misunderstanding (Scollon & Wong-Scollon, 1990:284), which is summarised in Table 3.5.

¹⁸ Athabaskans refer to people who has socialised to a set of communicative patterns which have their root in the Athabaskan languages. These people were ethnically Athabaskan but might not speak any Athabaskan language.

¹⁹ Speakers of English refer to people whose communicative patterns are those of the dominant American and Canadian English-speaking population (Scollon & Wong-Scollon, 1990:260-261).

Table 3.5 Differences in inter-ethnic communication between English speakers and Athabaskans

	What is confusing to English speakers about Athabaskans	What is confusing to Athabaskans about English speakers
1	They often keep quiet	They talk too much and always talk first
2	They only talk to close acquaintances	They talk to strangers or people they do not know
3	They avoid direct questions	They ask too many questions
4	They never start a conversation	They always interrupt
5	They never say anything about themselves	They do not give others chance to talk
6	They are slow to take a turn in talking	They are not careful when they talk about things or people
7	They are too indirect and inexplicit	
8	They just leave without saying anything	

Source: Scollon and Wong-Scollon (1990:284)

Scollon and Wong-Scollon (1990:260) aver further that the main problem in inter-ethnic communication generally is not caused by grammar (although, language uses grammar as a system of expressing ideas); rather, the problem is caused by discourse system, which tells:

- i. how to interpret the message;
- ii. the way the idea is put together into an argument;
- iii. the way some ideas are selected for special emphasis; or
- iv. the way emotional information about the idea is presented.

3.5 Conversation

In this section, the study explores what conversation is, the attitudes of people towards conversation and during conversation, and different discourse features which people employ during conversation.

Conversation is communication by two or more people; it can as well refer to informal talk, or interaction with somebody, about opinions, ideas, feelings, or

everyday matters. Talking to oneself or praying is always one-sided and, therefore, cannot be called conversation. For example Martin and Rose (2007:220) state that when Helena and Tutu talked to God (prayed), they didn't get the answer; this means that their conversation did not develop. Conversation is the ideal form of communication because it allows people to express their different views on a topic, listen to the opinion of others and learn from one another. Tannen (1991:24-25) claims that conversations are negotiations in which people try to achieve and maintain an upper hand if they can, and protect themselves from others' attempt to put them down and push them around. Boden and Zimmerman (1991:8; and Goodwin, 1981:1) consider conversation as "talk" or "social interaction", which also includes non-verbal conversation. Conversation constitutes a major part of human interactions (Reyes, 2004:77). In conversation, the addressee is as important as the speaker; this is also true in the analysis of discourse, because the addressee influences what one says and how one expresses his or her opinion. In addition, the kind of response one gets depends on the relationship between the interactants.

For a successful conversation, the speakers must achieve a workable balance of connected contributions; this is where conversation is different from a news report, speech, sermon and class instruction, which are characterised by or dominated by one active person. A successful conversation includes mutually interesting connections between the speaker, the addressee and the topic of the discussion, which fit into the context of interaction. For this to happen, those engaging in conversation must find a topic to which they can relate to some extent. Conversation/talk is linked to prior talk not only within turns but also to one's previous statements and to those of others (Bonvillain, 2003:288-289).

However, the relationships between the interactants cannot be over-looked in conversation. Yule (1985:108) argues that one should specify the roles of speaker and hearer or hearers and their relationships (whether they are friends, strangers, young, old, or of equal or unequal status) in communication or conversation. The way one communicates with his/her friends is quite different from the way the person communicates with his/her teacher, superior, or a stranger. This is because conversation is the primary basis of direct social relations between persons and the

relation of the communicators influences the style of the communication (Allen & Guy, 1974:1).

During conversation, one person or group may dominate or control the conversation among the interactants. According to Fairclough (1989:29), “in everyday conversation, a speaker who does not allow others to get a word in edgewise, who by asking question forces others to provide information, or who speaks more loudly than others is dominating the conversation”. Fairclough states further that, at any particular moment in a conversation, one speaker tends to control the other speaker’s conversational actions. Controlling actions is, thus, the basic unit of dominance. This dominance forms part of the discourse style between the Igbo and the Sesotho people investigated in this study.

Language users often communicate indirect meanings, that is, implicit meanings, which have to be inferred from what is being said earlier, on the basis of logical deduction during any interactions. This principle is based on the assumption that language users tacitly agree to cooperate by making their contributions to the talk, as required by their current stage of talk or the direction into which their talk develops (Grice, 1975:44-45). During the course of conversation, any contribution which is not relevant to the issue at hand can lead to misunderstanding or “a break” in conversation.

However, there are various conditions under which misunderstanding can arise in conversation or where conversation order might be violated or infringed upon by participants. In exploring what it is that one knows about taking part in conversation or how to send messages so that the message will be understood, one will realise that there is enormous variation in what people say and how they say it in different linguistic contexts. This may be attributed to their personality or cultural backgrounds. In the analysis of conversation, there are some factors that influence the “what” of a conversation and “how” the interactants converse. These factors include: the language the participants use, the relationship between the interactants, the topic and the context of the discussion. For the full identification of what has been said, one would need to know:

- i. the identity of the speaker;
- ii. the time of the utterance; and
- iii. the meaning on the particular occasion of utterance (Grice, 1975:44).

Grice (1975:44) argues further that talk exchanges do not consist of a succession of disconnected speech by the speakers. Talk exchanges are characteristically cooperative efforts²⁰ and each participant recognises in them (to some extent) a common purpose or set of purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which one is engaged (named cooperative principle). In the analysis of conversation, one emphasis is on how speakers establish various types of links between their utterances and those of other participants. According to Grice (1975:47), there are four maxims of cooperative conversational exchange which can be summarised as follows:

- i. *Quantity* (say as much as possible, but not to say what is unnecessary);
- ii. *Quality* (say what is true and indisputable, possible with evidence);
- iii. *Relation* (let what you say be relevant to the conversation); and
- iv. *Manner* (be clear, unambiguous, brief and orderly).

According to Holmes (2008:358), the two reasons why these maxims are not always followed by people during conversation are because people often deliberately want to mislead the other person, and just to avoid responsibility for saying something unpleasant to them.

3.5.1 Conversation analysis

Conversation analysis (CA) is the study of talk in interaction, both in formal and informal contexts. According to Fairclough (1989:11), CA is one prominent approach within discourse analysis that has been developed by a group of sociologists known

²⁰ The cooperative principle according to Grice (1975:44) is for a speaker to make his conversational contribution such as is required, at the style at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which he is engaged.

as “ethno-methodologist”²¹. Moreover, one of the strength of CA is that it works with extended samples of real conversation (p.11). CA however, has its root in sociology (Holmes, 2008:378).

A conversation analyst studies natural conversations, especially with a view to determining the participants’ methods of turn-taking, constructing sequences of utterances across turns, identifying and repairing problems, when they occur in conversation, and how conversation works in different conventional contexts or settings. CA also attempts to describe the orderliness, structures and sequential patterns of interaction in both institutional and casual conversations. That is, conversation analysts study natural interaction on the assumption that spoken interaction is characterised with different discourse styles. Various aspects of conversation are examined, such as the opening and closing of conversation, how topics are established, developed and changed; and how and why people initiate conversation (Fairclough, 1992:17).

Conversation analysts study conversations of all kinds: casual chat among friends; and conversation in social life: leisure, business, healthcare, education, and politics. According to Wilson (1991:22), the concern of conversation analysts is with the way participants construct their interaction turn by turn over its course to accomplish an accountably coherent exchange. The major strength of CA lies in the idea that an important area of interactional meaning is revealed in the sequence. In other words, the human interactants continually display their ideas to one another in the course of interaction and their own understanding of the topic of interaction.

The study of conversation deals with the analysis of naturally occurring interactions in different contexts. The analysis of conversation is made possible and easier by transcription of recorded conversations or interactions (Tannen, 1984:36). This implies that the analysis of verbal interactions requires a method of written

²¹ Ethno-methodology, according to Robert *et al.* (1992:83), is the study of how ordinary people use their common sense and respond to the activities which they are involved.

representation (a transcription system). “Regular spelling conventions are often not sufficient for representing conversation, although intonation can be partly reproduced using punctuation and stress mark” (Renkema, 2004:161). In the transcriptions, words are written as they are pronounced to be analysable with focus on different conversational styles (Tracy, 2002:86). The conversational features are the focus of the next section.

3.5.2 Conversational styles

“Style” is not something extra, which is added on like frosting on a cake. It is the stuff of which the linguistic cake is made: pitch, amplitude, intonation, voice quality, lexical and syntactic choice, rate of speech and turn taking, as well as what is said and how discourse cohesion is achieved (Tannen, 1981:136). In other words, style refers to all the ways speakers encode meaning in a language and convey how they intend their talk to be understood. According to Tracy (2002:130), style is an individual’s unique signature; at the same time, it is a characteristic way of communicating, which is partly shared with people whom one has spent time with, such as family and friends. A conversational style is, therefore, the unique way an individual carries out any conversation in any context. Van Dijk (1985c:2) states that “style has to do with the context-dependent variation of language use”. He notes that sociolinguists pay attention to the choice of specific style as a function of social situation, class or ethnic membership or of social factors, such as gender, status or power. However, social interaction according to West and Zimmerman (1985) is managed with the focus on the identities of the participants, the speech, why the behaviour of a person is adjusted, to whom one is speaking, the setting and the reason of the encounter.

The discourse style of a community goes a long way in sustaining the language of the community and identifying a particular people or group. Tannen (1984:1-2) argues that conversation styles are made up of the basic tools with which people in a community communicate with one another. In order to understand any words spoken, you need to know where the words came from and by whom, what the words mean, and the intention of the speaker (that is, to know if the speaker is joking, scolding, being friendly or rude?). The ways that these intentions are communicated are the features of conversational style: tone of voice, pausing,

speeding up and slowing down, getting louder and softer, and the speaker's body language. All the elements that make up not only what you say but the way you say it are the *style*.

3.5.2.1 Turn-taking

This section explores the meaning of turn, turn-taking, turn organisation, and management of turns.

One central concept within CA is the speaking turn. A turn is usually defined as uninterrupted sequence of speech by one speaker. It is the time when a speaker is talking, and there tends to be an avoidance of silence between speaking turns (Yule, 1985:108). A key aspect of all talk in situations of interactions is that both speakers and listeners depend upon physical and social contexts as well as facial expressions in making sense of what is being said.

The basic idea is that turns come in pairs (responsive pairs or adjacency pair²²) and the first of a pair creates certain expectations which constrain the possibilities for a second turn. The pairs may be split over a sequence of turns. Turn activities include: sequence organisation which is concerned with how actions are ordered in conversation, how questions are asked and answered, how requests are made and granted or denied, how assessments are offered and seconded. For example, if a question is asked, it should be answered, unless it was understood to be a rhetorical question, that is, a question for which the speaker obviously desires no answer. In addition, if someone in the audience is commanded, summoned, or invited by the speaker in any way, that person is expected to make an appropriate response. If the first part of what the speaker said is a proverb, the listener(s) is/are expected to finish or complete the proverb, if s/he knows the proverb. According to Holmes (2008:380), the first part of an utterance may be followed by one or two possible

²² An adjacency pair according to Peräkylä (2004:167) is a sequence of two actions performed by one interactant. It invites a particular type of second action to be performed by another interactant, for example question-answer, invitation-acceptance/declination and complaint – apology/denial.

types of responses: invitation—acceptance (or invitation—refusal), complaint—apology (or complaint—denial). Each move in a conversation is essentially a response to the preceding talk or what has been discussed earlier and an anticipation of the kind of talk which is to follow. A knowledge of the previous talk leads to correct reactions and this actually shows that the interactants listen and maintain an awareness of the turn exchange. However, there is no limit to the length of a turn in conversation; a length of turn can be from a single word to a complete story.

Moreover, if the first person talks and the second person does not know what is expected of him to respond, the first speaker will take it that s/he did not follow the “talk” or was “not listening”. If the interactants are attentive, they will observe any discrepancies, when they occur, in their different speaking turns and opt for repair. Repair in turns organisation describes how parties in conversation deal with problems of hearing, understanding and speaking (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks, 1977:361). Repair can occur by the speaker or the addressee in conversation out of misunderstanding.

Turn-taking is a basic form of organisation for conversation or interaction, and a central issue in the study of the management of discourse events and has received a great deal of attention from a wide variety of perspectives (Fasold, 1990:66). Turn-taking is especially studied by conversational analysts.

There are a variety of ways in which individuals can express their intention, provide approval or disapproval, or make their views known to others, without violating other people’s turns within the conversation. Turn-taking is the skill of knowing when to start and finish a turn in a conversation and when to allow others to take their turns. There are many ways that speakers manage turn-taking and they vary in different cultures. For example, one way that speakers signal a finished turn is to drop the pitch or volume of their voice at the end of an utterance (Taboada, 2006:573).

The social organisation of turn-taking distributes turns among participants. Groups of interactants develop turn-allocation systems and preferences which are not often pre-planned. The way turns are managed varies in conversation based on the

participants and the contexts. Turn-taking in informal conversation between equals is managed by “negotiation” between the participants on a turn-by-turn basis. According to this formula, the person speaking may select the next speaker, the next speaker may take the turn, or if that does not happen, the person speaking may continue. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974:704) state the three basic sets of rules, which govern turn construction, and which provide for the allocation of a next turn to minimize gaps and overlaps between the speaking turns. The rules are:

- i. Current speaker selects next speaker;
- ii. Next speaker self-selects as next speaker; and
- iii. Current speaker continues.

At the turn transition-relevance place according to them, if neither first nor second rule has being operated, then the third rule (current speaker continues) re-applies at the next transition-relevance place. The current speaker continues recursively at each next turn transition-relevance place, until turn transfer to another person is successful. It is assumed that all participants have equal rights (Fairclough, 1989:134); however, the case is different when conversation takes place between people of unequal social status, such as parents and their children, or lecturers and their students.

In any given conversation, according to Fairclough (1989:135), there are various devices which are used for putting constraints on the contributions of less powerful participants. These include interruption, enforcing explicitness, controlling topic and formulation. Turn-taking research, according to Fasold (1990:66), leads in a natural way to another important interactional theme, namely interruption and overlapping.

3.5.2.2 Interruption and overlapping

Interruption is one of the conversational features; it is viewed as an unsuccessful turn transition, which results in a breakdown in the turn exchange system (Livingston, Flowers, Hoder & Ryan, 2000:236). According to Coates (1986:99), interruption is a violation of the turn-taking rules of conversation. That is, the next

speaker begins to speak while the current speaker is still speaking, at a point in the current speaker's turn that could not be defined as the last word.

However, Bonvillain (2003:201) asserts that interruption is the violation of a current speaker's rights. Interruption breaks the symmetry of the conversational model. It prevents the speaker from finishing his or her turn or gaining the subsequent turn for himself. In formal settings, such as seminars, meetings or conferences, the occurrence of interruption and overlapping is very minimal because, in these kinds of contexts, the turns are often organised in such a way that everybody is allowed to speak only with the permission from a moderator. This minimises the frequency of interruption.

Overlapping is a breach of turn in conversation. It is a simultaneous talking by participants which may include sentence initial overlap or simultaneous starts wherein both participants begin talking at the same time (Livingston *et al*, 2000:236). Bonvillain (2003:201) notes that overlapping is an error of judgement in transition and timing to the next turn.

However, according to Holmes (2008:386), overlapping is not always disruptive, as the addressee can laugh, which shows that it did not in any way interfere with the current speaker's turn. It is disruptive only when it interferes and stops the current speaker's turn. According to Tannen (1985:207), one function of overlap is that it enables a listener to show understanding by talking at the same time as the speaker: by loud exclamations of understanding, by finishing sentences with or instead of the speaker, which shows that the listener knows where the sentence is going; hence, s/he has been a good listener.

Schegloff (2000:10-11) summarises the features of overlap as follows:

- i. "Most overlaps are *over* very quickly.
- ii. Some overlaps persist to considerable length.
- iii. Many overlaps are the site of hitches and perturbations in the production of the talk.

- iv. The management of overlap by participants in talk-in interaction should provide an account of the treatment of singular, individual occasions of overlap by the participants, and at the same time should be compatible with (and illuminate) observations about the aggregate of overlaps.
- v. The production, registering, and management of overlaps involve some special facets of turn-taking; dealing with overlap should also be systematically related to the rest of the turn-taking organisation.
- vi. As the turn-taking organisation as a whole is part of an infrastructure through which other interactional interests and preoccupations may be pursued, so should the management of overlaps resolve turn-taking anomalies, and also accommodate non-turn-taking interactional interests that may get embodied in turn-taking terms.
- vii. An account of practices for the treatment of overlaps should be compatible with the account already in hand of the turn-taking organisation for conversation: party-administered, locally deployed, and managed in a recipient-designed and interactionally sensitive manner”.

3.5.2.3 Code-switching and code-mixing

The section explores the meaning of code, different perception of people towards code-switching, different between code-switching and code-mixing, the factors that influence the choice of one speech code to another, reasons for code-switching, and the effects of code-switching.

Code can be used to refer to any kind of system that two or more people employ for communication (speech code) or what Ervin-Tripp (1972:197) calls “language variety”, or “dialect”²³. Sankoff (1979:36) points out that, code is often topic and/or setting-specific.

²³ According to Edwards (1985:19-20), a dialect is a variety of language which differs from other varieties in terms of vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation (accent). Dialects are mutually intelligible, unlike different languages, which are mutually unintelligible.

However, code-switching is a linguistic term referring to the use of more than one language or variety within a speaking turn during interaction. It is also the practice of moving between variations of languages. Most cases of code-switching, according to Adendorff (1993b:2-4), are spontaneous. Code-switching according to Cheshire and Gardener-Chloros (1998:5) is considered as a non-standard form of speech. Ayeomoni (2006:90) states that code-switching and code-mixing are well-known traits in the speech patterns of the average bilingual in any human society and “the speakers that are engaged in code-switching are often proficient bilinguals” (Scotton, 1997:224). Code-switching depends on the situation or context of discussion, topic and setting.

However, people’s perceptions about code-switching are ambivalent. While some people’s reaction to it is favourable or positive; others see it as an indecent speech style as well as lowering the standard of speech, which makes them not to admit switching codes.

According to Sankoff (1980:31), the factors that influence the choice of speech code include: participants, topic, setting or context, channel, message form, mood or tone, intentions and effects. Bilinguals or multilinguals are considered to code-switch because they have the ability to produce well-formed constituents in the languages they can speak during conversation. Most contemporary scholars, such as Ayeomoni (2006:94) consider code-switching and code-mixing to be a normal as well as a natural phenomenon of interactions among bilinguals or multilinguals.

Bonvillain (2003:355) distinguishes between code-switching and code-mixing. Code-switching is when bilingual speakers converse and frequently integrate linguistic materials from both of their languages within the same discourse segment. Code-mixing, on the other hand, is a linguistic process that incorporates materials from a second language into a base language, adding morphological markers of the base to the introduced elements (Bonvillain, 2003:360).

Code-switching has been studied as one of the important areas within bilingualism research, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and general linguistics. Code-switching does not only occur among bilingual or multilingual individuals, but also among

monolinguals, as many languages have different varieties or dialects. For instance, a monolingual speaker can switch from one variety of language to another, just as a multilingual speaker switches from one language to another. Code-switching occurs due to some factors, such as a change in context or social situation, when there are some obvious changes in the situation, such as when a person that speaks a different language or dialect from the speaker joins the interaction (Holmes, 1992:41).

3.5.2.3.1 Reasons for code-switching

From the sociolinguistic point of view, according to Reyes (2004:77), code-switching is studied to understand why people who are competent in two languages or more alternate languages in a particular conversation or situation. Speakers might have any of the different reasons for switching languages. Researchers sometimes focus on the linguistic and social motivations for switching from one language or variety to another. The points at which speakers switch codes and their reasons are likely to vary according to different factors, such as: which codes are involved, the functions of the particular switch and the levels of proficiency in each code (Holmes, 1992:51). Scholars have identified different factors for switching, such as lexical need, the topic and setting of the discussion, or speaker or group identity and relationship-building.

Adendorff (1993b) explores the functions of code-switching in the classroom, where English is the medium of instruction, while isiZulu is a dominant language of the environment, as well as a common language between the learners and their teachers. Adendorff's data and analysis are based on four recordings made in English, Biology and Geography classes, and the principal of the school, addressing the school assembly. The data from the four recordings show that code-switching among the teachers and the principal of the school are used to show solidarity with the pupils. Another functions of code-switching, from Adendorff's study of classroom interaction, are to "facilitate the teacher's accomplishment of his academic and social agendas by enabling him implicitly to clarify information; to encourage the children's participation in the classroom; and to understand what have been said earlier" (p. 23).

Speakers switch code because, sometimes, an expression in a particular language might come to mind quickly than waiting for one's mind to think of appropriate word(s) in only one language. Code-switching may also be reflective of the frequency with which an individual uses particular expressions from one or the other language in his/her daily communications. Thus, an expression from one language may more readily come to mind than the equivalent expression in another language. Furthermore, one code may be more appropriate for the particular topic of a conversation, or for the addressee in the conversation. A speaker switches from one variety of a language into another or from one language to another due to; need for clearer expression, to identify with a particular language group, and for convenience.

Grosjean (1982:206) points out that code-switching is used when one word or an expression is not immediately accessible in the current language. The speaker can then switch to another language where the word or expression comes to mind quickly. Speakers who live in a community and household where two or more languages co-exist frequently switch from one language into another, either between or within utterances (Chung, 2006:294). The words of the dominant language often occur in the speech of bilinguals.

Holmes (1992:11) argues that the choice of one code rather than the other is obviously related to the users of the language — the participants. Other reasons relate to its uses — the social settings and the functions of the interactions. In the classrooms where teachers and learners share a common home language, there is often a gap between language policy and practice in this kind of classroom, and code-switching by teachers and learners is a common strategy to achieve a range of social and pedagogical goals (Probyn, 2009:123). Code-switching even occurs more if most learners do not have the opportunity to acquire English to the levels necessary for their effective learning in school.

The occurrence of code-switching relates to the word order. According to Holmes (1992:51), switch only occurs within sentences at the points where the grammars of both languages match each other. Therefore, you can only switch between an adjective and noun if both languages use the same order for adjective and noun.

Moreover, language dominance (that is, when one language is used more frequently in a particular environment) plays an important role in code-switching. Regardless of which language the bilingual learned first, the more active (dominant) language in the environment determines which mental dictionary is going to be accessed faster.

According to Reyes (2004:79), other reasons for code-switching include the following:

- i. Code-switching occurs because the speaker might associate certain ideas, expressions, emotions, or a point of view with experiences made in a certain language;
- ii. Words might be missing in one language or might be difficult to remember; and
- iii. Speakers who are fluent in two languages will code-switch for stylistic effects, for example to emphasise certain parts of the conversation. However, the switch can last for a few sentences, or a single word.

Code-switching can help an ethnic minority community to retain a sense of cultural identity, in much the same way that slang is used to give a group of people a sense of identity and belonging and to differentiate themselves from society at large. According to Tracy (2002:102), code-switching is a way for a person to make visible his identities, such as nationality or ethnicity that may not be inferable from a person's appearance.

Finally, in some communities, speakers have developed forms of speech that involve inserting words from one language into utterances or sentences of another language. Speakers may do this habitually as a way of flagging their identity as a community and sometimes as a way of maintaining a form of communication that is unique to them and their peers, or just a common language between the speaker and the addressee. For example, a teacher who is delivering a formal lecture uses a standard form of a language, but when he wants to encourage open discussion with his learners, he may shift to the local language common to them, or use a non-standard form of language for teaching (Boztepe, n.d:11).

3.5.2.3.2 Effects of code-switching and code-mixing

Code-switching and code-mixing can lead to language shift as well as to language attrition²⁴. The former (language shift) occurs if the language is a minority language, not officially recognised and not valuable in the international market. The latter (language attrition) can occur if the language in question has only few speakers, in addition to natural disaster (such as flood, earthquake and epidemic), or war. It is obvious that when speakers are shifting from their mother tongue to a language of wider communication or language of their immediate environment (if they are living outside their speech community), their mother tongue is endangered, as their children may, instead of learning the language of their parents, learn the language of their immediate environment, and possibly have just a passive knowledge of their mother tongue.

The issue of minority languages in a multicultural setting has a lot effect on the speakers (of minority languages). The linguistic minority speakers display different linguistic styles in several respects: individuals tend to be bilingual or multilingual and they use different languages for different purposes. During conversations, they (minority language speakers) often use more than a single language. As bilinguals make use of switching from one language to another for special effects, the language itself influences other languages, by absorbing some lexical items from the other language, leading potentially to language change.

3.6 Language stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments

This section deals with the attitude of people, especially the host community towards the minority groups and foreigners, which is often stereotyped. Stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments are expressed through language, and the attitudes and feelings of a particular group are either positive or negative.

²⁴ Language attrition is a psycholinguistic term relating to the language skills of an individual, that is, those changes in language usage resulting from language contact (Clyne, 2003:5).

All societies and cultures are subject to external influences due to mass migration. South Africa has been a melting pot of Africa since the end of apartheid and people from far and near troop into the country for different purposes. In 1994, South Africa experienced the challenges of a multicultural and multilingual society more than ever before, with the opening of borders (that is, with the end of apartheid). South Africa, with a good economy, has many destitute people from other countries, fighting for survival. This led to a sizeable portion of jobs being given to foreigners, who either do not mind very low wages they receive or just work to get and keep their accommodation, as well as to get food in order to sustain themselves. In this kind of situation, where the minority groups/foreigners are struggling to survive by any available means, the poor local residents see it as a threat (that is, direct competition for jobs and living space). Also many incidents of crime are blamed on foreigners (Igglesden, 2008:7; and Van Dijk, 1996:98). This eventually has led to stereotypes, xenophobic sentiments and intolerance among the locals and the foreigners.

Apte (1994:4349) states that “a stereotype is intertwined with strong positive or negative attitudes, and the concept of stereotype primarily focuses on the knowledge of other socio-cultural groups, especially factual or putative racial and ethnic characteristics and their behaviour”. Apte further states that stereotypes of a group may be based on some factors, such as occupation, sex, age, social and economic status. According to Coates and Cameron (1988:8), “stereotyping is most often suffered by minority groups, who are socially subordinate and/or stigmatised in a society”. These stereotypes, which result in stigma and subordination, are expressed through language and are often escalated in the media. The ethnic “prejudices are acquired, shared and legitimated mainly through various kinds of discursive communication among members of the dominant group in the society” (Van Dijk, 1989:115). The prejudice can encourage negative sentiments, discrimination, and hatred among the minority/foreigner and the dominant groups in the society.

For example, on Sunday, 11th May, 2008, violence against foreign residents broke out in South Africa. This violence began in Alexandra and rapidly spread to other communities across the country. Many foreigners were displaced; they took refuge in different places of safety, such as police stations, community halls, as well as churches. Without shelter, food and other basic resources, these foreigners were

trapped and many of them immediately returned to their different home countries. However, others, such as refugees, asylum seekers, migrant workers and those without legal papers were unable to return to their countries or find alternative places to stay and they were in need of large-scale of humanitarian relief. According to Johwa (2009:3), more than 60 foreigners were killed in the attacks. All the killings and lootings were attributed to xenophobia and racism.

Xenophobia and racism seem to be used interchangeably, although they can have wholly different meanings. Xenophobia is a fear one has towards a stranger or a foreigner. However, the fear is not necessary directed towards the people from other countries, but also other culture and belief. Racism, on the other hand, is a belief that a particular race portrays unwanted or unacceptable features. *Webster's ninth new collegiate dictionary* (1983:1364) defines xenophobia as a fear and hatred of strangers or foreigners or anything that is strange or foreign to the person. The person has fears and his consciously attacks are targeted only towards the strangers or foreigners. Ditsheko (2007) claims that "xenophobia is a fear that comes from a real-life experience, where nearly every artisan and other non-skilled jobs are given to foreigners, who either do not mind inhumanly low wages or they just need free rent and food rations to be able to see the next day".

However, Pelser (2008:12) states that foreigners are not taking South Africans' jobs. Rather, "South African government recruits people from other countries to come and help South Africa in the skills, in which there are shortages". He adds that most foreigners who are trading are very creative, as they go the extra mile to set up shops and create jobs, even for South Africans.

Xenophobia can often be triggered by the language of the media, or by negative words or expressions addressed towards the foreigners. The words may not really be negative literally but the context of usage coupled with the fact that the foreigners might not understand the meaning of the words may make them perceive the words negatively. The issue of xenophobic sentiments and its effects on the people involved are often attributed to language, especially the language of media. Language penetrates all sectors and it is a key resource in all aspects of the society. It is used to strengthen inter-personal relationships as well as encourage divisions,

hatred and discriminations. Any burning issue in the society, such as xenophobia, is often escalated with the language of the media. The media has a great power (both positive and negative) in steering people's mind in the society. Thus, according to Van Dijk (1992a:201), in the everyday lives of the dominant group, "conversations about minorities, immigrants, refugees or ethnic and racial affairs more generally serve to express and persuasively convey their ethnic beliefs, attitudes and ideologies, as well as their commonsense interpretations of concrete ethnic events".

"Xenophobia" is not a new word, although it might have been exaggerated in the media. South Africa has been shaped and reshaped by the influx of people from different countries of the world. The media can create a platform on which these sentiments are recycled and, thus, fill people's minds with negative feelings towards one another where it is sometimes not necessary. This is regarded as "overloaded information" on a very sensitive issue (Ditsheko, 2007).

One of the objectives of this study is to examine if derogatory language about foreigners provides evidence for xenophobic sentiments in a society. This will help to identify the hidden power of the press in disseminating information in the society and how this information affects people's mind and controls it either directly or indirectly. As Van Dijk (n.d.a) has rightly asserted, "the media plays a fundamental role in the reproduction of racism in society, by portraying minorities as well as foreigners as problematic and deviant from the country's accepted way of life".

3.7 Conclusion

CDA is a multidisciplinary discourse-analytical practice which, assuming a critical stance, explores, broadly speaking, the relation between discourse and social inequality. So far, the study has explored different studies conducted in CDA, and has revealed the ways in which inequality is enacted and reproduced in discourse. Van Dijk (1998:369) claims that "CDA does not primarily aim to contribute to a specific school, discipline, paradigm, or discourse theory". Rather, "it is interested and motivated by pressing social issues, which it hopes to better understand through discourse analysis". Perhaps, no socio-cultural linguists have been more influential in the study of CDA than Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Deborah

Tannen, James Martin and David Rose. Their works on CDA have a common focus: the inequality of control of how texts are produced, distributed and consumed, which shapes texts in a particular socio-cultural context of interactions.

This chapter reviews the meaning of discourse from different language experts, as well as the origin of CDA. The chapter further explores the different dimensions from which discourse can be analysed, looking at the works of Stubbs, (1983); Scollon & Wong-Scollon (1990); Holmes, (1992); Fairclough (1995); Van Dijk, (1998); Gee (2005); and Martin and Rose (2007). Different research tools which a researcher can employ in carrying out any study on language use are briefly described as well as the past studies on CDA. The chapter also reviews Van Dijk's works on discourse, racism and dominance in the society, the studies that show that the access to discourse in the society is not equal among different people and groups. The dominant group/people in power have more access in comparison with minority groups or foreigners. They (the dominant group) equally control the discourse of the press, which is often in favour of the dominant group. The influence of people in power, according to Van Dijk, plays a major role in the reproduction of racism in the society by portraying the minority group/foreigners as problematic or anything negative, which breeds hatred and can contribute to the xenophobic sentiments among the people.

Different areas in which language is used to discriminate against people in the society on the basis of gender are explored. The study looks at the work of Heungsik (n.d), which explores the roles of patriarchal order in society in dominating women in all aspects of life, including language. The studies by De Klerk (1991), Hirschman (1994) and Swann (1988) show male dominance over women in mixed-gender interactions. The review shows that there is no gender difference in the way language is used by both male and female in most African languages, contrary to the differences revealed in language use in Japanese, as shown in the study conducted by Shibamoto (1987). However, some Bantu languages, such as Sesotho, isiXhosa and isiZulu, show differences in the use of language of respect (*hlonipha*) among males and females, as shown in the study by Finlayson (2002), which is not obtainable in Igbo culture. Nonetheless, the study by Nwoye (1998) reveals the

dominance of males over women in conversation, and the supportive role which is taken by Igbo women.

The impact of migration on language diversity is also explored. The section reviews language contact; the choice of one language over the other in a multilingual setting with focus on the study conducted by Cheng (2003). The reasons of language contact, which range from the mass movement of people from rural areas to urban areas or to other countries, and the need for these people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds to work together and the effects of such are equally explored. Finally, the review extends to different aspects of intercultural discourse and intercultural communication, in addition to the reality of language contact, which brought about intercultural discourse. The chapter further explores some conversational features (such as turn-taking, interruption, and code-switching) employed in interaction. Language stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments which help in identifying the power of press in dissemination of information in the society are discussed.

All these different aspects reviewed are connected to different ways in which language is used in the society, the attitudes and feelings of people towards other people, and the issues in the society. Issues such as conflict, causes of migration (like flood, famine, and earthquake) are perceived negatively and the attitude of the people towards them is the same; all these are expressed in language.

In the next chapter, the study discusses the methodology used in gathering information for this study. It also extends on the process of data collection and how the data collected are presented and analysed.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research approach of the preliminary study and the main research study, the population and the sample of the study, instruments, procedure of data collection, and presentation and analysis. It also discusses the difficulties the researcher encountered during the research.

4.2 The preliminary study

Before proceeding to the main research of this study, it is necessary to summarise the method adopted in the preliminary study (see Section 2.3) on the Igbo people in Bloemfontein, which was conducted in July and August 2007.

4.2.1 The method of the preliminary study

During the preliminary research, the researcher used questionnaire. Copies of the questionnaire were used to solicit information on the background and personal information of the Igbo living in Bloemfontein and to know their (the Igbo) approximate number.

4.2.2 The structure of the questionnaire for the preliminary study

The questions for the preliminary study were divided into two Sections: A and B. Section A contains 16 questions. Seven (7) of the questions were unstructured/open-ended, while 9 were structured/close-ended with different options. The questions in Section A focus on the personal data of the respondents, which include: the respondents' name, address (to know whether they live together or far away from one another), religion, occupation, gender, marital status, languages spoken and languages used most of the time. Section B focuses on their (the Igbo) loyalty towards the Igbo language and the relationship of the Igbo (who reside in

Bloemfontein) with one another. This section of the questionnaire has 9 questions and all of the questions are structured or close-ended questions with two options: “Yes” or “No” (see Appendix 1).

4.2.3 The population of the preliminary study

The researcher wanted to reach people using Igbo as a first language and people who could understand and speak the language, as well as people who have lived in a traditional Igbo community. This excluded the Igbo who were born and brought up in other cultures and who might have learnt Igbo as a second language.

4.2.4 The administration of the preliminary study questionnaire

Copies of the questionnaire were administered and distributed by the researcher and five Igbo men. The researcher was still new to Bloemfontein when she did the preliminary research and could not reach all the Igbo in Bloemfontein personally. A total of 281 copies of the questionnaire were completed and returned from the Igbo community.

4.2.5 Presentation and analysis of the preliminary study

The preliminary study was presented in tabular form and followed by the analysis. The summary of the study is presented in this thesis (see Section 2.3). The findings from the study led to the main study.

4.3 The main study

The main study was conducted in June and July 2009. The objectives of the research are to:

1. Investigate all the languages used among the Igbo and the Sesotho and the contexts in which they use each of these languages.

- a. Among these languages, the study will assess which of them are common to the Igbo and the Sesotho, and are used in their intercultural communication.
 - i. Identify the discourse features employed by the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein during inter-communication.
 - ii. Assess the feelings, opinions and attitudes of the Igbo and the Sesotho people towards one another and towards the languages they use.
 - iii. Determine if language contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa; that is, to assess if derogatory words about foreigners provide evidence for xenophobic sentiments in South Africa.

During the presentation and the analysis of the current research findings, the researcher discovered that she needed more information and went back to the field to gather more data. These consist of two recordings of natural conversation (interaction among friends and interaction at family dinner). The recordings among friends and at family dinner were collected between 18 and 29 August 2009 to complement already collected data.

4.3.1 Area of the study

This research focuses on the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein. In this case “Bloemfontein” refers to central Bloemfontein, but also covers the areas in and around the Central University of Technology (Free State), Willows, Universitas and the areas in and around the University of the Free State, as well as Brandwag.

4.3.2 The research population of the main study

The term “population”, according to Kombo and Tromp (2006:76), refers to a group of individuals, objects, or items from which samples are taken for measurement. The population of this study includes the Igbo and the Sesotho men and women, who are not less than 15 years old, residing in Bloemfontein. The criteria for selecting the respondents include their ethno-linguistic background, gender, age, languages spoken, how long the person has lived in Bloemfontein, and their willingness to participate in the study.

The pre-requisite for participation in this study was to have Igbo or Sesotho as a first/home language. Although 8% of the Sesotho respondents gave Setswana as their first language, 7% out of the 8% who gave Setswana as their first language were able to convince the researcher that they would be suitable for the study. Seven percent (7%) of the respondents told the researcher that they grew up with their Setswana relatives, which made Setswana their first home language. They also said that they came back to their Sesotho families and culture (after five to ten years) at their young age, making them eligible to participate in the study. In addition for one to be eligible to participate in the study, the respondents must have lived in Bloemfontein for at least one year and must have had contact with the opposite group (the Igbo and the Sesotho peoples residing in Bloemfontein).

Prior to the identification of the research site for data collection, the researcher visited shops owned by Igbo people. The aim of the visit was to observe communication and interactions between the Igbo and the Sesotho people and to obtain the necessary rapport of potential participants. The respondents were randomly selected from the larger population (all the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein).

4.3.3 Research instruments

Given the complexity of this research, it was necessary to gather varied information from a cross section of the population. In an effort to collect data on discourse styles employed by the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein, as well as on different language attitudes of the two groups, the researcher made use of different research instruments. As this research could be categorised as critical discourse analysis, the study applied questionnaire, interviews and audio-recordings of natural interactions (in different contexts). The descriptions of each of the research instruments, and their objectives, as well as the steps followed in the collection of the data are presented in the next section. The data were collected and analysed using both qualitative and quantitative (tables and bar graphics) research methods. All the data collected based on attitudes of the two groups were analysed using the framework of Martin and Rose (2007) particularly appraisal.

4.3.3 1 Questionnaire

The questionnaire was one of the instruments used in collecting data for this study. According to Dörnyei (2003:6), a questionnaire is a research instrument employed by researchers to collect reliable and valid data, which the respondents fill in by themselves or with the help of another. In this section, the structuring of the questionnaire, the structure of the questionnaire, questionnaire piloting and administration are described. The questionnaire was used to solicit information on the following:

- i. The different discourse features (such as turn-taking, interruption/overlapping, conversation/discourse dominance and code-switching) used by the Igbo and the Sesotho in Bloemfontein during interactions;
- ii. The different languages used in variety of contexts (such as shops, churches, schools, hospitals and at bus stations) by the Igbo and the Sesotho;
- iii. The feelings, opinions and attitudes of the Igbo and the Sesotho people towards each other;
- iv. The impact of language on anti-foreigner sentiments in South Africa; and
- v. Language and gender, with focus on language restrictions and derogatory words for both the Igbo and the Sesotho male and female.

Most of the questions, particularly on “feelings”, were derived from Neuliep (2000:24-25). The researcher adapted these questions to reflect the objectives of this study. The researcher also formulated questions on the impact of language on the recent anti-foreigner sentiments experienced in South Africa in 2008/2009 and also on conversation dominance, interruption, turn-taking, code-switching and other gender and language issues.

4.3.3.1.1 The research sample

According to Dörnyei (2003:71), a sample is a subset of the population which is the representative of the whole population. The sample of this study consists of 200 participants, which include 100 Igbo and 100 South African Sesotho people living in

Bloemfontein. The Sesotho were selected because they were in contact with the Igbo. Although 200 participants were targeted, the researcher distributed 300 copies of the questionnaire. The reason for this measure was that during the preliminary research, only 281 of 340 questionnaires were completed and returned. Out of the 300 copies of the questionnaire distributed for the main study, only 224 were returned. From these 224, 18 were not fully completed and therefore could not be used. Another 6 fell outside the target group.

4.3.3.1.2 Structuring of the questionnaire

During the structuring of the questionnaire, comments and reactions on the preliminary research questionnaire were taken into consideration. All items which were not relevant to the study were excluded, such as the respondents' names, address, the number of children and the nationality of the spouse. The participants (the Igbo) were not comfortable with these questions during the preliminary research study. For example, about 45% of the preliminary study respondents did not respond to questions 1 and 2 (which are the respondent's names and addresses; see appendix 1); their reason being that when one is in a foreign country, one should be cautious of giving one's personal details out to a stranger. Two of the respondents even told the researcher that if they fill in their names and addresses, and something later happened to them, they would hold the researcher responsible.

4.3.3.1.3 The structure of the questionnaire

The questionnaire consists of four sections: Sections A, B, C and D (see Appendix 2 and 3). Section A elicits information on the participants' background (detailed background of the participants), such as age, gender, marital status, occupation, level of education, language(s) spoken and the number of languages the participants speak. This section also includes the frequency with which the respondents use English in interaction, the language they use to interact with their spouses and children, and the rate/level in which the Igbo and the Sesotho understand their own English and that of other groups. This section consists of 18 questions. All the

questions in this section were structured/close-ended. Apart from the last four questions which have four options, namely “Always”, “Often”, “Rarely”, and “Never”, the rest of the questions (from 1-14) have different options.

Section B covers the languages (English, Igbo, Sesotho, Afrikaans and Setswana), and NP the participants use in different contexts (such as at shops, churches, mosques, hospitals, with friends/strangers, at their homes, at universities/colleges and at bus stations), and the frequency with which they use each of these languages. The questions are in a tabular form. The questions in this section consist of 21 items with five options, namely “Always”, “Often”, “Rarely”, “Never” and “Not Applicable”.

As the focus of this study is on the intercultural discourse between the Igbo and the Sesotho peoples residing in Bloemfontein, the last two section of the questionnaire, Sections C and D cover the attitudes and feelings of both groups during interaction. These sections were analysed based on the framework of Martin and Rose (2007), with focus on appraisal. The sections also cover the discourse features of the groups (such as turn-taking, interruption/overlapping, code-switching, language dominance), aspects of language and gender, and language stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments.

Section C is divided into two tables, due to the diversity of the questions. The first table (Section C: Part 1), which is on language attitudes, consists of 36 questions (1-36), with three options (“Yes”, “No” and “Don’t Know”). The second table (Section C: Part 2), which is on different discourse features (turn-taking, interruption/overlapping, discourse dominance), code-switching, language and gender, consists of 10 items (37-46) with five options: “Always”, “Often”, “Rarely”, “Never” and “Don’t know”. This section also elicits information on language attitudes (the feelings of both groups), language stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments.

Section D consists of five questions (47-51). The first two questions (47 and 48) are closed-ended questions with six options: “Very good”, “Good”, “Fair”, “Bad”, “Very bad” and “Don’t know”. These two questions solicit information on the language used to portray the Igbo and the Sesotho in South African newspapers. The last three

questions (questions 49 to 51) were semi-structured questions, where the respondents are given the opportunity to respond to the questions. Questions 49 and 50 seek the derogatory words used to refer to men and women in Igbo and Sesotho. Question 51 solicits the words used to refer to foreigners in both languages.

The questionnaire has a total of 90 questions. With the exception of the last three questions (49 to 51), all the questions are structured, that is close-ended (see Appendices 2 and 3).

4.3.3.1.4 Questionnaire piloting

According to Philiber, Schwab and Sloss (1980:117), no matter how careful one designs a measure for a questionnaire, interview, or observation, it is still wise to give it an actual “trial”. After a series of corrections, the researcher piloted the questions; “in questionnaire, so much depend on the actual wordings of the items and even minor differences could change the response pattern” (Dörnyei, 2003:63). The draft questionnaire was piloted three times. The first version was distributed to 10 people (5 Igbo people and 5 Sesotho people). The second piloting was done with eight people (4 Igbo people and 4 Sesotho people), while the last version was done with four people (2 Igbo people and 2 Sesotho people). All the pilot studies were conducted in shops and at the University of the Free State, to capture representatives of all prospective participants.

The pilot studies were done to:

- i. assess whether the participants understand the questions;
- ii. assess the responses from the participants and check if there are questions that they are not comfortable with; and
- iii. assess the participants’ reactions to the said questions.

During the pilot studies, the responses from participants led to restructuring of some parts of the questions which were not clear (or even ambiguous). For example, the respondents were confused with question 17* (*Are there any word(s) used to refer to*

Igbo/Sesotho women?). This was later modified to; (*Are there any derogatory or insulting word(s) used to refer to Igbo/Sesotho women?*), and the counterpart thereof, question 18 (*Are there any derogatory or insulting word(s) used to refer to Igbo/Sesotho men?*), was added based on the respondents' comments.

Furthermore, samples of interviews were also conducted as part of the pilot study. This helped to improve the quality of the data. From the piloting, the researcher gained insights into the respondents' level of understanding of the questions, which helped in the restructuring of the final questions.

4.3.3.1.5 Questionnaire administration

A self-administered questionnaire, which is the most cost-effective method, was used to source the information for this study. This complemented the interviews and tape-recordings of interactions in different contexts with the permission of the people involved. The researcher explained the objectives of the research to the participants and obtained permission from them to continue with the questionnaire and interviews. The researcher administered the questions herself, in order to explain the reasons for the study to each and every participant and also to clarify any possible ambiguity, confusion or questions with regard to the questionnaire, specifically in Section B. Copies of the questionnaire were administered in the participants' shops, homes, restaurants and churches. Most of the question items were structured/closed-ended. Some participants filled in and returned the questionnaire immediately, while others filled and returned later, after the researcher had explained the procedure to be followed.

During the administration of the questionnaire, two Igbo men helped the researcher to hand out the questionnaire (against the researcher's initial plan) to six Igbo women. The researcher tried to meet these women for several weeks, but was not successful. The researcher accepted the help of these two Igbo people on the ground that the two of them had filled in and returned their own copies of the questionnaire and had promised to explain the objectives of the research to the

women in question. All the six questionnaires were filled in and returned within eight days.

4.3.3 2 Interviews

The interview technique is another instrument the researcher used to collect her data. Two interviews were conducted.

4.3.3.2.1 First interview

The first set of interview was conducted from 5th June to 6th July, 2009. The interviewees were selected from the participants in the questionnaire survey (see Section 4.3.4.1.1, also see 4.3.4.2.1.3).

4.3.3.2.1.1 Structuring of the interviews

During the process of structuring the interview questions, the researcher went through the questionnaire and identified certain questions for which to seek in-depth information. The interview was expected to allow the participants to respond to the questions freely unlike, the questionnaire that restricts the respondents with few options.

4.3.3.2.1.2 The Structure of the interviews

The interview questions were unstructured and consisted of 18 questions (see Appendix 4). The questions were used to clarify the responses from the questionnaire and seek additional information which the questionnaire could not cover deeply on:

- i. the language background of the respondents (languages they can speak, where and when they use each of the languages and why?);
- ii. the problems encountered with language or if language is a barrier in any way (either with their spouse, children, friends or children's teacher);

- iii. the different discourse styles (such as conversation dominance) and code-switching used by the Igbo and the Sesotho in Bloemfontein during interactions;
- iv. the attitudes and feelings of both groups during interactions;
- v. the words that can trigger inter-group sentiments such as words used to refer to foreigners in both languages (Igbo and Sesotho).
- vi. language and gender, with focus on language restrictions and derogatory words used to refer to Igbo/Sesotho women and Igbo/Sesotho men.

4.3.3.2.1.3 The interview sample and administration

A total of 54 people were interviewed, including 30 men and 24 women (comprising 15 Igbo men, 15 Sesotho men, 9 Igbo women and 15 Sesotho women). The number of Igbo women did not correspond with that of Sesotho women, because Igbo women in Bloemfontein are very few (11.4%) compared to the number of Igbo men (88.6%), as discovered from the preliminary study (see Section 2.3). To reach these Igbo women was a difficult task. Out of 54 people interviewed, 42 of them (16 Igbo – 12 males and 4 females; and 26 Sesotho – 14 males and 12 females) were interviewed before they completed filling the questionnaire. This was arranged prior to the administration of the questionnaire. The remaining 12 people (8 Igbo – 3 males and 5 females; and 4 Sesotho – 1 male and 3 females) were interviewed in different places, including their shops, residences and at coffee shops, after they had filled in the questionnaire. The method used to collect the data was only face-to-face interviews.

During the interview, the researcher jotted down the participants' responses on a paper for analysis.

4.3.3.2.2 Second interview

The second set of interview was conducted from 23 October to 2 November, 2009. The aim of the second interview was to assess the approximate percentage of the Igbo out of all Nigerians in Bloemfontein. This survey was done as there had never

been such an assessment. Moreover, in South African media, the information of any kind is never on the Igbo specifically; rather, it is generally on Nigerians. This makes it difficult to discuss language use and the portrayal of the Igbo in South African media. This study helps to confirm or dispute the claim by most Nigerians the researcher has come in contact with that the number of the Igbo in Bloemfontein is more than the combined number of other Nigerian ethnic groups.

The second interview contained one *main* question (*Among ten Nigerians you know in Bloemfontein, how many of them are Igbo?*). Other questions with this are on the personal information of the respondents, such as:

- i. Are you a Nigerian?
- ii. Which part of Nigeria are you from?
- iii. What is your home language?
- iv. Are you residing in Bloemfontein or elsewhere in South Africa?

During this interview, five people said that they did not know up to ten Nigerians. Consequently, the researcher modified the question to: "*Among five Nigerians you know in Bloemfontein, how many of them are Igbo?*"

The researcher tried to reach as many Nigerian as she could for ten days. At the end of 10 days, a total of 33 people were interviewed. Twenty-six of the interviewees were Igbo (5 females and 21 males), 5 Yoruba (3 males and 2 females) and the remaining two people (men) came from the minority Nigerian groups (Yagba and Annang).

The method used to collect answers to the questions was face-to-face interviews, telephone calls and e-mails, unlike the first interview that used only face-to-face. The responses of these 33 people were converted to percentages for uniformity and ease of analysis.

4.3.3.3 A narrative of the recorded interactions

The recording of interactions was one of the ways the researcher used to collect data for the study. Since the study is based on the discourse features of the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein, there was the need not to rely on only questionnaire or interviews; but to record natural interactions between the two groups. The data which were collected through the recording of natural interactions in different contexts complement interviews and questionnaire responses. This will expose the kind of discourse that exists between the Igbo and the Sesotho peoples living in Bloemfontein.

The researcher tape-recorded interactions so as to assess:

- i. the kind of discourse features (turn-taking, interruption/overlapping, code-switching, and discourse dominance) that featured in the interactions between the Igbo and the Sesotho peoples;
- ii. the level of understanding that exists between the Igbo and the Sesotho peoples during interactions. This is meant to reveal whether they easily understand each other's spoken English, in comparison with the answers given on the questionnaire.

A total of five recordings were done, one for each of the following contexts: shop, hospital, church, home and among friends. The recordings were fully transcribed (see appendices 6 to 10). According to Tannen (1984:36), transcriptions of recorded interaction or conversation make data easier to study.

The questionnaire covers different contexts, such as shop, church, mosque, hospital, with friends, with strangers, at home, university/college and bus station. In the tape recorded interactions, five of these contexts were selected to cross-check the responses from the questionnaire and interviews. The aim was also to seek additional information on different discourse features, and compare it with the responses from the questionnaire and interviews.

The shop context was chosen because most of the respondents spend much of their time in their own or in other people's shops and because the activities in this particular context are both formal (buying and selling; between the owner of the shop and the customer) and informal (interactions with friends). Hospital and church were chosen because the interactions there are totally formal.

The recording of interaction in a home environment was also chosen. The researcher selected couples who were from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Their data may provide insight on language use in a bilingual home and the kind of language or languages the children use in this kind of home.

In sum, interactions between the following people were tape-recorded:

- i. Shop: the seller and a buyer (see Appendix 6);
- ii. Hospital: the nurse and the patient (see Appendix 7);
- iii. Church: people attending church activities: Bible studies or cell meetings (see Appendix 8);
- iv. Home: family members; during the family dinner (see Appendix 10); and
- v. Among friends (see Appendix 9).

The in-depth description of the recordings made in the above contexts follows in different sub-headings below:

4.3.3.3.1 The shop recording

The researcher tape-recorded a situation in which an Igbo person was selling a product to a Sesotho person. This recording took place on 6th June 2009 at 14h:20, in a shop owned by an Igbo man who sold cell-phone accessories. Initially, the interaction was between a shop attendant (an Igbo man, referred to as "B") and a Sesotho lady (the customer, referred to as "A"), and later the shop owner, who is also an Igbo (referred to as "C"), conversed with "A".

Before and during the recording, there was a background conversation among the three Igbo men (the owner of the shop and two of his friends; all Igbo). The language of their discussion was mixed. They used Igbo and constantly switched between English and NP, but their conversation was not clear enough to be transcribed. The researcher's focus was on formal interaction between the Sesotho lady and the Igbo man (buying and selling).

After the recording, the researcher followed the "buyer" outside the shop to establish whether the person was Sesotho-speaking (which she is). This is because the researcher learnt from her previous recording that three of the people she had recorded earlier did not have Sesotho as their first language; and those recordings were discarded. One of the customers she had recorded had isiXhosa as his first language.

4.3.3.3.2 The hospital recording

The second audio recording took place at Psychiatric Hospital Bloemfontein, on Wednesday, 1st July 2009 (see Appendix 7). The recording started about 13h:17. The interaction was between a female nurse, a Sesotho (referred to as "B") and a patient, an Igbo woman (referred to as "A"). The researcher did not ask them their exact ages but, judging from their physical appearances, they should both be around 50 years. The Igbo woman who participated in the recording had been living in Bloemfontein for five years, while the Sesotho nurse had been living in Bloemfontein for nine years.

Before the recording, both the nurse and the patient had the objectives of the study explained to them and they gave their consent for the recording to be used. During the recording, the nurse insisted that she wanted to see her patient (Igbo) in private, but allowed her to hold the recorder.

4.3.3.3.3 The church recording

The third recording was done during a church activity, a Bible study or cell meeting (as it is commonly referred to) of Christ Embassy; a Christian denomination. This meeting is held regularly in the house of one of the member's, with the aim of bringing the members who are residing in the same area together, to get to know one another and to share the word of God on a weekly basis.

The recording was done at the home of the prayer leader (co-ordinator) who is an Igbo. This particular recording was done on 18th June, 2009. On the evening of this recording, four people were present, three females (2 Sesotho and 1 Igbo) and one male (Igbo). The Igbo man (referred to as "A") was the co-ordinator of the programme. A Sesotho lady (referred to as "B") was a student. Another Sesotho person (referred to as "D") was a sales assistant and the Igbo lady (referred to as "C") was a student. The programme began with a short prayer, followed by scripture reading taken from their daily *Rhapsody of Realities*²⁵ and then discussion. The meeting ended with a short prayer, but the recorder did not capture the closing prayer as the researcher thought that they had ended the prayer meeting and turned off the recorder.

4.3.3.3.4 The recording among friends

This recording took place on 19th August, 2009, at the shop owned by an Igbo man who was married to a Sesotho lady. The shop was managed by the Sesotho lady because the husband had another shop close by, which he managed. The Sesotho lady, therefore, was often surrounded by the Igbo and this was why this recording was done there. Before the Sesotho lady allowed the researcher to place the recorder on her counter, she asked the researcher a series of questions, to make sure that she was not working for the police. During the recording, the researcher

Rhapsody of Realities is a daily devotional Bible study guide by members of Christ Embassy and is written by Pastors Chris and Anita Oyakhilome.

and the Sesotho lady were the only people aware of the recordings. The other people were only told of the recordings, after the conversations had been tape-recorded, as the researcher had sought their consent.

Prior to the recording, the researcher left the recorder with the Sesotho lady on the counter and moved a bit further away from the recorder and the Sesotho lady to another side of the shop. The researcher stopped the recorder each time somebody left the shop. She told the Sesotho lady how to switch the recorder on if somebody entered the shop.

After these recordings (a total of nine recordings were made), one particular recording was chosen because:

- i. The interaction was not formal (for example, buying and selling);
- ii. It was the longest of all the recordings which the interactants gave their consent to the researcher to use for the study.

The Sesotho lady is referred to as “A” and the Igbo man as “B”. The interaction took more than three minutes (see Appendix 9 for the full transcription of the recording). After the recording, the researcher approached the Igbo man and explained the recording and its objectives. The Igbo man only gave his consent after listening to the recording.

4.3.3.3.5 The home recording

This recording took place on 25th August 2009 during a family dinner. The man, an Igbo and a senior student (referred to as “A”), the wife, a Sesotho, doing her undergraduate programme (referred to as “B”) and their two children were aged six (a girl, referred to as “C”) and three (a boy, referred to as “D”).

During the recording, the researcher was not present because the man said that the researcher’s presence would make his wife and children to be reserved in their conversations. The researcher explained the objectives of the research to the man,

who in turn explained it to his wife and sought her consent. According to the man, he told his wife and children that he would tape-record their family interaction. However, he did not tell them on which day he would be doing the recording, based on the following:

- i. All their attention would be on the recorder;
- ii. The children would want to play with it;
- iii. The children's conversation and attention will centre on the recorder.

On the day of the recording, the man said that they started their family dinner as usual, and he switched the recorder on as they were about to say the prayer before dinner. According to him, none of them noticed the presence of the recorder. The man told them about the recording after tape-recording their interaction during their family dinner. According to him, the wife was surprised and uncomfortable about the recording, as she might have said what she might not want outsiders to know. She then asked to listen to the recording before she gave her consent for the recording to be used for this study.

From the home recording, it was discovered that the Igbo man could only speak Igbo and English; his Sesotho wife could speak Sesotho, Setswana and English, while their children could speak Sesotho, English and Afrikaans. It is, however, difficult to determine the children's fluency in Afrikaans from the recording as the parents did not understand Afrikaans.

The man also said that his daughter liked Afrikaans. For example, if her parents wanted her to pray before a meal, she would insist that they allow her to use Afrikaans. Sometimes, she even forced her parents to repeat some of her Afrikaans words. The only common language among them was English, which also applied to the participants of the other recordings.

4.4 Data transcriptions

All the 5 recordings in this study were transcribed, to be easily assessable and to be analysable. The words were written as they were pronounced, following Tracy (2002:86; see appendices 6 to 10).

4.5. Data presentation and analysis

All the data collected through questionnaire are presented in two forms. The data from Sections “A” and “B”, which are presented in tabular form and bar charts, are followed immediately with their analysis. The data collected from Sections “C” and “D” are presented only in tabular form. The analysis of data from Sections “C” and “D” are under different sub-topics as shown below:

- i. Language attitudes
- ii. Discourse features
 - a. Turn-taking
 - b. Interruption
 - c. Code-switching/code-mixing
 - d. Discourse dominance
- iii. Language and gender:
 - a. Derogatory words
- iv. Language stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments.

The data collected through interviews are presented and analysed together. Some of the data collected through interviews are incorporated into the questionnaire analysis where necessary.

Tape recordings of interactions were transcribed and all the transcriptions are added in the appendix (see Appendices 6 to 10). The analyses of the recordings are incorporated into questionnaire and interviews presentations and analyses, which are under Sections “C” and “D”, respectively. The framework of Martin and Rose (2007) on appraisal are used in analysing the attitudes, opinions and feelings of the participants (towards one another) during interactions and the topic of discussion.

The data analyses are also presented explaining different discourse features, with examples from the data.

The three research instruments (questionnaire, interviews and recordings) were taken into account during analysis and discussion. The data from the three research instruments were compared where necessary and conclusions were drawn.

Although CDA is sometimes mistaken to represent a method of discourse analysis, it is generally agreed that any explicit method in discourse studies, the humanities and social sciences may be used in CDA research, as long as it is able to adequately and relevantly produce insights into the way discourse reproduces (or resists) social and political inequality, power abuse or domination (Van Dijk, 1996:84). Therefore, CDA does not limit its analysis to specific structures of text or talk, but systematically relates these to structures of the socio-political context.

4.6 Difficulties encountered during the research

During the course of this study, the researcher encountered some problems which, in some ways, affected the study. One of the problems encountered was the difficulty to reach Igbo women in Bloemfontein. As Igbo women are very few (11.4%), getting them, distributing the questionnaires to them and interviewing them were extremely difficult.

Although the researcher combined the two forms of methodology (interviewing and completing questionnaires) she was not able to meet all the Igbo women targeted for the study. Two men offered to help the researcher in handing out the questionnaires to six Igbo women, as well as collecting the questionnaires from them. This reduced the number of Igbo women interviewed to nine, instead of the targeted 15.

Other problems the researcher experienced were the presentation and analysis of the Sesotho questions in the questionnaire (questions 49, 50 and 51). These three questions were open-ended. Most of the Sesotho participants wrote the responses in Sesotho (a language the researcher does not understand), without translating them. The researcher had to consult various people for translation. There were

contradictions in the meanings of the words from the first three translators. The researcher later used a final-year education student at the University of the Free State, who used to teach Sesotho. Finally, the researcher used a “Sesotho Language Practitioner” to cross-check the spellings and meanings of all the Sesotho words used in this study.

4.7 Conclusion

The chapter explores the methodology the researcher used in the preliminary study and the main study. The chapter also covers the population and the sample of the study, the research instruments, procedure of data collection, piloting, presentation and analysis, as well as the difficulties the researcher encountered during the research.

The preliminary study used only questionnaire to elicit information on the background and personal information of the Igbo people living in Bloemfontein, as well as their relationship with South Africans. The main study used three research instruments: questionnaire, interviews and recording of the natural interactions in five different contexts: shop, hospital, church, home and among friends. These instruments were used to get information on the attitudes of the two groups during interactions, the discourse features employed by the Igbo and the Sesotho peoples living in Bloemfontein during interactions, and the impacts of language to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa.

The analysis of the data collected from these three instruments (questionnaire, interviews and recording of the natural interactions) are presented, analysed and discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

The preliminary research for this study (see Section 2.3 and Appendix 1) was conducted to determine the number and general background of the Igbo people living in Bloemfontein. The findings of the preliminary study indicate that 53% of Igbo married men have Sesotho wives (see Section 2.3), which could be attributed to access to South African citizenship, residential status and other privileges attached to South African citizenship.

In this chapter, the data collected through questionnaire, interviews and tape recording of natural interactions are presented, analysed and discussed. The data are presented in two ways: quantitative data (questionnaire), and qualitative data (interviews). Quantitative data are presented in a statistical form, using tables and bar charts, followed by the analyses thereof. Qualitative data however, are analysed and interpreted descriptively. In addition, tape recordings made in different contexts (shop, hospital, church, home, and among friends) are also presented in a descriptive manner. In the presentation and analysis, examples are given from the raw data, which are transcribed and presented in appendices (see Appendices 6 to 10 for all the data). These are equally analysed and discussed.

5.2 The demographic information of the respondents

Demographic information collected on the Igbo and the Sesotho people were merged in the presentation, except where otherwise stated for clarification.

5.2.1 Age

In this section, the age distribution of all the participants is presented. Table 5.1 reveals the different ages of both the Igbo and the Sesotho participants; the number of the participants who responded to each question is followed by the percentage of

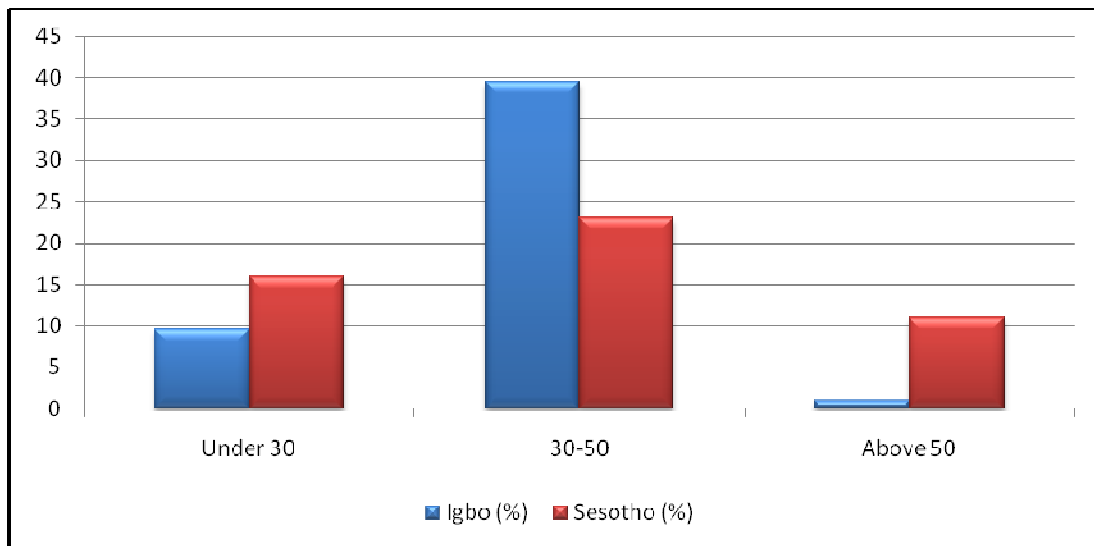
the participants in brackets. This is equally applied to all the other tables in this chapter, except where otherwise stated.

Table 5.1 Age distribution

Age	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)
Under 30	19 (9.5)	32 (16)	51 (25.5)
30-50	79 (39.5)	46 (23)	125 (62.5)
Above 50	2 (1)	22 (11)	24 (12)
Total	100 (50)	100 (50)	200 (100)

With regard to the age distribution of the participants, 62.5% of them were between 30 and 50 years old (with Igbo 39.5% and Sesotho 23%); 25.5% were under the age of 30 (with 9.5% Igbo and 16% Sesotho); while only 12% (1% Igbo and 11% Sesotho) of the participants were older than 50 years. Table 5.1 shows that most of the participants (88%) are young people.

Figure 5.1 Age distribution



5.2.2 Gender

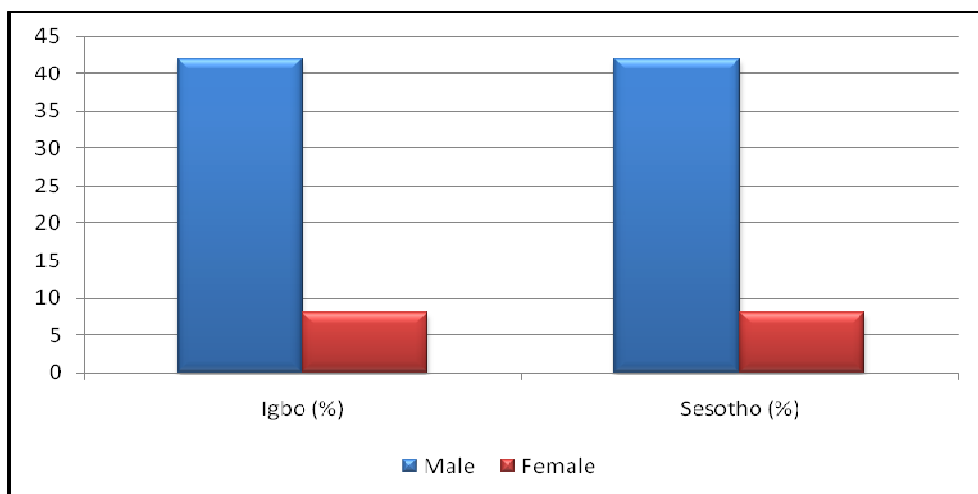
This section deals with the gender of the participants. The number of female respondents during the preliminary research was very small (11.4%), in comparison to Igbo males (88.6%).

Table 5.2 Gender distribution

	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)
Male	84 (42)	84 (42)	168 (84)
Female	16 (8)	16 (8)	32 (16)
Total	100 (50)	100 (50)	200 (100)

According to Table 5.2, 84% of the respondents were male (42% each for the Igbo and the Sesotho participants), while 16% were female (8% each for Igbo and Sesotho). The number of female respondents was minimal owing to the fact that the number of the Igbo females in Bloemfontein at the time of data collection was very small (see Section 2.3). The data clearly show the equal number of men and women among the two groups, as presented in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2 Gender distribution



5.2.3 Marital status

Table 5.3 presents the marital status of all the participants who completed the questionnaire.

Table 5.3 Marital status

Status	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)
Single	25 (12.5)	16 (8)	41 (20.5)
Married	71 (35.5)	55 (27.5)	126 (63)
Divorced	—	2 (1)	2 (1)
Widowed	1 (0.5)	3 (1.5)	4 (2)
Separated	3 (1.5)	24 (12)	27 (13.5)
Total (%)	100 (50)	100 (50)	200 (100)

As shown in this table, 20.5% of the participants were single (with 12.5% Igbo and 8% Sesotho), 63% were married (35.5% Igbo and 27.5% are Sesotho), and only 1% was divorced (a Sesotho). The results also show that 0.5% Igbo and 1.5% Sesotho were widowed, while 1.5% Igbo and 12% Sesotho were separated from their spouses.

Figure 5.3 Marital status

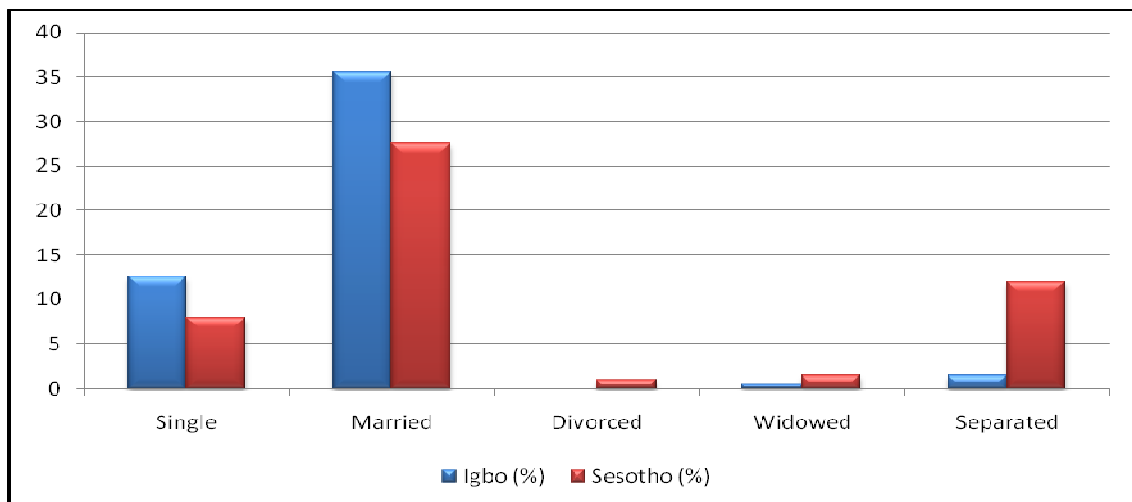


Figure 5.3 shows that more Igbo people were married (35.5%) compared to the number of the Sesotho respondents (27.5%). Also the Igbo respondents who were singles were more (12.5%) than their Sesotho counterparts (8%). The Sesotho respondents who were separated from their spouses were more (12%) in comparison with the Igbo respondents (1.5%).

5.2.4 Occupation

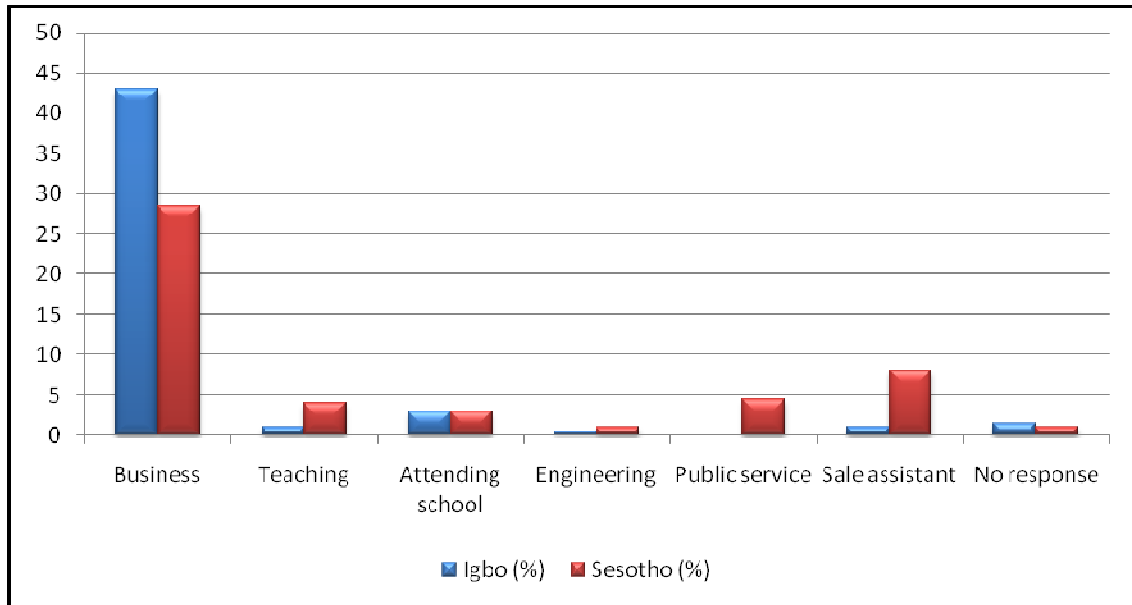
Table 5.4 presents the different occupations of the respondents.

Table 5.4 Occupation distribution

	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)
Business	86 (43)	57 (28.5)	143 (71.5)
Teaching	2 (1)	8 (4)	10 (5)
Attending school	6 (3)	6 (3)	12 (6)
Engineering	1 (0.5)	2 (1)	3 (1.5)
Public service	—	9 (4.5)	9 (4.5)
Sales assistant	2 (1)	16 (8)	18 (9)
No response	3 (1.5)	2 (1)	5 (2.5)
Total (%)	100 (50)	100 (50)	200 (100)

The results reveal that 71.5% of the participants were business people (with 43% Igbo and 28.5% Sesotho). Five percent (5%) of the participants were teachers (1% Igbo and 4% Sesotho), while 6% (equally distributed between the Igbo and the Sesotho) were students. One point five percent (1.5%) indicated that they were engineers (with 0.5% Igbo and 1% Sesotho), 4.5% were public servants (all of them Sesotho), while 9% of the participants were sales assistants (1% Igbo and 8% Sesotho). Two point five percent (2.5%) did not respond to the question (1.5% Igbo and 1% Sesotho). The results show that most of the respondents were business people, as shown in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4 Occupation distribution



5.2.5 Religion

Table 5.5 indicates the religious backgrounds of the respondents.

Table 5.5 Religion distribution

	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)
Christian	98 (49)	86 (43)	184 (92)
Islamic	—	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)
Traditional	—	9 (4.5)	9 (4.5)
No response	2 (1)	4 (2)	6 (3)
Total (%)	100 (50)	100 (50)	200 (100)

All the Igbo participants who responded to the questionnaire were Christians (49%). Forty-three percent (43%) of the Sesotho participants were Christians, 0.5% Muslims and 4.5% traditionalists. The data show the dominance of Christianity among the respondents.

5.2.6 Educational background

Table 5.6 presents the educational background of the participants.

Table 5.6 Level of education

	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)
Primary	19 (9.5)	37 (18.5)	56 (28)
Secondary	68 (34)	54 (27)	122 (61)
Tertiary	11 (5.5)	8 (4)	19 (9.5)
None	—	—	—
No response	2 (1)	1 (0.5)	3 (1.5)
Total (%)	100 (50)	100 (50)	200 (100)

As seen in Table 5.6 above, 28% of the respondents had completed their primary school (with 9.5% Igbo and 18.5% Sesotho). Sixty-one percent (61%) of the participants had completed their secondary school education (34% Igbo and 27% Sesotho). Nine point five percent (9.5%) of the participants (5.5% Igbo and 4% Sesotho) had completed their tertiary education or were still in tertiary institutions, while 1% Igbo and 0.5% Sesotho did not respond to the question.

Figure 5.5 Level of education

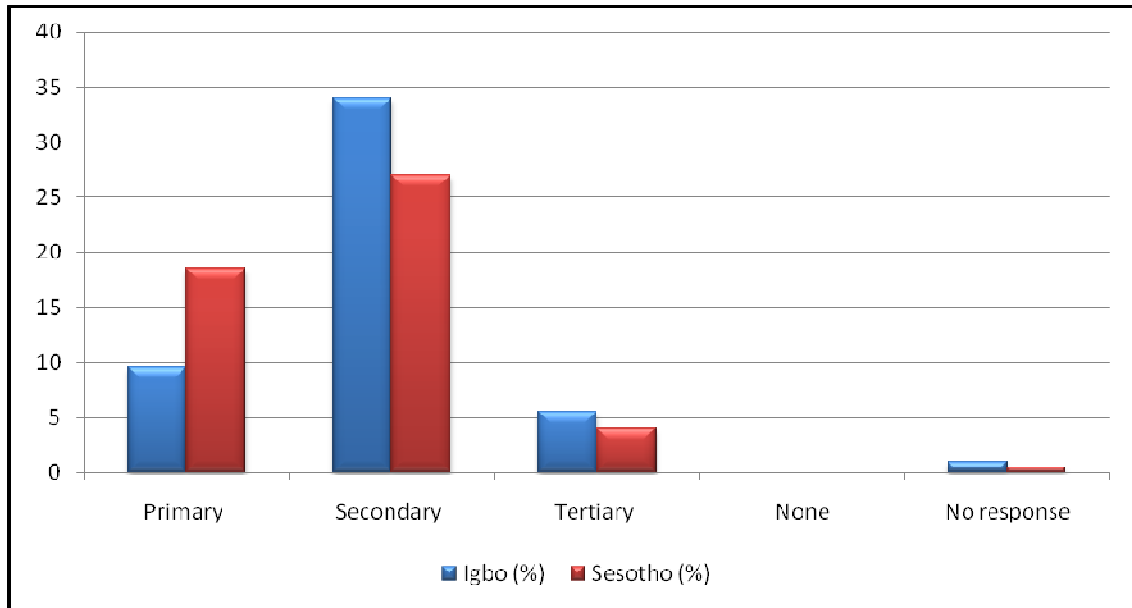


Figure 5.5 indicates that most of the respondents (70.5%) had gone beyond primary education.

5.2.7 Number of years the respondents have lived in Bloemfontein

Table 5.7 presents the number of years the participants have lived or resided in Bloemfontein.

Table 5.7 Years participants have lived in Bloemfontein

Years	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)
Below 2 yrs	19 (9.5)	2 (1)	21 (10.5)
2-4 yrs	41 (20.5)	12 (6)	53 (26.5)
5-6 yrs	18 (9)	30 (15)	48 (24)
Above 7 yrs	22 (11)	56 (28)	78 (39)
Total (%)	100 (50)	100 (50)	200 (100)

At the time of the research, 21% of all the participants had resided in Bloemfontein for less than 2 years (9.5% Igbo and 1% Sesotho), 26.5% had lived in Bloemfontein between 2 to 4 years (20.5% Igbo and 6% Sesotho), 24% of the participants had stayed in the city for between 5 and 6 years (9% of Igbo and 15% of Sesotho), while 39% (11% Igbo and 28% Sesotho) had resided in Bloemfontein for more than 7 years. Figure 5.7 below compares the different number of years the respondents had lived in Bloemfontein.

Figure 5.6 Years participants have lived in Bloemfontein

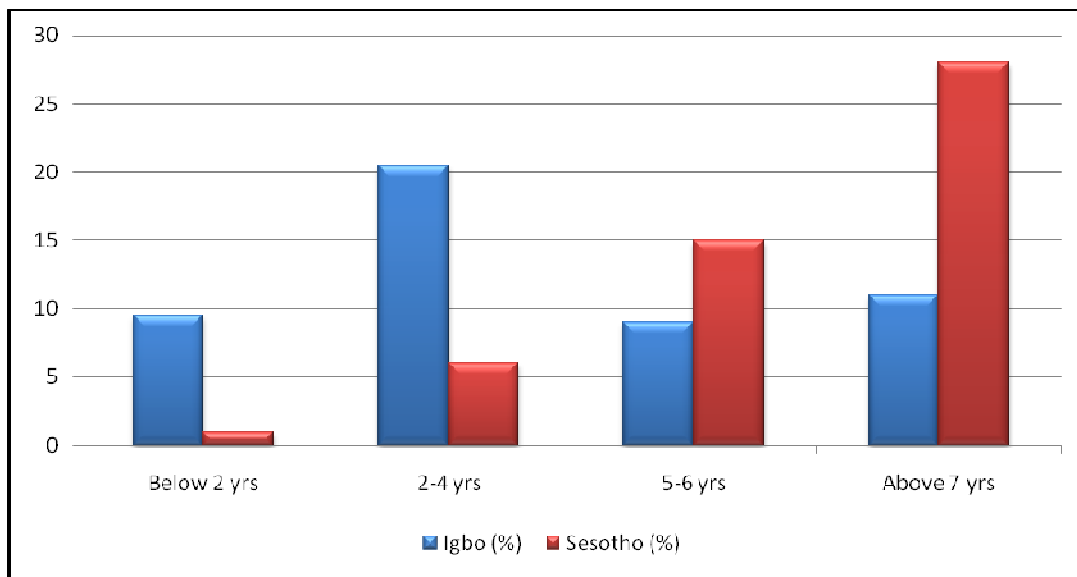


Figure 5.6 shows that most Sesotho participants had lived in Bloemfontein for more than 7 years, while most Igbo participants had lived in Bloemfontein between 2 and 4 years.

5.2.8 Number of languages spoken by the participants

In this section, the number of languages each participant could speak is presented. It was discovered from the preliminary research that all the Igbo in Bloemfontein could speak at least: Igbo, English and NP (see Section 2.3).

In response to question 9 (*What is your first language?*), all the Igbo participants indicated Igbo as their first language. However, the Sesotho participants did not give a uniform response, as 8% of them gave Setswana as their first language, while 92% gave Sesotho (see Section 4.3.2).

Table 5.8 Number of languages spoken by the respondents

No of languages	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)
2	10 (5)	—	10 (5)
3	35 (17.5)	25 (12.5)	60 (30)
4	34 (17)	20 (10)	54 (27)
5	17 (8.5)	30 (15)	47 (23.5)
6	4 (2)	15 (7.5)	19 (9.5)
7	—	10 (5)	10 (5)
Total (%)	100 (50)	100 (50)	200 (100)

From Table 5.8, it is shown that 30% of the participants could speak three languages (with 17.5% Igbo and 12.5% Sesotho), while 27% of the participants could speak four languages (17% Igbo and 10% Sesotho). In addition, 23.5% of the participants could speak five different languages (8.5% Igbo and 15% Sesotho), 9.5% of the participants speak six languages (2% Igbo and 7.5% Sesotho), while 5% Sesotho participants could speak up to seven languages.

Table 5.8 shows that both the Igbo and the Sesotho participants were bilingual or multilingual. Figure 5.7 illustrates the multilingual nature of the Igbo and the Sesotho people in Bloemfontein.

Figure 5.7 Number of languages spoken by the respondents

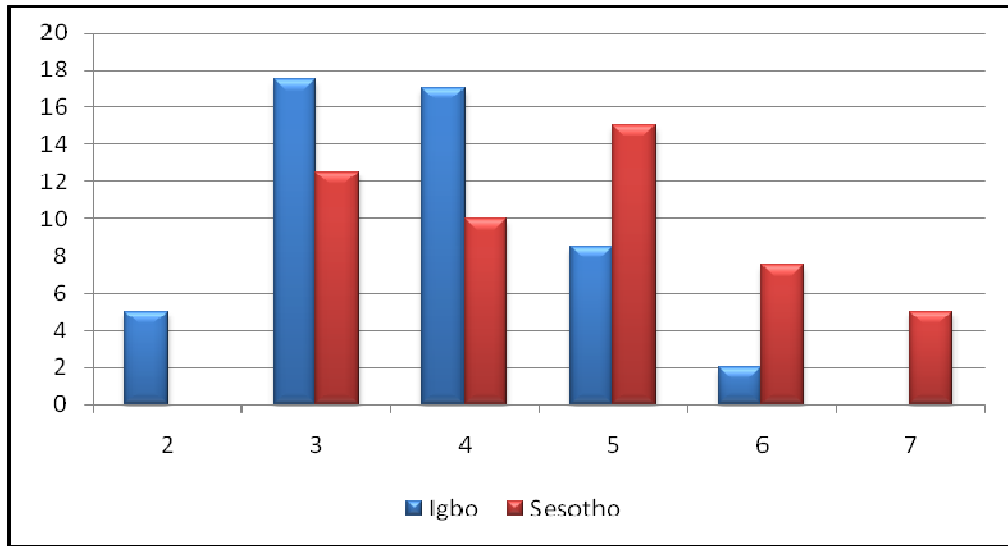


Figure 5.7 indicates that the majority of the Igbo respondents could speak three to four languages, while most Sesotho respondents (12.5%) could speak between three and five languages. The figure further shows that more Sesotho than the Igbo respondents could speak up to six languages and not one of the Igbo respondents could speak seven languages.

5.2.9 Languages spoken

This section assesses the languages spoken by the participants, because in a multilingual environment, there is possibility for a person to understand more than one language as she or he comes in contact with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The contact often leads people to switch from one language to another as they meet different people from different language groups. Sometimes, people code-switch to other language is not because they understand the language fully, but to use such language just for greetings and to identify with the addressee.

Table 5.9 Languages spoken by the participants

	Languages	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)
1	English	100 (50)	100(50)	200 (100)
2	Igbo	100(50)	—	100 (50)
3	Sesotho	45 (22.5)	100(50)	145 (72.5)
4	Nigerian Pidgin	100(50)	—	100 (50)
5	Afrikaans	8 (4)	20 (10)	28 (14)
6	Setswana	30 (15)	100(50)	130 (65)
7	French	7 (3.5)	1 (0.5)	8 (4)
8	isiXhosa	13 (6.5)	42 (21)	55 (27.5)
9	Yoruba	7 (3.5)	—	7 (3.5)
10	isiZulu	11 (5.5)	48 (24)	59 (29.5)
11	Xitsonga	1 (0.5)	21 (10.5)	22 (11)
12	Hausa	2 (1)	—	2 (1)
13	Greek	1 (0.5)	—	1 (0.5)
14	Sepedi	6 (3)	79 (39.5)	85 (42.5)
15	Tshivenda	—	19 (9.5)	19 (9.5)
16	SiSwati	2 (1)	23 (11.5)	25 (12.5)

The results from the respondents indicate that all the Igbo participants could speak English, Igbo and NP. In addition, 45 out of 100 Igbo participants could speak Sesotho, 29 could speak Setswana and 13 could speak isiXhosa, while 11 could speak isiZulu. All the Sesotho participants could speak English, Sesotho and Setswana. Seventy-nine Sesotho participants could speak Sepedi, 48 could speak isiZulu, 42 could speak isiXhosa, 20 could speak Afrikaans and 23 Sesotho participants could speak siSwati.

Figure 5.8 Languages spoken by the participants

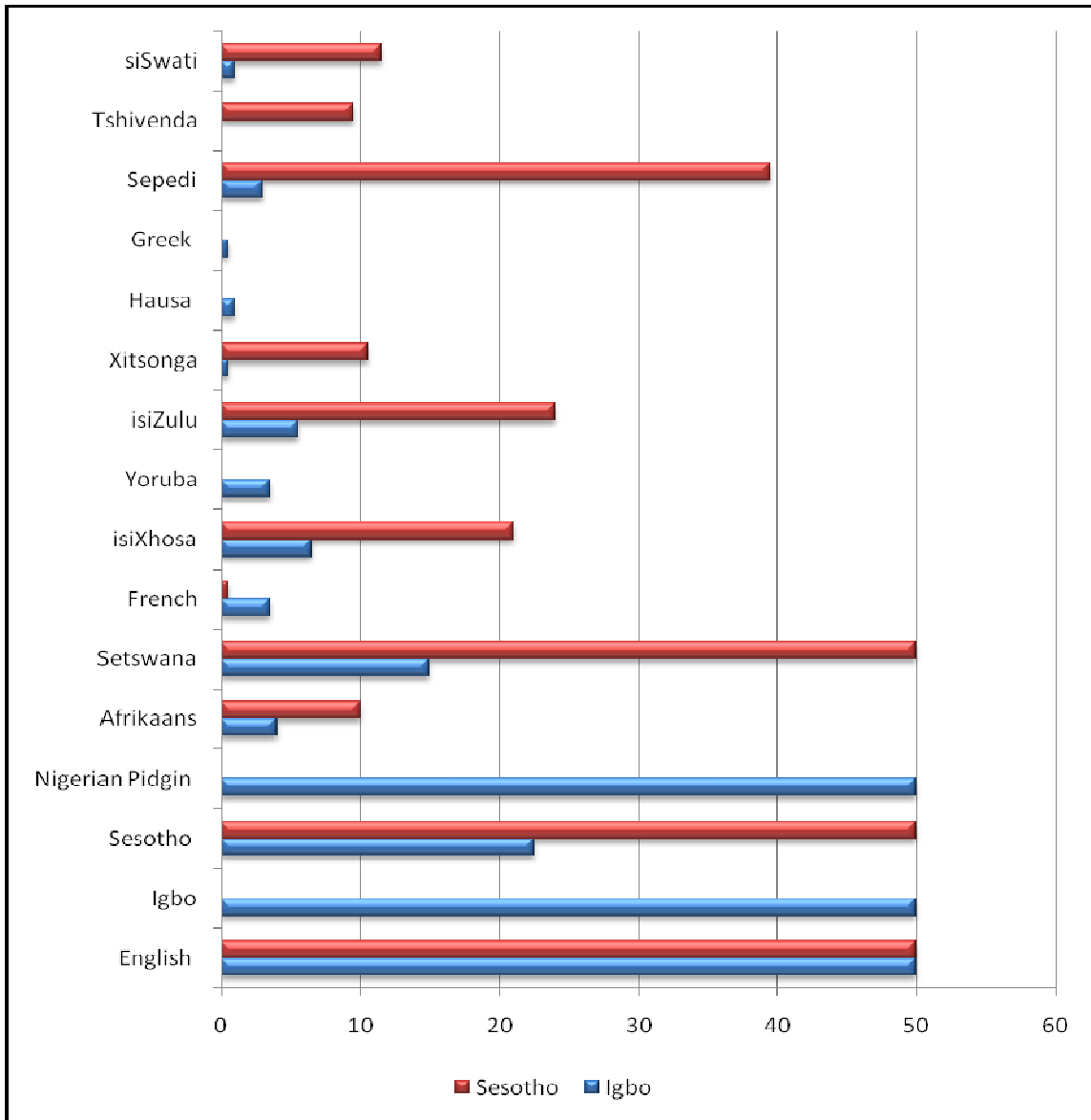


Figure 5.8 shows that all the Igbo and the Sesotho respondents could speak English and that it is the only common language (or lingua franca) for the two groups. All the Igbo respondents could speak Igbo and NP in addition to English, while all the Sesotho respondents could speak Sesotho and Sestswana in addition to English. The data show that some of the Igbo respondents could speak various South African languages, except Tshivenda.

With regard to the interview responses on question 1 (on the languages the respondents could speak), all the 54 people (100%; both the Sesotho and the Igbo) interviewed had similar responses to those, which they filled in the questionnaire, shown in Table 5.9. Only one Sesotho respondent indicated that she could use and understand “Sign language” (in this case, South African Sign Language). The study agrees with Wei (2000:7-8) that “many people speak one or more local or ethnic languages, as well as another indigenous language, which has become the medium of communication between different ethnic groups or speech communities”. Such individuals may also speak a foreign language which was introduced into the community during the process of colonisation. This language is often the language of education, bureaucracy and the language of privileged groups.

In response to interview question 3 (*Which language do you use most of the time? Why?*), the Igbo participants indicated that they used Igbo most of the time. According to them, the reason for mainly using Igbo is that they are always among the Igbo people. The Igbo men, who are married to Sesotho women, use English with their spouses, while they use English and Igbo with their children. The Sesotho use Sesotho most of the time with switches from Sesotho to Setswana and English. Their reason for using Sesotho predominantly is because it is the language most people around them understand in Bloemfontein. However, women who are married to Igbo men use English with their spouses (but those whose husbands understand Sesotho use English and Sesotho), while they use English and Sesotho with their children.

The study reveals that all the respondents (100%) were multilingual, as indicated in the preliminary study (see Section 2.3). English is the only common language between the two groups (the Igbo and the Sesotho). Tables 5.10 and 5.11 reveal that there is mutual understanding (with respect to spoken English) between the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein.

5.2.10 English as a medium for intercultural communication

From the preliminary study, it is discovered that all the Igbo in Bloemfontein could speak more than two languages (see Section 2.3). This is also confirmed in this study (see Table 5.9). All the Sesotho who participated in this study could also speak more than two languages.

Questions 17 and 18 relate to how far the Igbo understand their fellow Igbo people when they use English, and how far the Igbo understand the Sesotho using English; and how far the Sesotho understand their fellow Sesotho people when they use English, and how far the Sesotho understand the Igbo speaking English. Since English is a common language between the Igbo and the Sesotho, there is a need to assess the level of understanding of this language between the two groups and the level at which they understand not only themselves, but the other group. The results from the study are presented in Tables 5.10 and 5.11:

Table 5.10 Level of English understanding for the Igbo

		Responses				
S/N	Description	V/W	W	F	P	NAA
17	The rate at which the Igbo understand the Igbo people's English	98	2	—	—	—
18	The rate at which the Igbo understand the Sesotho people's English	72	16	12	—	—

Key: V/W: Very Well; W: Well; F: Fair; P: Poor; NAA: Not at all.

From Table 5.10, it follows that all the Igbo participants understand the Igbo people's English "very well" (98%) or "well" (2%). On the rate to which the Igbo understand the Sesotho's English, 72% understand the Sesotho's English "very well", 16% understand their English "well", while 12% understand it just fairly. The reason some of the Igbo participants have problems understanding the spoken English of the Sesotho is based on low proficiency of these Igbo towards English, as 9.5% had completed only primary education (see Table 5.6).

However, it is important to state at this juncture that the researcher does not have any independent assessment of language ability of the participants. Instead, the researcher has only the respondents' self-assessment of their language ability. In other words, these respondents might over-estimate or under-estimate their language ability, and the researcher does not have any independent or uniform assessment to verify their responses.

Table 5.11 Level of English understanding for the Sesotho

		Responses				
S/N	Description	V/W	W	F	P	NAA
17	The rate at which the Sesotho understand the Igbo people's English	43	23	25	9	—
18	The rate at which the Sesotho understand the Sesotho people's English	89	11	—	—	—

From Table 5.11, it becomes apparent that the Sesotho's responses differ a bit from the Igbo. Forty-three percent (43%) of the Sesotho respondents understand the Igbo's English very well, 23% of them understand the Igbo well, 25% of them have fair understanding of Igbo's English, while 9% of them have poor understanding of Igbo's English. However, 89% of the Sesotho participants understand other Sesotho's people English very well, while 11% of the Sesotho participants understand it well. The data show that the level at which the Igbo and the Sesotho understand each another's spoken English is high.

Concerning interview question 9 (on whether the Igbo and the Sesotho people understand one another), all the 54 people interviewed stated that they understood the other group's spoken English. This, in a way, contradicts some of the Sesotho's questionnaire responses, where 9% stated that their understanding of the Igbo's English is poor (see Table 5.10). The reason for this contradiction may be that some of these Sesotho respondents were shy to confirm what they wrote in the questionnaire.

The level of understanding of spoken English between the Igbo and the Sesotho depends on the level of proficiency in English by the people involved (the speaker

and the addressee). From the shop recording, it was discovered that the understanding that exists between the three people involved: “B” and “A”, and “C” and “A”, is sometimes minimal. This is apparent in a short interaction between all the three participants, where the conversation was dominated by repetition (see Appendix 6). This appeared just after the beginning of their conversation. Here, there is need to state that the recordings provide a means to assess in an imprecise, but nonetheless important, way that the speakers’ self-assessment of their language abilities is accurate, as shown in the example below:

Example 1

- A: Hey! ... you don't have battery?
B: Yeah ... is there any other thing you want?
A: Eh?
B: Is there any other thing you want?
A: Eh?
B: Is there any other thing you want?
A: Eh (yes), I want ...
B: Charger or what?
A: Face ... face (cell-phone part)
B: Charger?
A: Face
B: For now we don't have it.

The Igbo man (the shop attendant) in the above example repeated the same question: “Is there any other thing you want?” three times before the Sesotho lady (the buyer) understood him. Their poor spoken English is responsible for the poor level of understanding which existed between them. The two people involved here did not go beyond the primary level of education and their proficiency in English is equally low. This confirms Lemmer, Meier and Van Wyk's (2006:38) view that “using a common language when communicating with the members of different cultures does not mean that individuals will automatically communicate effectively”. This is true especially when proficiency among the speakers is low.

Unlike the poor understanding between the participants in the shop recording, the two people interacting in the hospital (the Sesotho nurse and the Igbo patient) did not experience such difficulties in understanding one another. They, in fact, understood one another very well. This is because the Igbo patient was a student and her proficiency in English is high. Also, the nurse, who attended to people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, was fluent in English as well. Although the nurse indicated that most of her patients were Sesotho, she often had patients from other linguistic backgrounds where their only common means of communication was English.

This study shows that some people (such as the Sesotho lady and the two Igbo men) who use English as a medium of communication, still experience difficulties communicating and understanding one another, in spite of using a common language. However, this holds in particular if one participant or if both participants in a conversation are not proficient in the common language. In the case of Nigerian English and South African English, one problem in the understanding of spoken English is related to differences in accents. Using a common language is not a guarantee that the discourse styles of the people involved will be the same and that there will be no misunderstanding between the two groups.

Although the Igbo and the Sesotho share the same second language (English), it does not rule out misunderstanding between them, as seen in the shop recording (see Appendix 6). The Igbo and the Sesotho claim to understand one another well (see Tables 5.10 and 5.11), but the recorded shop interaction indicates that, even though they share English as a common language, they are sometimes faced with difficulties in understanding one another. This is in accordance with the claim of Lemmer, Meier and Van Wyk (2006:35) that the complexity of the communication process increases when communication takes place between the people who belong to different cultures. Lemmer *et al.* also point out that “effective communication only occurs when the message received matches the message the sender intended to send”. If the message does not match, the sender repeats what s/he says until the receiver understands it, as occurred in the shop interaction.

5.2.11 Language(s) used to communicate to one's spouse

As discovered from the preliminary research (see Section 2.3), 53% of the Igbo married men in Bloemfontein have South African women as their wives. Table 5.12 presents the language(s) the couples use to communicate amongst themselves.

Table 5.12 Language(s) used to communicate with one's spouse

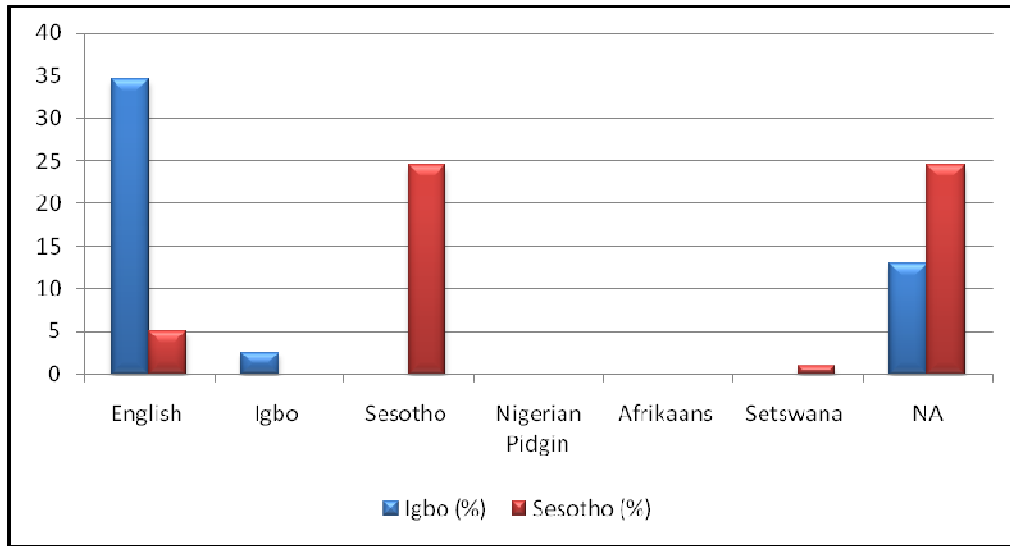
	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)
English	69 (34.5)	10 (5)	79 (39.5)
Igbo	5 (2.5)	—	5 (2.5)
Sesotho	—	49 (24.5)	49 (24.5)
Nigerian Pidgin	—	—	—
Afrikaans	—	—	—
Setswana	—	2 (1)	2 (1)
NA	26 (13)	49 (24.5)	75 (37.5)

Key: N/A: Not Applicable

Table 5.12 indicates that 39.5% of the married participants use English to communicate with their spouses (with 34.5% Igbo, and 5% Sesotho). With regard to the use of Igbo to communicate with one's spouse, only 5% (only Igbo) use Igbo to communicate with their spouses, because they are married to Igbo spouses. Twenty-four point five percent (24.5%) of the Sesotho respondents indicated that they use Sesotho to communicate with their spouses (who are Sesotho-speaking). From the results, 1% of them use Setswana with their spouses (Sesotho only). Language used to communicate with one's spouse is not applicable to 37.5% of the respondents (13% Igbo and 24.5% Sesotho) because they were not married.

Table 5.12 reveals further that none of the Igbo married couples uses Sesotho, NP, Afrikaans or Setswana to communicate with their spouses, although 15% of the Igbo participants indicated that they understand and speak Setswana (see Table 5.9). None of the Sesotho respondents uses Igbo, NP or Afrikaans to communicate with their spouses, as seen in Figure 5.9.

Figure 5.9 Language(s) used to communicate with one's spouse



Key: NA: Not Applicable

The responses from interview question 4 (*Which language(s) do the married respondents use to communicate with their spouses?*) show that the most common language among the couples is English. In the study area (Bloemfontein) the common language is English, for couples that are involved in intermarriage. The Igbo respondents who were married to the Igbo people use Igbo to communicate with their spouses and sometimes switch to English. The Sesotho participants who were married to the Sesotho people use Sesotho to communicate with their spouses and sometimes switch to Setswana, as the two languages are related (see Section 2.4.1).

The Igbo people who were married to the Sesotho people use English, except a few of them who understand Sesotho and use it sometimes alongside English. This does not correspond with some questionnaire responses (see Table 5.12). Table 5.12 does not indicate that any Igbo participant uses Sesotho to communicate with his or her spouse. The contradicting responses challenge one of the objectives of combining the research instruments: to confirm the responses from the questionnaire. Why their responses differ might be because the Igbo respondents

the researcher met earlier (before the study) and had interacted with claimed that they used only Igbo and English and sometimes NP in all their daily interactions; so, to them, admitting to use Sesotho in some contexts during their interactions may be difficult.

On the responses to interview question 5 (*Which language(s) do your spouse and children use to communicate with you?*), indicate that the spouses of the Igbo participants who were married to South Africans use English to communicate with them, except 16.6% (4 people) of the Igbo interviewed who understand Sesotho. These individuals use Sesotho to communicate with their spouses sometimes and use English most of the time.

On interview question 6 (*Is language a barrier in any way between the spouse, their children their children's friends and their children's teacher?*), 88.8% of the people interviewed stated that language is never a barrier between them and their spouses and their children. Eleven point one percent (11.1%) of the people interviewed said that language is sometimes a problem, as they feel insecure when their partner is speaking the language they do not understand with other people while they are there, especially when they have misunderstanding. In this kind of context, a language is sometimes used to exclude a person who does not understand the language and at the same time used to secure a bond with a person from the same language group.

5.2.12 Language(s) used to communicate with one's children

From the preliminary study, it was discovered that more than 70% of the Igbo participants have child(ren) who are able to speak Sesotho. This section presents the language the participants use to communicate with their children.

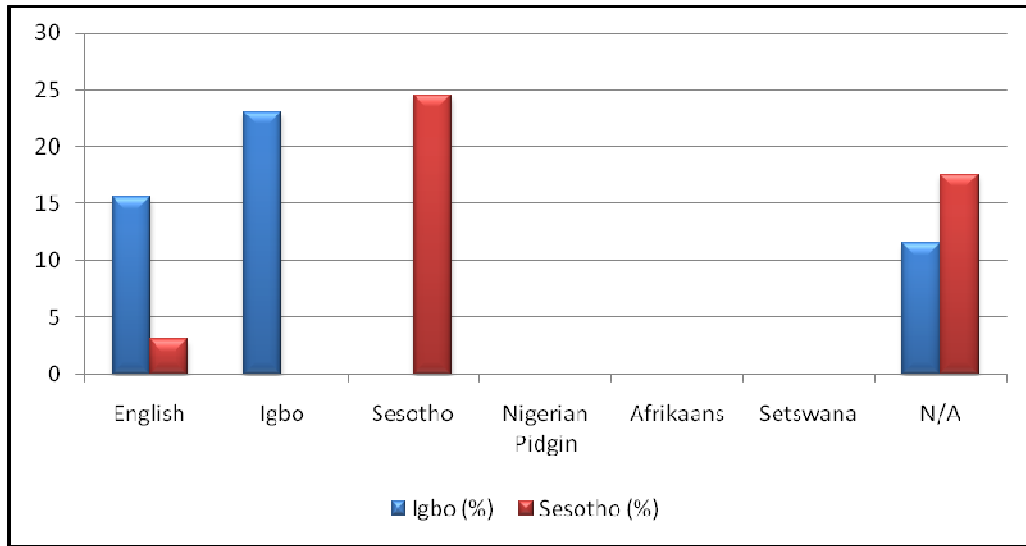
Table 5.13 Language(s) used to communicate with one's children

	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)
English	31 (15.5)	6 (3)	37 (18.5)
Igbo	46 (23)	—	46 (23)
Sesotho	—	59 (24.5)	59 (24.5)
Nigerian Pidgin	—	—	—
Afrikaans	—	—	—
Setswana	—	—	—
N/A	23 (11.5)	35 (17.5)	58 (29)

Table 5.13 summarises the language the respondents use to communicate with their children. The table reveals that 18.5% of the respondents use English to communicate with their children (with 15.5% Igbo and 3% Sesotho). The figure of the Igbo is much higher than that of the Sesotho because most of these Igbo were married to the Sesotho people and the only common language between the couple was English. Twenty-three percent (23%) used Igbo to communicate with their children (only the Igbo). With regard to using Sesotho, 24.5% (only the Sesotho respondents) used Sesotho to communicate with their children.

The results show that the majority of the Sesotho who participated in this study are loyal to their language and mostly use it with their children. Very few Sesotho (3%) who are married to Igbo people use English with their children, as indicated in Figure 5.10.

Figure 5.10 Language(s) used to communicate with one's children



Key: NA: Not Applicable

The language used to communicate with one's children is not applicable to 29% of the respondents (with 11.5% Igbo and 17.5% Sesotho) because they do not have children. Table 5.13 indicates that none of the Igbo respondents uses Sesotho, NP, Afrikaans and Setswana to communicate with their children. The Igbo participants did not use NP to communicate with their children because they believed that Pidgin is not equal to English, and it is mostly associated with illiterate people. They also did not use Sesotho, Afrikaans or Setswana to communicate with their children because most of them (55 of the Igbo) did not understand these languages. The people who understood the language said that their duty as parents was to teach their children their own mother tongue (which is Igbo). Furthermore, none of the Sesotho respondents used Igbo, NP, Afrikaans and Setswana to communicate with their children. This is because they understand neither Igbo nor NP. Moreover, they do not communicate with their children using Afrikaans or Setswana because these languages are not their mother tongues (though some of them grow up with their Setswana relatives and have Setswana as their first language; see section 4.3.2). They believed that the children will learn these languages at school, either in the classroom or from their peers.

The respondents gave various answers to the interview question on “the language(s) the respondents who have children use to communicate with their children”. All the 24 Igbo respondents (100%) used Igbo most of the time (as they want their children to grow up with knowledge of Igbo) and English some of the time to communicate with their children. However, the frequencies with which these Igbo people used any of the languages in communication with their children vary from one person to another. Thirty of the Sesotho people interviewed used Sesotho to communicate with their children and sometimes switched to English and in rare occasions switched to Setswana in contrast to the questionnaire responses (see Table 5.13). Since Sesotho and Setswana are similar to one another, there is every possibility that the Sesotho people will often switch between the two languages any time they are communicating with someone in Sesotho.

When asked which language the children use to communicate with their parents, the responses from the Igbo and the Sesotho participants also varied. All the Igbo participants’ children in Bloemfontein, according to their parents, used English to communicate with their Igbo father, because English is their first language. Even the children whose parents were Igbo understood Igbo but could not respond using Igbo because they were not proficient in Igbo; rather, they used English, the only common language between them and their father. However, Sesotho, and sometimes English, was used in their communication with their Sesotho mothers. This was because these children understood English and Sesotho, because Sesotho is the dominant language of the environment (Bloemfontein) and of their mothers (see home recording: Appendix 10). It is important to state at this juncture that the response here is from our respondents, not from children themselves, as this study is limited to adults (see Section 4.3.2).

In summary, the results from the study show that mixed marriage has a very strong effect on the choice of language for the Igbo people in Bloemfontein. The Igbo who are in intercultural marriage with the Sesotho are shifting from constantly using Igbo in the home context to a switch from Igbo to English. However, there is a dominance of English in place of Igbo (in their new home in Bloemfontein), as seen in Tables 5.12 and 5.13. In addition, some Igbo, who are married to Sesotho and who

understand Sesotho switch from English to Sesotho when they are communicating with their spouses (see Figure 5.28).

5.3 Responses from Section B (language use in different contexts)

This section deals with data gathered from Section B of the questionnaire (see Appendix 2 and 3) on language use in a variety of contexts. The languages assessed are: English, Igbo, Sesotho, Afrikaans, Setswana, and NP. The purpose of the investigation is to determine the common language between the two groups, that is, the language(s) used in their inter-communication.

The data collected in this section were presented in two forms: tables and bar charts. The frequencies of each of the languages used in different contexts are presented in a table split into A and B, each of the table deals with one of these languages: English, Igbo, Sesotho, Afrikaans Setswana, and NP. For more clarification on the analysis and presentation, the data are further summarised and presented into different contexts in a bar charts.

The different contexts which the study covered are:

- i. in a shop (with shop attendants and fellow customers);
- ii. at church (with church leaders, fellow members and during church activities);
- iii. at mosque (with mosque leaders, fellow mosque members and during mosque activities);
- iv. in a hospital (with receptionists, nurses, doctors and other patients);
- v. with friends;
- vi. with strangers;
- vii. at home (with one's spouse and children)
- viii. at university/college (with fellow students, lecturers and librarians)
- ix. at a bus station (with drivers and fellow passengers).

In the presentation, which focuses on different contexts, the data are grouped into five contexts:

- i. Religious contexts (comprised of church and mosque);
- ii. Hospital context;
- iii. Home context,
- iv. Social contexts (involves shop, friends, strangers and bus stations); and
- v. Educational context.

The data are also presented in bar graphs, showing the results of the study in different five contexts for more clarity.

Table 5.14 Key to Tables 5.15 to 5.20 abbreviations

Key to analysis of Tables 5.15a to 5.20b		
i.	S/A:	with shop attendants
ii.	F/C:	with fellow customers
iii.	C/L:	with church leaders
iv.	FCM:	with fellow church members
v.	C/A:	at church activities
vi.	M/L:	with mosque leaders
vii.	FMM:	with fellow mosque members
viii.	M/A:	at mosque activities
ix.	R:	with hospital receptionists
x.	N:	with nurses
xi.	Dr:	with doctors
xii.	O/P:	with other patients
xiii.	F:	with friends
xiv.	S:	with strangers
xv.	O/S:	with one's spouse
xvi.	O/C:	with one's children
xvii.	F/S:	with your fellow students
xviii.	LE:	with lecturers
xix.	LI:	with librarians
xx.	Drv:	with taxi drivers
xxi.	F/P:	with your fellow passengers

5.3.1 English usage

English is a language which cuts across the language use of the Igbo and the Sesotho people and it is the major language used in their intercultural communication. Both groups' participants understand, speak and use the language in almost all the contexts (although the level of their proficiency varies).

Table 5.15a The frequency of English use in different contexts

RESPONSES									
D/C	ALWAYS			OFTEN			RARELY		
	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)
S/A	53 (26.5)	4 (2)	57 (28.5)	23 (11.5)	25 (12.5)	48 (24)	23 (11.5)	42 (21)	65 (32.5)
F/C	51 (25.5)	1 (0.5)	52 (26)	24 (12)	29 (14.5)	53 (26.5)	22 (11)	41 (20.5)	63 (31.5)
C/L	94 (47)	69 (34.5)	163 (81.5)	4 (2)	13 (6.5)	17 (8.5)	1 (0.5)	3 (1.5)	4 (2)
FCM	49 (24.5)	6 (3)	55 (27.5)	34 (17)	37 (18.5)	71 (35.5)	17 (8.5)	36 (18)	53 (26.5)
C/A	87 (43.5)	22 (11)	109 (54.5)	12 (6)	61 (30.5)	73 (36.5)	1 (0.5)	3 (1.5)	4 (2)
M/L	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	—	—	—
FMM	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	—	—	—
M/A	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)
R	62 (31)	48 (24)	110 (55)	33 (16.5)	40 (20)	73 (36.5)	4 (2)	6 (3)	10 (5)
N	63 (31.5)	52 (26)	115 (57.5)	36 (18)	34 (17)	70 (35)	—	9 (4.5)	9 (4.5)
Dr	84 (42)	68 (34)	152 (76)	16 (8)	22 (11)	38 (19)	—	3 (1.5)	3 (1.5)
O/P	14 (7)	3 (1.5)	17 (8.5)	65 (32.5)	51 (25.5)	116 (58)	21 (10.5)	37 (18.5)	58 (29)
F	8 (4)	2 (1)	10 (5)	64 (32)	39 (19.5)	103(51.5)	25 (12.5)	44 (22)	69 (34.5)
S	78 (39)	27 (13.5)	105 (52.5)	19 (9.5)	68 (34)	87 (43.5)	—	4 (2)	4 (2)
O/S	61 (30.5)	3 (1.5)	64 (32)	7 (3.5)	11 (5.5)	18 (9)	7 (3.5)	26 (13)	33 (16.5)
O/C	36 (18)	4 (2)	40 (20)	40 (20)	16 (8)	56 (28)	—	31 (15.5)	31 (15.5)
F/S	5 (2.5)	2 (1)	7 (3.5)	—	2 (1)	2 (1)	1 (0.5)	3 (1.5)	4 (2)
LE	6 (3)	7 (3.5)	13 (6.5)	—	—	—	—	—	—
LI	6 (3)	2 (1)	8 (4)	—	3 (1.5)	3 (1.5)	—	2 (1)	2 (1)

Drv	44 (22)	2 (1)	45 (22.5)	33 (16.5)	20 (10)	53 (26.5)	15 (7.5)	48 (24)	63 (31.5)
F/P	44 (22)	2 (1)	46 (23)	33 (16)	19 (18)	52 (26)	15 (7.5)	48 (24)	63 (31.5)

Table 5.15b The frequency of English use in different contexts continued

RESPONSES									
D/C	NEVER			NOT APPLICABLE			NO RESPONSE		
	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)
S/A	1 (0.5)	28 (14)	29 (14.5)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)
F/C	3 (1.5)	28 (14)	31 (15.5)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)
C/L	1 (0.5)	4 (2)	5 (2.5)	—	10 (5)	10 (5)	—	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)
FCM	—	11 (5.5)	11 (5.5)	—	9 (4.5)	9 (4.5)	—	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)
C/A	—	4 (2)	4 (2)	1 (0.5)	9 (4.5)	10 (5)	—	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)
M/L	—	—	—	100 (50)	99 (49.5)	199 (99.5)	—	—	—
FMM	—	—	—	100 (50)	99 (49.5)	199 (99.5)	—	—	—
M/A	—	—	—	100 (50)	99 (49.5)	199 (99.5)	—	—	—
R	—	4 (2)	4 (2)	—	—	—	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	2 (1)
N	—	5 (2.5)	5 (2.5)	—	—	—	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	2 (1)
Dr	—	6 (3)	6 (3)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)
O/P	—	8 (4)	8 (4)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)
F	2 (1)	14 (7)	16 (8)	—	—	—	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	2 (1)
S	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	2 (1)	—	—	—	2 (1)	—	2 (1)
O/S	—	18 (9)	18 (9)	25 (12.5)	40 (20)	65 (32.5)	—	2 (1)	2 (1)
O/C	—	12 (6)	12 (6)	23 (11.5)	36 (13)	59 (29.5)	1 (0.5)	1 (0.5)	2 (1)
F/S	—	—	—	94 (37)	90 (45)	184 (92)	—	3 (1.5)	—
LE	—	—	—	94 (37)	90 (45)	184 (92)	—	3 (1.5)	—
LI	—	—	—	94 (37)	90 (45)	184 (92)	—	3 (1.5)	—
Drv	1 (0.5)	30 (15)	31 (15.5)	—	—	—	7 (3.5)	—	7 (3.5)
F/P	1 (0.5)	30 (15)	31 (15.5)	—	—	—	7 (3.5)	1 (0.5)	8 (4)

Key: N/A: Not Applicable; N/R: No Response.

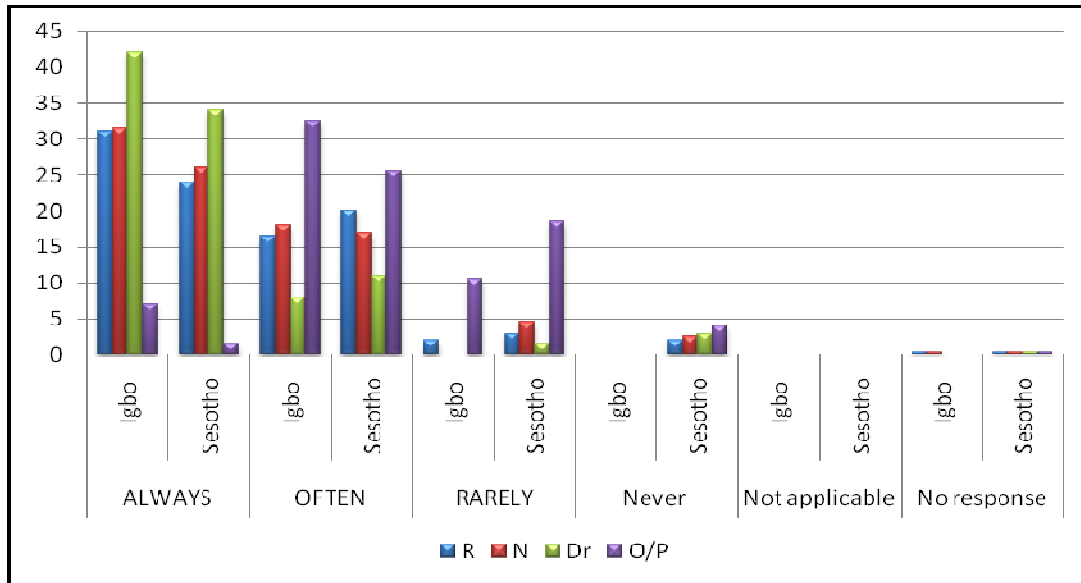
From Table 5.15a, it is evident that the participants use English in both formal and informal settings. For example, in the hospitals, 76% (with 42% Igbo and 34%

Sesotho) of the respondents always used English with the doctors, as most doctors were not Sesotho-speaking people; 8.5% of the participants (7% Igbo and 1.5% Sesotho) always used English with other patients, while 55% of the participants (with 31% Igbo and 24% Sesotho) always used English with the hospital receptionists, and 57.5% (31.5% Igbo and 26% Sesotho) always used English with the nurses.

In the hospital context, 2.5% Sesotho never used English with the nurses, as they attended clinics where they shared the same mother tongue with the nurses, 2% of Sesotho respondents never used English with the hospital receptionists, and 3% never used English with the doctors. This is not the case with the Igbo, as they used English in all contexts. Eight percent (8%) of the Sesotho participants never used English with other patients in the hospital. Conversely, the Sesotho mostly used Sesotho with other patients (see Table 5.18a).

Furthermore, 36.5% and 35% of the respondents often used English with the hospital receptionists and nurses, respectively, and 58% often used English with other patients. Twenty-nine percent (29%) of the respondents rarely used English with other patients in the hospital. The frequency of English use in the hospital context is very high among the Igbo and the Sesotho with the receptionists, nurses and doctors, as they are dominated with non-Sesotho, but very low with other patients (as other patients are often Sesotho people), as shown in Figure 5.11.

Figure 5.11 The frequency of English use in hospital context

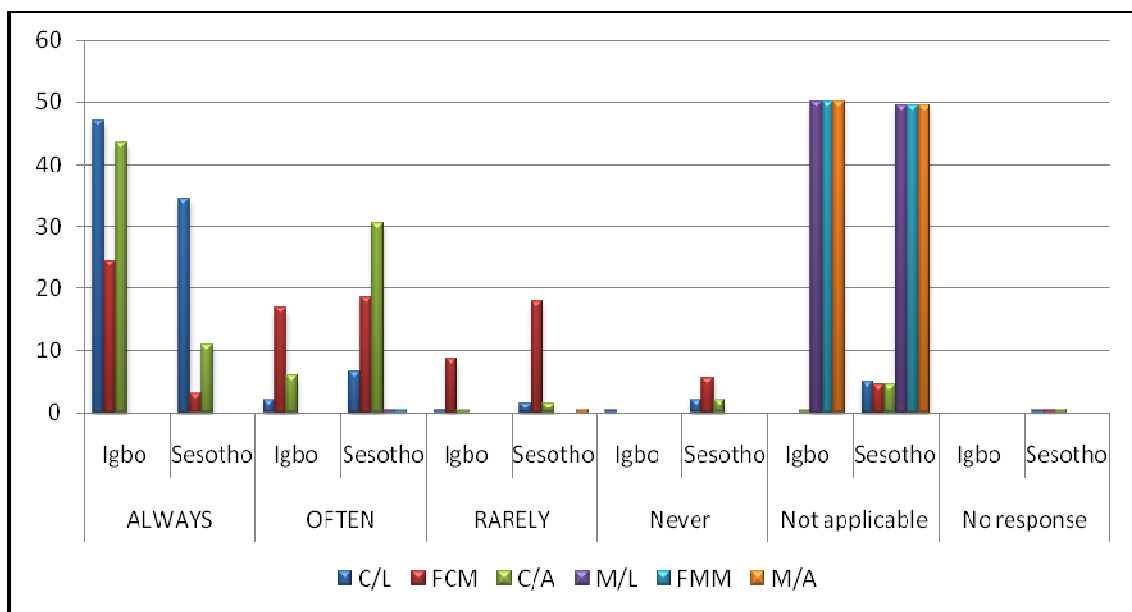


Key: R: with hospital receptionists; N: with nurses; Dr: with doctors; O/P: with other patients.

In the church context, 81.5% of the participants (with 47% Igbo and 34.5% Sesotho) used English with their church leaders. This is because, according to the participants, most of their church leaders only understand English and not their various mother tongues. Fifty-four point five percent (54.5%) of the respondents always used English during church activities (43.5% Igbo and 11% Sesotho). Although some participants did not always use English, 35.5% (17% Igbo and 18.5% Sesotho) and 36.5% (6% Igbo and 30.5% Sesotho) often used English with their fellow church members and during church activities, respectively, while 26.5% rarely used English with their fellow church members. More Sesotho never used English with church leaders (2%), compared to 0.5% of the Igbo. The reason they gave was that they did not have a one-to-one relationship with their church leaders. Furthermore, 5.5% and 2% of the Sesotho never used English with fellow church members or during church activities, respectively.

Tables 5.15a and 5.15b summarise the frequency of English use in different contexts. The data show that the frequency of English use varies from one context to another. In religious contexts (church and mosque), the frequency of English use is high especially in conversation with church leaders and during church activities, as most church leaders are non-Sesotho speakers. Also, church activities involve people from different linguistic backgrounds. The frequency of English use in religious contexts is shown in Figure 5.12.

Figure 5.12 The frequency of English use in religious contexts

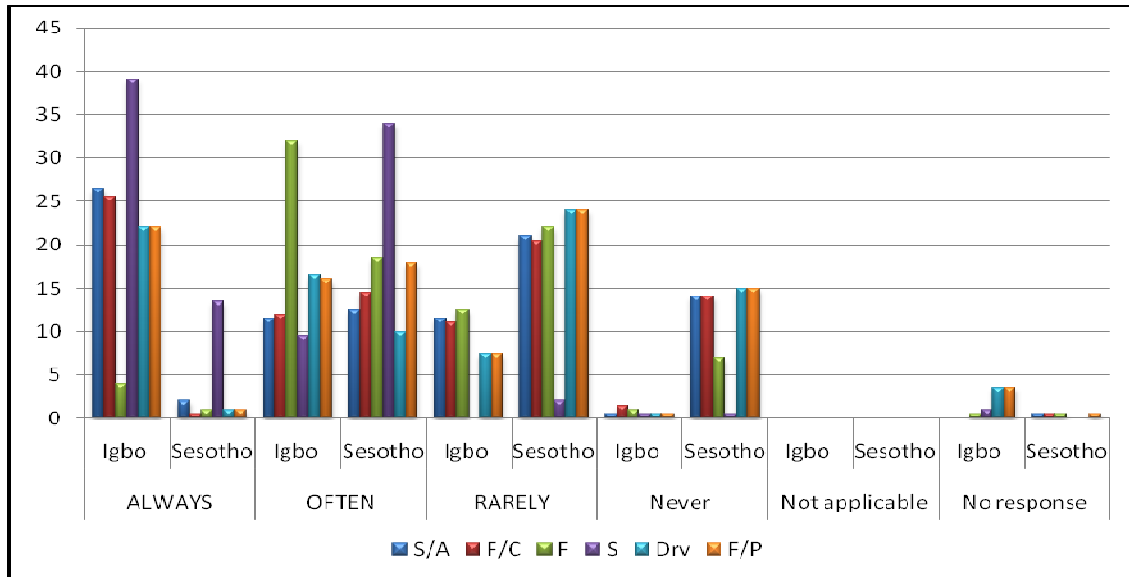


Key: C/L: with church leaders; FCM: with fellow church members; C/A: at church activities; M/L: with mosque leaders; FMM: with fellow mosque members; M/A: at mosque activities.

In social contexts, fifty-two point five percent (52.5%) of the respondents (39% Igbo and 13.5% Sesotho) always used English with strangers. This is because English is often the only common language between the respondents and the strangers. Twenty-eight point five percent of the respondents (with 26.2% Igbo and 2% Sesotho) always used English with shop attendants. The reason why a low

percentage of the respondents communicated with the shop attendants in English is that most of the shop attendants understand and speak Sesotho and Setswana (see Tables 5.18a and 5.20a on the frequency of Sesotho and Setswana use with the shop attendants). Thirty-three point five percent (33.5%) and 31.5% of the respondents rarely used English with the shop attendants and fellow customers, respectively, while 34.5% rarely used it with their friends. Furthermore, 31.5% (7.5% Igbo and 24% Sesotho) of the respondents rarely used English with taxi/bus drivers and their fellow passengers, respectively, while 51.5% (32% Igbo and 19.5% Sesotho) and 43.5% (9.5% Igbo and 34%) of them often used English with their friends and strangers, respectively. This is because most of the respondents use either Sesotho or Setswana to communicate with taxi/bus drivers and fellow passengers (see Tables 5.18a and 5.20a on the frequency of Sesotho and Setswana use with taxi/bus drivers and their fellow passengers). With reference to Table 5.15b, some of the Sesotho participants (14%) never used English with shop attendants and fellow customers, while 15% never used English either with the taxi/bus drivers or fellow passengers. They used either Sesotho or Setswana as these taxi/bus drivers and fellow passengers too understood and spoke either of the languages (Sesotho or Setswana) or both. Figure 5.13 summarises the frequency of English use in social contexts.

Figure 5.13 The frequency of English use in social contexts



Key: S/A: with shop attendants; F/C: with fellow customers; F: with friends; S: with strangers; Drv: with taxi drivers; F/P: with your fellow passengers.

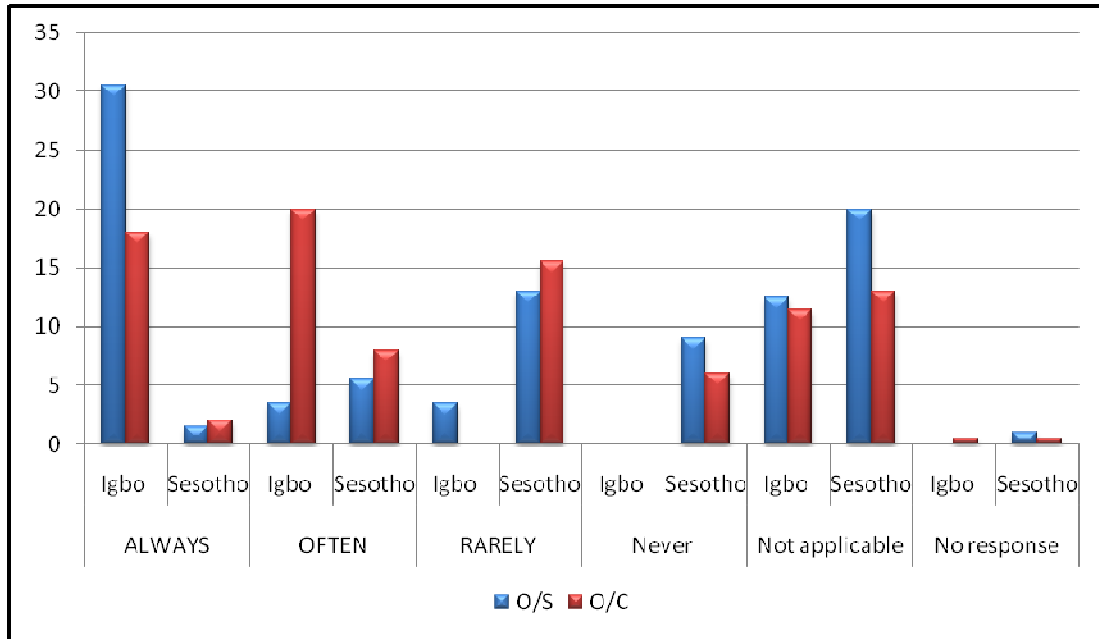
Figure 5.13 shows that English is commonly used among the Igbo and the Sesotho people in interacting with strangers and highly used among the Igbo to interact with their friends.

In the home context, 32% (with 30.5% Igbo and 1.5% Sesotho) of the participants used English with their spouses (the people in intercultural marriage) and 20% of them (18% Igbo and 2% Sesotho) used English with their children. According to the people in intercultural marriage, the major factor which determines the language they use is the addressee (their partner). That is, the language which is common to both the speaker and the addressee.

Quite a number of the Sesotho participants (9% and 6%) never used English with their spouses and children, respectively in the home context. Twenty-eight percent (28%) often used English with their spouses, while 16.5% and 15.5% rarely used

English with their spouses and their children, respectively. Figure 5.14 shows the frequency of English use at home.

Figure 5.14 The frequency of English use in home context

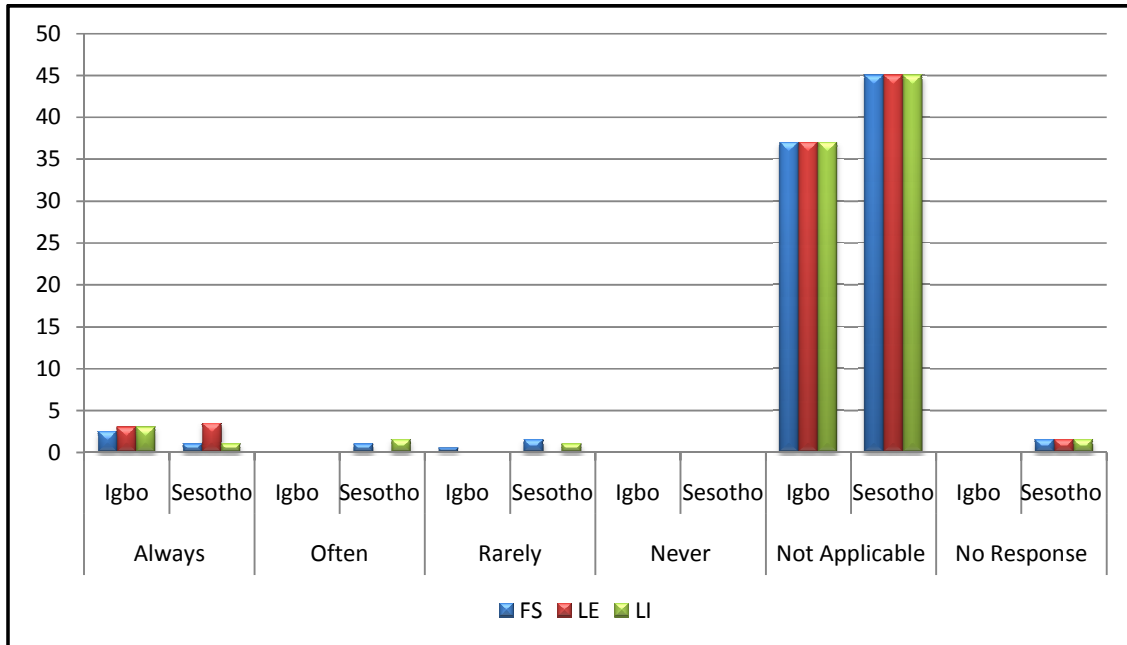


Key: O/S: with one's spouse; O/C: with one's children.

Figure 5.14 indicates that the Igbo in Bloemfontein use English more than the Sesotho. This is because English is the main means of communication for the Igbo, while the Sesotho use Sesotho more often because it is the main language of their immediate environment (Bloemfontein) and they also use English when communicating with the people who do not understand Sesotho.

In the education context, the use of English is very frequent among the student participants. The number of students who participated in the study is very small (12), as shown in Figure 5.15.

Figure 5.15 The frequency of English use in education context



Key: F/S: with your fellow students; LE: with lecturers; LI: with librarians.

Figure 5.15 shows that English is not applicable to most of the respondents in educational context, as they are not in the educational system. The results reveal that the Igbo respondents either always or often used English with fellow students, lecturers and librarians, while most Sesotho participants in this context always used English with lecturers.

From the interview responses, it becomes clear that all the Igbo people in Bloemfontein used English most of the time at home (for most of them who are married to South Africans), at shops (with their different customers from different linguistic groups) and at church (with friends who are not Igbo). This is because English is a language which bridges the communication barrier that exists between the Igbo and the Sesotho and other people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

All the Sesotho participants claimed to use Sesotho most of the time, because Sesotho is a major language in Bloemfontein. The Sesotho also switch to English, Setswana, Sepedi, isiZulu or isiXhosa during interactions. According to them, the choice of the language depends on the language the addressee understands. However, what determines language choice when the speakers have more than one language in common includes (but not restricted to): the relationships between the participants, the social settings and the topic of the interactions.

English is found to be used in all contexts by both the Igbo and the Sesotho participants, but the frequency of its use varies. Table 5.15 reveals the different contexts the respondents use English and the frequency of these uses and the contexts in which they do not use the language. Most of the respondents used English in different places, namely at shops, churches and in the hospitals. From the research findings, there was no context in which English was not used. It is clear that English has the upper hand in countries such as Nigeria and South Africa, where it is used as the official language of the two countries, and also as the medium of instruction in schools (see Sections 2.2.4 and 2.4.3). English is most widely accepted and has more second and third language speakers than the number of the speakers of each of the indigenous languages as first languages.

5.3.2 Nigerian Pidgin usage

The Pidgin referred to in Table 5.16 is Nigerian Pidgin (NP). NP is commonly used by many Nigerians in the cities. During the preliminary study, it was discovered that all the Igbo people in Bloemfontein that the researcher met spoke NP and switched among Igbo, English and NP.

Table 5.16a The frequency of Nigerian Pidgin use in different contexts

D/C	RESPONSES								
	ALWAYS			OFTEN			RARELY		
	Igbo	Sesotho	Total	Igbo	Sesotho	Total	Igbo	Sesotho	Total
S/A	4	—	4	22	—	22	44	—	44
F/C	4	—	4	25	—	25	41	—	41
C/L	1	—	1	3	—	3	30	—	30
FCM	2	—	2	17	—	17	30	—	30
C/A	1	—	1	4	—	4	25	—	25
M/L	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
FMM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
M/A	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
R	1	—	1	12	—	12	23	—	23
N	—	—	—	5	—	5	28	—	28
Dr	1	—	1	5	—	5	19	—	19
O/P	1	—	1	31	—	31	35	—	35
F	28	—	28	47	—	47	9	—	9
S	1	—	1	6	—	6	37	—	37
O/S	—	—	—	34	—	34	18	—	18
O/C	1	—	1	3	—	3	19	—	19
F/S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LI	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Drv	2	—	2	32	—	32	38	—	38
F/P	2	—	2	32	—	32	38	—	38

Table 5.16b The frequency of Nigerian Pidgin use in different contexts continued

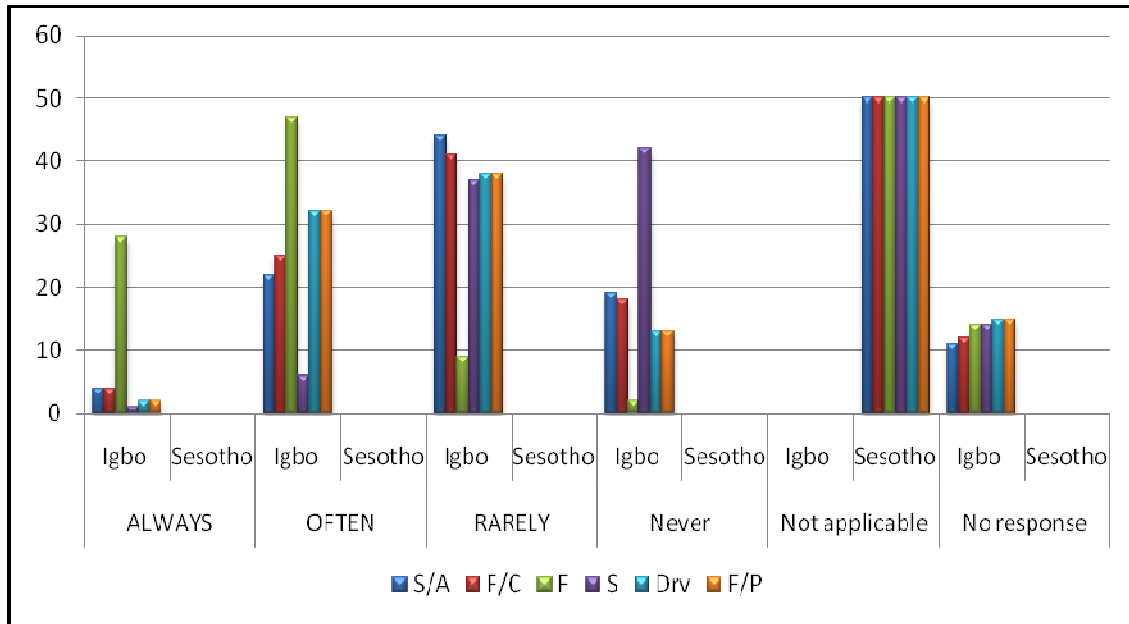
RESPONSES									
D/C	NEVER			Not Applicable			No Response		
	Igbo	Sesotho	Total	Igbo	Sesotho	Total	Igbo	Sesotho	Total
S/A	19	—	19	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	11	—	11
F/C	18	—	18	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	12	—	12
C/L	53	—	53	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	13	—	13
FCM	38	—	38	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	13	—	13
C/A	57	—	57	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	13	—	13
M/L	—	—	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	200 (100)	—	—	—
FMM	—	—	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	200 (100)	—	—	—
M/A	—	—	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	200(100)	—	—	—
R	52	—	52	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	12	—	12
N	55	—	55	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	12	—	12
Dr	64	—	64	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	11	—	11
O/P	21	—	21	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	12	—	12
F	2	—	2	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	14	—	14
S	42	—	42	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	14	—	14
O/S	12	—	12	23 (11.5)	100 (50)	123 (61.5)	13	—	13
O/C	41	—	41	22 (11)	100 (50)	122 (61)	14	—	14
F/S	4	—	4	96 (48)	100 (50)	196 (98)	—	—	—
LE	6	—	6	94 (47)	100 (50)	194 (97)	—	—	—
LI	6	—	6	94 (47)	100 (50)	194 (97)	—	—	—
Drv	13	—	13	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	15	—	15
F/P	13	—	13	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	15	—	15

Tables 5.16a and 5.16b present the different contexts in which the Igbo participants use NP in their day-to-day lives. The study reveals that only the Igbo participants could understand and speak NP. All the Sesotho participants, except two student participants, did not know what NP is. Most of the Igbo people, though they use NP in different contexts, did not accord it any recognition or associate with it, particularly in public places.

The study reveals that twenty-eight percent (28%) and 47% of the Igbo respondents agreed that they used NP either always or often with their Igbo friends, respectively. Furthermore, 4% and 22% claimed that they used NP either always or often with the Igbo shop attendants, respectively. Thirty-two percent (32%) of them claimed that they often used NP with their fellow Igbo passengers and taxi/bus drivers at bus stations. The study further reveals that 44% and 41% of the Igbo participants rarely used NP with shop attendants and fellow customers, respectively. Thirty-seven percent (37%) rarely used NP with strangers, while 38% rarely used NP with either taxi/bus drivers or with their fellow passengers. This is because these people (shop attendants, fellow customers, strangers, taxi/bus drivers and fellow passengers) did not understand or speak NP.

NP is not applicable to the Sesotho respondents as none of them claimed to understand or speak NP. Since NP is applied to the Igbo only, they could not use it in many different contexts, except among themselves. The study reveals that 19% and 18% of the Igbo participants never used NP with shop attendants or fellow customers, respectively, while 13% never used NP either with taxi/bus drivers or fellow passengers. Figure 5.16 summarises the frequency of NP use in the social contexts.

Figure 5.16 The frequency of Nigerian Pidgin use in social contexts

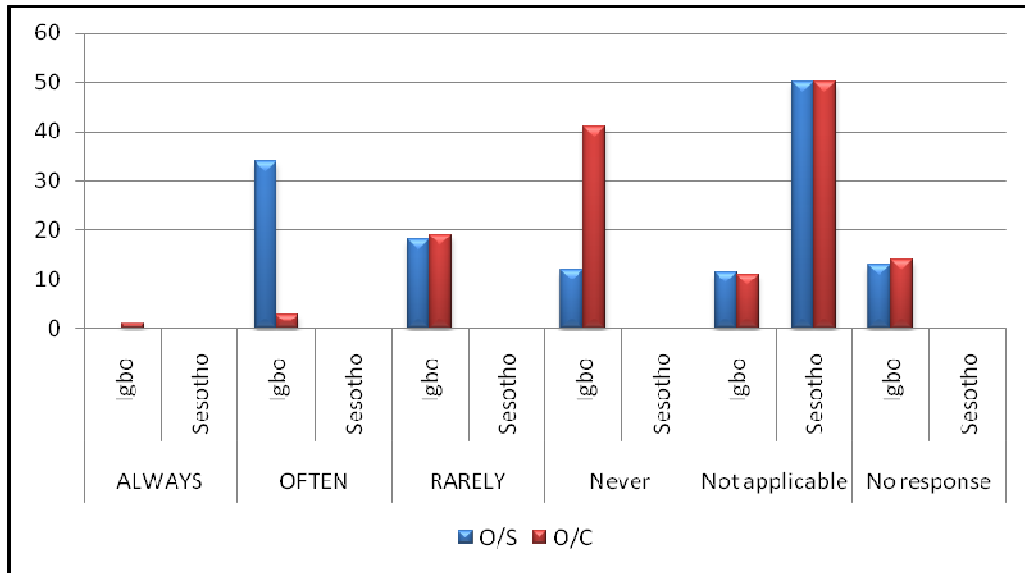


Key: S/A: with shop attendants; F/C: with fellow customers; F: with friends; S: with strangers; Drv: with taxi drivers; F/P: with your fellow passengers.

Figure 5.16 shows that the Igbo respondents used NP mostly in informal contexts, especially with the Igbo; friends, fellow passengers as well as with the taxi/bus drivers.

In the home context, 34% of the Igbo respondents often used NP with their spouses, while only 3% used it with their children. This reflects the kind of status given to NP (low status) and the fact that, most people do not want to associate themselves with it (see Section 2.2.3) or encourage their children to learn it. Twelve percent (12%) and 41% never used NP with their spouses or children, respectively, as shown in Figure 5.17.

Figure 5.17 The frequency of Nigerian Pidgin use in home context

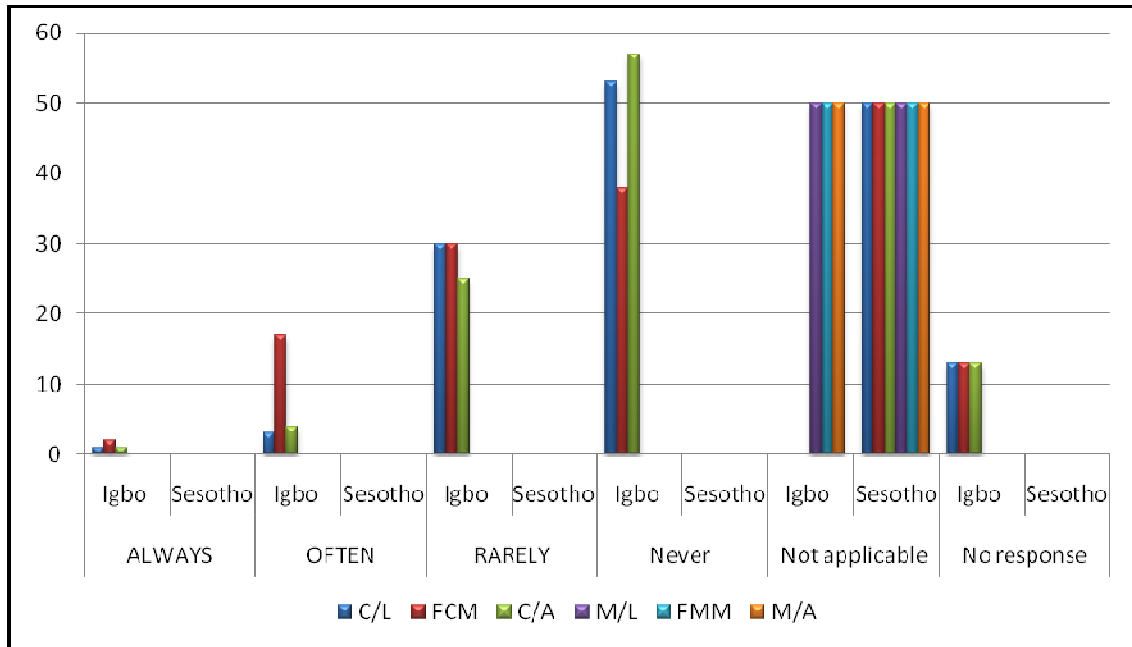


Key: O/S: with one’s spouse; O/C: with one’s children.

During the interviews, the researcher asked the Igbo people that participated in this study whether the Sesotho people were able to understand and communicate with them in NP. Their responses were that the Sesotho people understood them, but they (the Sesotho) did not use true NP when communicating with them.

In the church context, quite a number of the Igbo participants never used NP with their church leaders (53%), fellow church members (38%) and during church activities (57%). At the mosque, NP is not applicable to any of the participants since the only Muslim that participated in this study was a Sesotho-speaking person who does not understand NP. NP is rarely used in many contexts. This is because it is spoken only by the Igbo people and they (the Igbo) can only use NP when they are interacting with other Igbo people. Thirty percent (30%) of the Igbo participants rarely used NP with their church leaders or with their fellow church members. Figure 5.18 clearly shows the frequency at which the Igbo participants use NP in religious contexts (church and mosque).

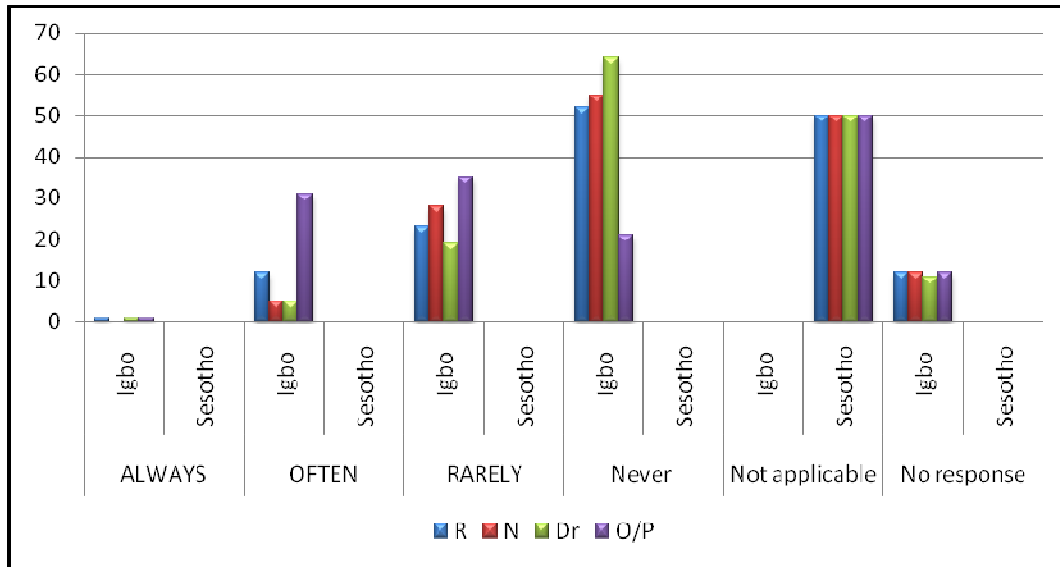
Figure 5.18 The frequency of Nigerian Pidgin use in religious contexts



Key: C/L: with church leaders; FCM: with fellow church members; C/A: at church activities; M/L: with mosque leaders; FMM: with fellow mosque members; M/A: at mosque activities.

In the hospital context, 52% of the Igbo participants never used NP with the hospital receptionists, 55% and 64% never used NP with the nurses and doctors, respectively. Since the figures apply to the Igbo only, it means that more than half of the Igbo participants never used NP in hospitals. Twenty-one percent (21%) never used NP with other patients in hospitals, 42% never used it with strangers, while only 2% never used NP with their friends. The frequency of NP used in hospital context is summarised in Figure 5.19.

Figure 5.19 The frequency of Nigerian Pidgin use in the hospital context



Key: R: with hospital receptionists; N: with nurses; Dr: with doctors; O/P: with other patients.

Figure 5.19 clearly shows that NP is mostly not in use in the hospital context, especially with the doctors. Thirty-five percent (35%) of the Igbo respondents indicated that they rarely used NP with other patients when they visit hospitals.

In responding to the interview questions 1 and 2 (see Section 5.5), none of the Igbo respondents mentioned NP as one of the means of communication they used in different contexts. The researcher asked them why they do not mention NP, their responses varied which are summarised as follows:

- i. NP is seen as spoken by the uneducated;
- ii. NP is not recognised;
- iii. Nigerians are not proud to identify with NP in public;
- iv. NP is for people who cannot speak English;
- v. NP is not a language one can encourage one's children to learn and speak;

- vi. Some people claimed they understand NP but cannot speak it.

It is an interesting fact that the people (19 Igbo respondents), who claimed that they did not speak NP, kept switching from Igbo, to English and to NP during the interviews. This shows that even the people who speak NP often claim not to speak it. The assumption is that these people who claimed that they do not speak NP might have considered it as a variety of English or not a “real” language which they should associate themselves. However, as mentioned earlier (see Section 2.2.3), Nigerian Pidgin is different from English spoken by Nigerians, but the line between the two is sometimes difficult to draw, especially by uneducated people.

NP is not applicable to the Sesotho respondents, as they are not familiar with it. The reason the Igbo participants rarely used NP with people, such as church leaders, other patients, strangers, taxi/bus drivers and fellow passengers is because most of these people are Sesotho. In addition, they claimed that if a person speaks NP, other people look down on that person as not being able to speak good English.

5.3.3 Igbo usage

As mentioned in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.2.2), Igbo is one of three Nigerian languages. This study explores different contexts in which Igbo is used by the Igbo people in Bloemfontein.

Table 5.17a The frequency of Igbo use in different contexts

RESPONSES									
	ALWAYS			OFTEN			RARELY		
D/C	Igbo	Sesotho	Total	Igbo	Sesotho	Total	Igbo	Sesotho	Total
S/A	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2
F/C	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3
C/L	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
FCM	—	—	—	7	—	7	9	—	9
C/A	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
M/L	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
FMM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
M/A	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
R	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
N	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dr	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
O/P	—	—	—	1	—	1	28	—	28
F	61	—	61	25	—	25	1	—	1
S	—	—	—	1	—	1	18	—	18
O/S	3	—	3	2	—	2	20	—	20
O/C	1	—	1	55	—	55	5	—	5
F/S	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
LE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LI	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Drv	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2
F/P	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	4

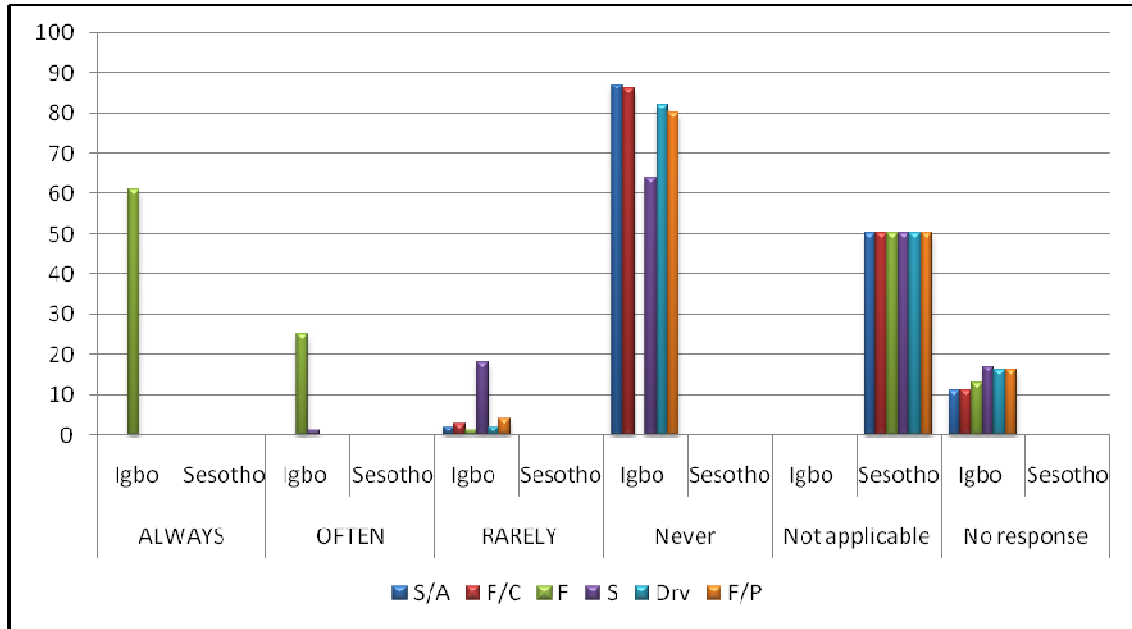
Table 5.17b The frequency of Igbo use in different contexts continued

RESPONSES									
	NEVER			Not Applicable			No Response		
D/C	Igbo	Sesotho	Total	Igbo	Sesotho	Total	Igbo	Sesotho	Total
S/A	87	—	87	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	11	—	11
F/C	86	—	86	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	11	—	11
C/L	88	—	88	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	11	—	11
FCM	73	—	73	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	11	—	11
C/A	87	—	87	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	12	—	12
M/L	—	—	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	200 (100)	—	—	—
FMM	—	—	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	200 (100)	—	—	—
M/A	—	—	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	200 (100)	—	—	—
R	89	—	89	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	11	—	11
N	89	—	89	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	11	—	11
Dr	88	—	88	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	12	—	12
O/P	61	—	61	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	10	—	10
F	—	—	—	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	13	—	13
S	64	—	64	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	17	—	17
O/S	38	—	38	25 (12.5)	100 (50)	125 (62.5)	12	—	12
O/C	3	—	3	24 (12)	100 (50)	124 (62)	12	—	12
F/S	3	—	3	96 (48)	100 (50)	196 (98)	—	—	—
LE	4	—	4	96 (48)	100 (50)	196 (98)	—	—	—
LI	4	—	4	96 (48)	100 (50)	196 (98)	—	—	—
Drv	82	—	82	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	16	—	16
F/P	80	—	80	—	100 (50)	100 (50)	16	—	16

Table 5.17a indicates that none of the Sesotho participants understands or speaks Igbo. Although Igbo is spoken only by the Igbo, the Igbo participants in this study use it (Igbo) wherever they interact with other Igbo people, either in the shop, the church, school, street or hospital. Sixty-one percent (61%) and 25% of the Igbo participants maintained that they always and often used Igbo with friends, respectively. Eighty-seven percent (87%) of the Igbo participants claimed that they never used Igbo with shop attendants, 18% rarely used Igbo with strangers, while 86% never used it with fellow customers. Eighty-two percent (82%) and 80% never used Igbo with taxi/bus

drivers and their fellow passengers, respectively. Figure 5.21 shows the frequency of Igbo use across social contexts. It is mostly used to interact with friends.

Figure 5.20 The frequency of Igbo use in social contexts

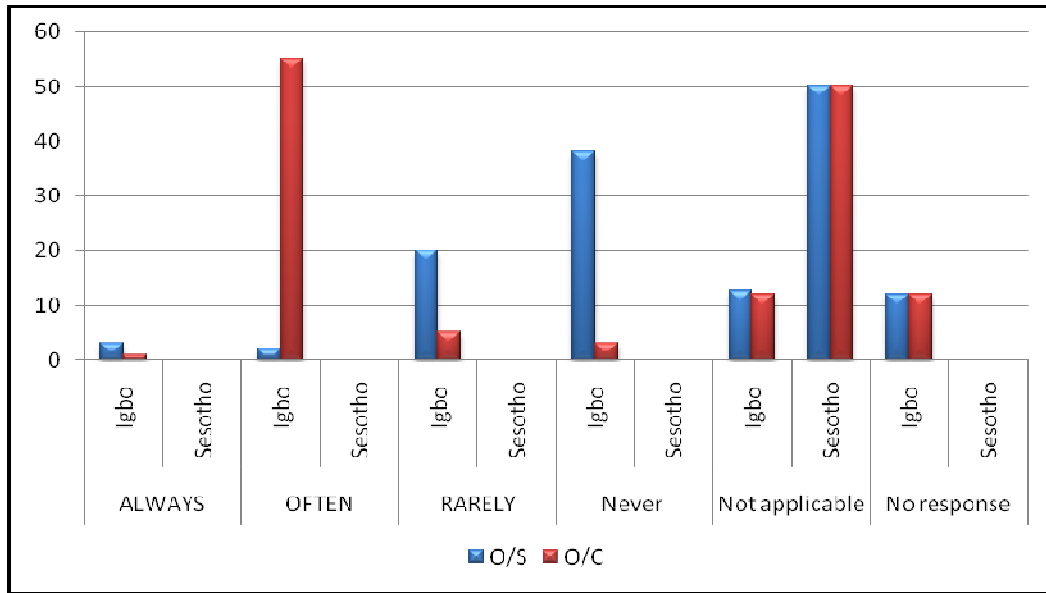


Key: S/A: with shop attendants; F/C: with fellow customers; F: with friends; S: with strangers; Drv: with taxi/bus drivers; F/P: with your fellow passengers.

In the home context, the results show that 55% of the Igbo participants often used Igbo to communicate with their children, who understood but could not respond in Igbo, as their proficiency in Igbo was quite low. Twenty percent (20%) of the Igbo participants rarely used Igbo with their spouses, while 5% rarely used it with their children. This confirms their responses to interview question four, on the language used to communicate to their children (see Section 5.2.12), where all the Igbo respondents state that they used Igbo most of the time to communicate with their children. However, the frequencies at which they use Igbo to communicate with their children vary from always to rarely.

Thirty-eight percent (38%) and 3% never used Igbo to interact either with their spouses or children, respectively. This frequency of Igbo use in the home context is further shown in Figure 5.21.

Figure 5.21 The frequency of Igbo use in home context



Key: O/S: with one's spouse; O/C: with one's children.

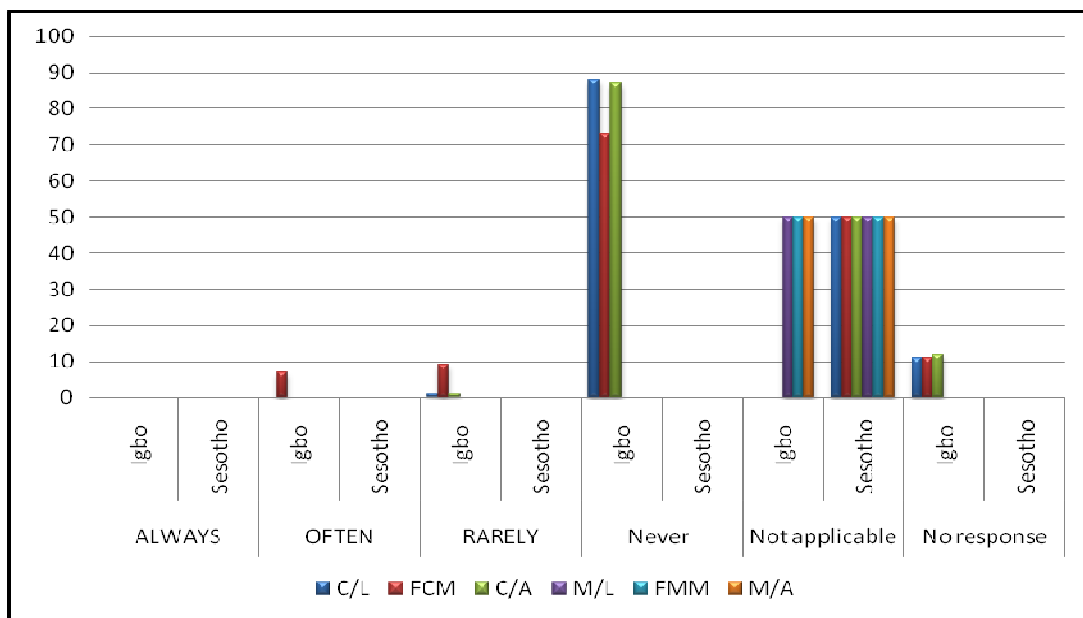
Figure 5.21 shows that the dominant context of Igbo use is with friends. Igbo is not applicable to the Sesotho participants as they do not understand or speak the language. Therefore, Igbo like NP, is restricted mostly in informal contexts where it is used because it is a language spoken only by the Igbo people. Although the Igbo participants used Igbo to communicate with their children, these children did not master the language (Igbo) for them to use it to communicate with their fathers. However, the focus of this study is not on children (see Section 4.3.2, on the study population).

In the church context, the study reveals that 7% of the Igbo participants used Igbo with their fellow church members, while 9% rarely used it with their fellow church members. Eighty-seven percent (87%) of the Igbo participants never used Igbo

during church activities and 88% never used Igbo with their church leaders. Eleven percent (11%) of the participants did not respond to the question.

The data reveal that Igbo is not used in formal contexts in Bloemfontein by the Igbo. This is because these formal places are dominated by the people who do not understand or speak Igbo. The frequency of Igbo use in religious contexts is shown in Figure 5.22.

Figure 5.22 The frequency of Igbo use in religious contexts

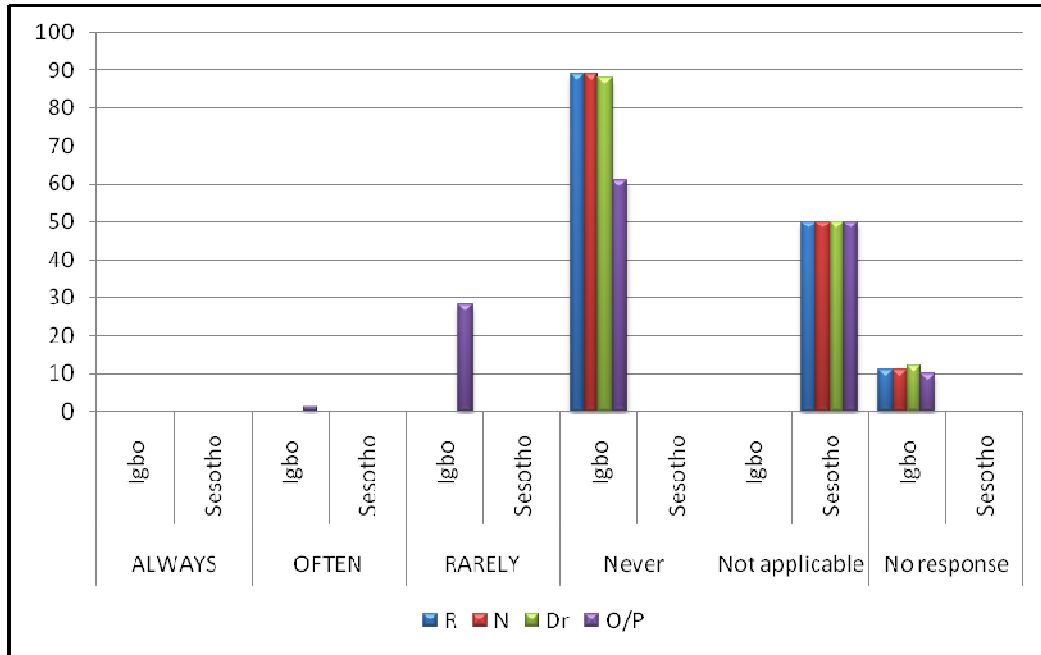


Key: C/L: with church leaders; FCM: with fellow church members; C/A: at church activities; M/L: with mosque leaders; FMM: with fellow mosque members; M/A: at mosque activities.

In the hospital context, the use of Igbo is very limited, with only one percent of the Igbo respondents who often used Igbo in hospitals and this was only with other patients. This was probably when the Igbo met another Igbo patient in the hospital which cannot be often. Twenty-eight percent (28%) of the Igbo participants rarely used Igbo with other patients in the hospital, while 89% of the Igbo participants never

used Igbo either with the hospital receptionists or nurses. Eighty-eight percent (88%) never used Igbo with doctors, while 61% of them never used Igbo with other patients in the hospital. Figure 5.23 sheds more light on the frequency of Igbo use in hospitals.

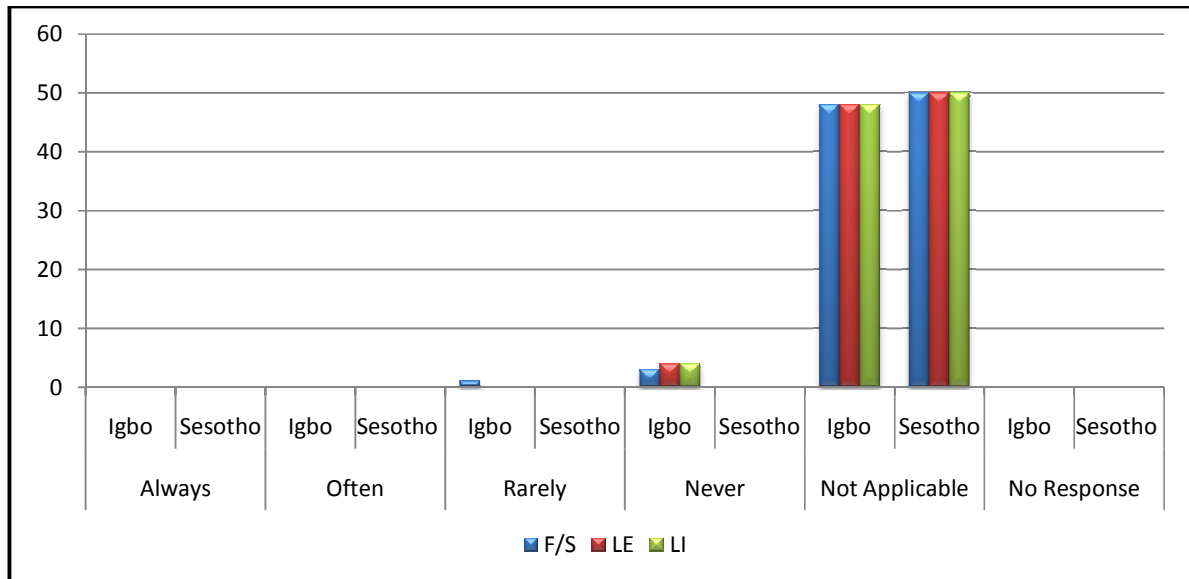
Figure 5.23 The frequency of Igbo use in hospital context



Key: R: with hospital receptionists; N: with nurses; Dr: with doctors; O/P: with other patients.

In the educational context, the use of Igbo is also very limited, as there are only a few Igbo students in Bloemfontein. The Igbo students in Bloemfontein also do not see one another often enough to make use of their language. The common language they used to communicate with their co-students, lecturers and librarians is English, as shown in Figure 5.24.

Figure 5.24 The frequency of Igbo use in educational context



Key: F/S: with your fellow students; LE: with lecturers; LI: with librarians.

Table 5.17 shows different contexts in which Igbo is used by the Igbo respondents. The study reveals that the language is spoken only by the Igbo and these Igbo people mostly used the language with their Igbo friends and children. The preliminary study reveals, however, that all the Igbo children in Bloemfontein the researcher could reach during the study were not proficient in Igbo language (see Section 2.3). This is because the language is spoken to them only by their fathers, who often switch from Igbo to English. In addition, their fathers are not always with them, as these fathers leave home to their shops early in the morning and come back late in the evening, daily. This means that the children spend more time with their mothers (who use Sesotho and English), than their fathers, making the children to acquire better proficiency in English and Sesotho, than in Igbo.

According to Thomason (2001:242), “the number of endangered languages is increasing, because the speakers of these endangered languages are shifting to other languages”. Here, the Igbo speakers are not actually abandoning their language, but their children who are supposed to acquire Igbo as their mother

language and retain the language as part of their identity are not groomed to be proficient in the language. These Igbo children have a passive knowledge of Igbo, but are more proficient in English and Sesotho. However, from personal observation on the language use among the Igbo in Bloemfontein, the study can conclude that migration has affected the status of Igbo in Bloemfontein in comparison with its status in Nigeria. For example, in Nigeria, and especially in the Igbo geographical area, an average Igbo person who is married to Igbo woman, use Igbo most of the time (if not always), at home context, but here in Bloemfontein, the case is quite different. The Igbo (both educated and uneducated) in Bloemfontein code-switch from Igbo, to English, to Nigerian Pidgin and also to other language(s), which is common to them and their addressee. The reason for switching is based on the multilingual nature of the environment (see also Section 3.5.2.3.1 and Table 5.24 for more reasons on code-switching), and a minority role which Igbo plays in Bloemfontein.

The current study shows that all the Igbo people in Bloemfontein have Igbo as their first language (see Section 5.3), speak Igbo to all the Igbo people they are in contact with (see Table 5.9), and most of the Igbo participants (76%) often used Igbo to communicate with their children (see Table 5.13), but the proficiency of the Igbo children in Bloemfontein in using Igbo language is very low. The preliminary study indicates that all the Igbo children (seven of them) the researcher met during the study could not express themselves in Igbo despite the fact that their parents agreed that they allowed and encouraged them to learn Igbo. Individual and community appreciation of their language will not only keep their language alive, but may also encourage other people to have interest in and to learn the language. However, many people do not regard it as a necessity to teach their children their mother tongues to the level of mastering the language, as was observed from about seven children the researcher met during the preliminary study. The effect of this is the gradual loss of young speakers of such language.

As some languages are acquiring new speakers (in this case English) and extending their influence far beyond their original boundaries, other languages, such as Igbo are slowly losing young speakers to English. Although Igbo is one of Nigeria's major languages and its speakers are proud of the language and use it wherever

opportunity calls for it (see Section 2.2.2), there is a decline in the level of interest in the Igbo language, particularly among the younger generation in big cities, and the rate of acquisition of Igbo by children is decreasing, while the impact of English language on Igbo is very threatening (Igboanusi, 2006c:445). According to Thomason (2001:240), it is important that people keep their languages alive. The question is how this can be achieved? People can achieve this by identifying with their languages always and also by teaching their children the language. The attitude (encouraging their children to learn English first) of some educated parents and the Igbo residing in an environment where other languages other than Igbo are dominant needs to be changed. If this is done, such language like Igbo will no longer lose young speakers, as all languages from linguistics point of view are equal, in the sense that they are all complete and adequate systems to express meaning (Mansour, 1993:11).

5.3.4 Sesotho usage

Tables 5.18a and 5.18b present the responses of 145 participants (100 Sesotho and 45 Igbo who understand and speak Sesotho) with regard to different contexts (shop, church, hospital, home and bus station) in which they use Sesotho and the frequency with which they use the language.

Table 5.18a The frequency of Sesotho use in different contexts

RESPONSES									
	ALWAYS			OFTEN			RARELY		
D/C	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)
S/A	1 (0.6)	86 (59.3)	87 (60)	33 (22.7)	9 (6.2)	42 (28.9)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	2 (1.3)
F/C	3 (2.0)	79 (54.4)	82 (56.5)	32 (22.0)	16 (11.0)	48 (33.1)	—	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)
C/L	—	9 (6.4)	9 (6.4)	8 (5.5)	5 (3.4)	13 (8.9)	1 (0.6)	47 (32.4)	48 (33.1)
FCM	—	47 (32.4)	47 (32.4)	20 (13.7)	18 (12.4)	38 (26.2)	6 (4.1)	20 (13.7)	26 (17.9)
C/A	—	5 (3.4)	5 (3.4)	9 (6.4)	18 (12.4)	27 (18.6)	5 (3.4)	60 (41.3)	65 (44.8)
M/L	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	—	—	—
FMM	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	—	—	—
M/A	—	—	—	—	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	—	—	—
R	—	8 (5.5)	8 (5.5)	12 (8.2)	11 (7.5)	23 (15.8)	9 (6.4)	58 (40)	67 (46.2)
N	—	5 (3.4)	5 (3.4)	10 (6.8)	10 (6.8)	20 (13.7)	8 (5.5)	52 (35.8)	60 (41.3)
Dr	—	4 (2.7)	4 (2.7)	2 (1.3)	8 (5.5)	10 (6.8)	3 (2.0)	44 (30.3)	47 (32.4)
O/P	—	17 (11.7)	17 (11.7)	23 (15.8)	66 (45.5)	89 (61.3)	7 (4.8)	11 (7.5)	18 (12.4)
F	—	84 (57.9)	84 (57.9)	32 (22.0)	12 (8.2)	44 (30.3)	—	—	—
S	—	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)	43 (29.6)	44 (30.3)	27 (18.6)	52 (35.8)	79 (54.4)
O/S	—	50 (34.4)	50 (34.4)	3 (2.0)	5 (3.4)	8 (5.5)	11 (7.5)	1 (0.6)	12 (8.2)
O/C	—	48 (33.1)	48 (33.1)	—	10 (6.8)	10 (6.8)	—	1 (0.6)	1 (0.6)
F/S	—	4 (2.7)	4 (2.7)	—	2 (1.3)	2 (1.3)	—	—	—
LE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LI	—	—	—	—	6 (4.1)	6 (4.1)	—	—	—
Drv	1 (0.6)	83 (57.2)	84 (57.9)	25 (17.2)	9 (6.4)	34 (23.4)	4 (2.7)	3 (2.0)	7 (4.8)
F/P	1 (0.6)	83 (57.2)	84 (57.9)	25 (17.2)	9 (6.4)	34 (23.4)	4 (2.7)	3 (2.0)	7 (4.8)

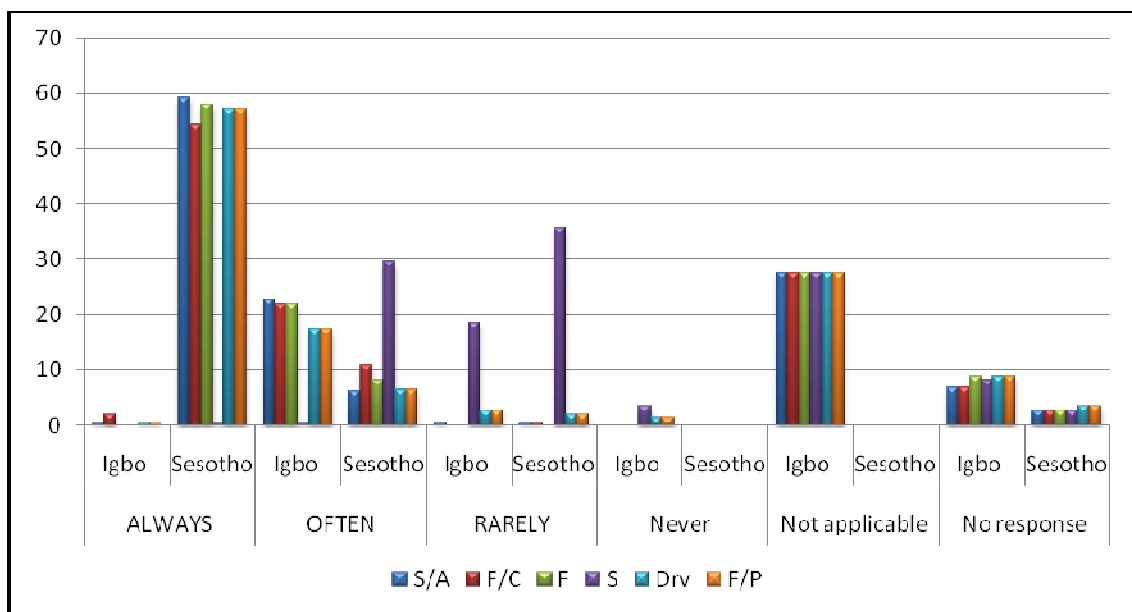
Table 5.18b The frequency of Sesotho use in different contexts continued

RESPONSES									
NEVER				Not Applicable			No Response		
D/C	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)
S/A	—	—	—	55 (27.5)	—	55 (27.5)	10 (6.8)	4 (2.7)	14 (9.6)
F/C	—	—	—	55 (27.5)	—	55 (27.5)	10 (6.8)	4 (2.7)	14 (9.6)
C/L	26 (17.9)	25 (17.2)	51 (35.1)	55 (27.5)	10 (6.8)	65 (44.8)	10 (6.8)	4 (2.7)	14 (9.6)
FCM	9 (6.4)	2 (1.3)	11 (7.5)	55 (27.5)	9 (6.2)	64 (44.1)	10 (6.8)	4 (2.7)	14 (9.6)
C/A	21 (14.4)	3 (2.0)	24 (16.5)	55 (27.5)	9 (6.2)	64 (44.1)	10 (6.8)	5 (3.4)	15 (10.3)
M/L	—	—	—	100 (50)	99 (49.5)	199 (99.5)	—	—	—
FMM	—	—	—	100 (50)	99 (49.5)	199 (99.5)	—	—	—
M/A	—	—	—	100 (50)	99 (49.5)	199 (99.5)	—	—	—
R	13 (8.9)	19 (13.1)	32 (22.0)	55 (27.5)	—	55 (27.5)	11 (7.5)	4 (2.7)	15 (10.3)
N	17 (11.7)	29 (20)	46 (31.7)	55 (27.5)	—	55 (27.5)	10 (6.8)	4 (2.7)	14 (9.6)
Dr	29 (20)	39 (26.8)	68 (46.8)	55 (27.5)	—	55 (27.5)	11 (7.5)	5 (3.4)	16 (11.0)
O/P	4 (2.7)	—	4 (2.7)	55 (27.5)	—	55 (27.5)	11 (7.5)	6 (4.1)	17 (11.7)
F	—	—	—	55 (27.5)	—	55 (27.5)	13 (8.9)	4 (2.7)	17 (11.7)
S	5 (3.4)	—	5 (3.4)	55 (27.5)	—	55 (27.5)	12 (8.2)	4 (2.7)	16 (11.0)
O/S	13 (8.9)	1 (0.6)	14 (9.6)	63 (31.5)	38 (19)	101 (50.5)	10 (6.8)	5 (3.4)	15 (10.3)
O/C	26 (17.9)	—	26 (17.9)	64 (32)	36 (18)	100 (50)	10 (6.8)	5 (3.4)	15 (10.3)
F/S	—	—	—	100 (50)	94 (47)	194 (97)	—	—	—
LE	—	6 (4.1)	6 (4.1)	100 (50)	94 (47)	194 (97)	—	—	—
LI	—	—	—	100 (50)	94 (47)	194 (97)	—	—	—
Drv	2 (1.3)	—	2 (1.3)	55 (27.5)	—	55 (27.5)	13 (8.9)	5 (3.4)	18 (12.4)
F/P	2 (1.3)	—	2 (1.3)	55 (27.5)	—	55 (27.5)	13 (8.9)	5 (3.4)	18 (12.4)

The participants who understand and speak Sesotho used the language in different contexts. In social contexts, for example, 60% of the participants who could speak Sesotho (with 0.6% Igbo and 59.3% Sesotho) always used Sesotho with the shop attendants, 28.9% (22.7% Igbo and 6.2% Sesotho) often used Sesotho with the shop attendants, while 1.3% rarely used it with the shop attendants. Fifty-six point five percent (56.5%) always used Sesotho with fellow customers, 33.1% and 0.6% of the participants often and rarely used Sesotho with fellow customers, respectively.

On the use of Sesotho among friends, 57.9% of the participants who understand and speak Sesotho, always used it with friends, drivers and with their fellow passengers. Thirty point three percent (30.3%) of the participants often used Sesotho with their friends and strangers and 54.4% rarely used Sesotho with strangers. At bus stations, 23.4% and 4.8% of the participants often and rarely used Sesotho with the taxi/bus drivers and their fellow passengers, respectively. Figure 5.25 below sheds more light on the frequency with which Sesotho is used in social contexts.

Figure 5.25 The frequency of Sesotho use in the social contexts

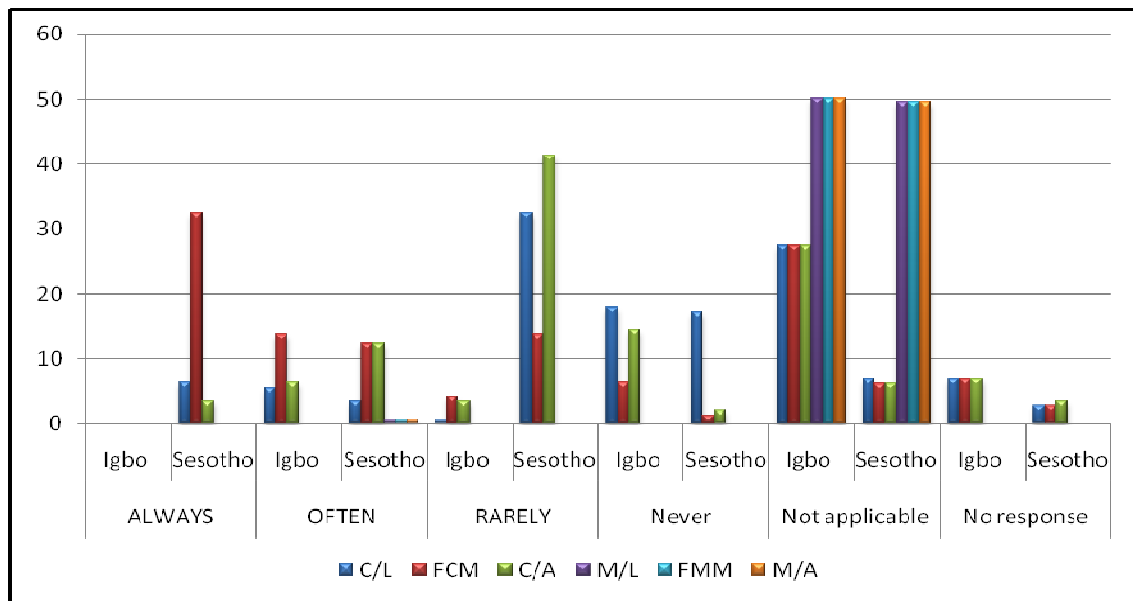


Key: S/A: with shop attendants; F/C: with fellow customers; F: with friends; S: with strangers; Drv: with taxi/bus drivers; F/P: with your fellow passengers.

Figure 5.25 shows that Sesotho is always used by the Sesotho people in Bloemfontein with the shop attendants, fellow customers, friends, taxi/bus drivers and their fellow passengers. Sesotho is unsurprisingly rarely used with strangers. This is because the stranger might not be a Sesotho and does not understand the language.

In the church context, the study reveals that 6.4% of the participants always used Sesotho with their church leaders, 8.9% and 33.1% often and always used Sesotho with their church leaders, respectively. Thirty-two point four percent (32.4%) and 26.2% always and often used Sesotho with fellow church members, respectively, while 17.9% rarely used Sesotho with fellow church members. During church activities, only 3.4% of the participants always used Sesotho, 18.6% and 44.4% often and rarely used Sesotho during their church activities, respectively. Thirty-five point one percent (35.1%) of the participants never used Sesotho with church leaders, 7.5% never used it with their fellow church members and 16.5% never used Sesotho during church activities. The frequency of Sesotho used in the church is summarised in Figure 5.26 below.

Figure 5.26 The frequency of Sesotho use in the religion contexts



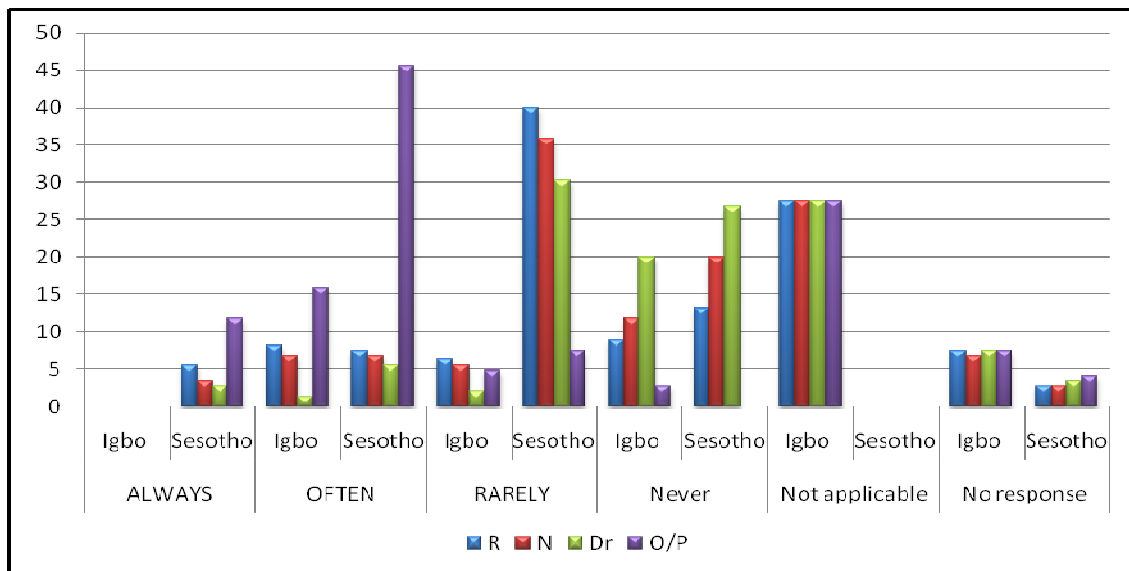
Key: C/L: with church leaders; FCM: with fellow church members; C/A: at church activities; M/L: with mosque leaders; FMM: with fellow mosque members; M/A: at mosque activities.

In the hospital context, 5.5% and 15.8% always and often used Sesotho with the hospital receptionists, respectively, while 46.2% rarely used Sesotho with the

hospital receptionists, as those they addressed (the receptionists) did not understand Sesotho. With nurses, 3.4% and 13.7% of the participants that understood and spoke Sesotho either always or often used Sesotho with the nurses, respectively. More than forty percent (41.3%) of the participants rarely used Sesotho with the nurses, as these nurses did not understand Sesotho.

On the use of Sesotho with doctors, 2.7% and 6.8% of the participants either always or often used Sesotho with the doctors, respectively. The data indicate that 11.7% the participants always used Sesotho with other patients, 61.3% often used Sesotho with other patients, while 12.4% of the participants rarely used Sesotho with other patients. Quite a numbers of the respondents, who were Sesotho speakers never used Sesotho with hospital receptionists (22%), nurses (31.7%) and doctors (46.8%), while 2.7% of the participants never used Sesotho with other patients in the hospital. Figure 5.27 summarises the frequency at which Sesotho is used in hospital context.

Figure 5.27 The frequency of Sesotho use in the hospital context

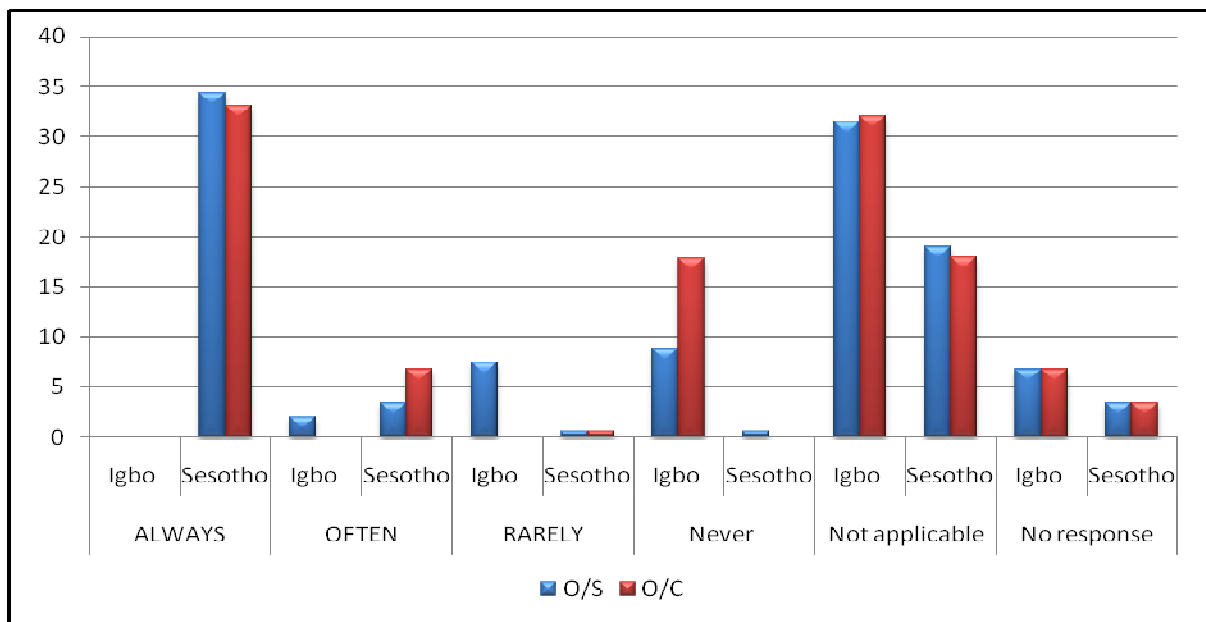


Key: R: with hospital receptionists; N: with nurses; Dr: with doctors; O/P: with other patients.

According to Figure 5.27, Sesotho is mostly used informally, especially with other patients in the hospital, while the frequency of its use with other people in the hospital is limited.

In the home context, 34.4% and 33.1% always used Sesotho with their spouses and children, respectively. These figures (34.4% and 33.1%) represent only the Sesotho participants (see Tables 5.12 and Table 5.13). In the home context, Sesotho is not applicable to 50.5% of the participants, as they were not married. The results show that most Igbo people who understand and speak Sesotho never used it with their spouses (8.9%) and their children (17.9%), as shown in Figure 5.28.

Figure 5.28 The frequency of Sesotho use in the home context



Key: O/S: with one's spouse; O/C: with one's children.

The study reveals that all the Sesotho respondents who are married to Sesotho people use Sesotho to communicate with them. The Sesotho people who are married to the Igbo and whose husbands understand Sesotho use English and sometimes use Sesotho during their interactions. Obviously, the Sesotho who are

married to the Igbo and whose husbands do not understand Sesotho, use only English in their interactions. These numbers (8.9% and 17.9%) are only for the Sesotho participants. Although 45 Igbo participants claimed that they understand and speak Sesotho, none of these Igbo participants seems to use Sesotho with their children and spouses. The reason they do not interact with their children and spouse using Sesotho needs to be investigated in a subsequent study.

Quite a number of the participants (27.5%, 55 Igbo) could not understand or speak Sesotho. Although the Sesotho participants use Sesotho in virtually all the available contexts, there are some contexts where Sesotho is never used by some participants, such as with church leaders (35.1%), during church activities (16.5%), with hospital receptionists, nurses and doctors (22%, 31.7% and 46.8%, respectively). In these contexts, both interlocutors do not understand or speak Sesotho.

The frequency of language use is based on the attitude of its speakers. This is because the more a group likes interacting with the other group, the more it shows a positive attitude of the said group to other groups it is interacting with. The study reveals a total of 145 respondents (45 Igbo and 100 Sesotho), who understood and spoke Sesotho in different contexts. Unlike Igbo, Sesotho is widely used in different contexts (as a language of the immediate environment) such as shops, churches, hospitals, with friends and strangers and at bus stations. Forty-five (45) Igbo participants could understand and speak Sesotho because most of the Igbo in Bloemfontein are business people – 86 out of 100 Igbo respondents (see Table 5.4). They often come in contact with the Sesotho people, those people who are proficient in English and those who are not proficient in English. Gudykunst and Kim (1992:167) point out why people learn another language. They state that the members of the minority groups learn the dominant language if the group perceives that learning the dominant language will help them to be accepted by the dominant group and to identify with the group. Other reasons why people learn other languages include: to have access to education, intercultural or inter-ethnic communication, better job opportunities, and for religious purposes. Language in this sense is a means of establishing and maintaining relationships with other people (Trudgill, 1974:1).

5.3.5 Afrikaans usage

This section presents data with regard to the frequency of Afrikaans use. The detailed data (Tables and Figures) of Afrikaans use in different contexts collected in this study are added to an appendix based on two reasons:

- i. Very small number of the people that participated in this study (8 Igbo and 20 Sesotho) claimed to understand and speak the language; and
- ii. The participants who understood and spoke Afrikaans rarely used it in all the contexts assessed.

Among the 200 participants, only 28 could understand and speak Afrikaans (8 Igbo and 20 Sesotho) with different levels of proficiency. According to these participants, they barely use the language (Afrikaans) in their day-to-day lives, as they are not in constant contact with Afrikaans speakers. Table 5.19 (see Appendix 11) shows the analysis of different contexts in which the Sesotho participants who understood Afrikaans used it and where they did not use it.

According to the data, the number of respondents who understand and speak Afrikaans is very small, 20 Sesotho participants. These respondents' use of Afrikaans with regard to the place of speaking and with whom they speak is very restricted. Only 10% of respondents who understand and speak Afrikaans always used it with their church leaders, while fifteen percent (15%) of them often used it with their fellow church members. Twenty percent (20%) and 25% of the respondents who understand and speak Afrikaans often and rarely used Afrikaans with their church leaders, respectively. Twenty percent (20%) of respondents who understand and speak Afrikaans rarely used it with their fellow church members, while the same 20% never used Afrikaans with their church leaders. Thirty-five percent (35%) of respondents who understand and speak Afrikaans never used it with their fellow church members, while 60% never used it during church activities. The use of Afrikaans in religious contexts is further summarised in Figure 5.29 (see Appendix 12a).

In the hospital context, 20% of the respondents always used Afrikaans with their doctors. Fifteen percent (15%) often used it with hospital receptionists, nurses and doctors. Forty percent (40%) rarely used Afrikaans with hospital receptionists, nurses and doctors, while twenty percent (20%) never used it with the hospital receptionists, nurses and doctors. Twenty percent (20%) rarely used Afrikaans with other patients in the hospitals, while forty percent (40%) never used Afrikaans with other patients in the hospital. This analysis indicates that the frequency of Afrikaans is higher in a hospital context, especially with the doctors, in comparison with receptionists, nurses and other patients than in home, religious and social contexts, as shown in Figure 5.30 (see Appendix 12b).

Quite a number of the Sesotho who understand Afrikaans rarely used it in the social contexts. In the social contexts, 50% of the Sesotho respondents who understand and speak Afrikaans often used it with their friends. Thirty-five percent (35%) rarely used Afrikaans with shop attendants, fellow customers and friends. Forty percent (40%) and 35% rarely and never used Afrikaans with strangers, respectively, while 75% never used it with either the taxi/bus drivers or fellow passengers. Figure 5.31 (see Appendix 12c) summarises the frequency of Afrikaans used in social contexts. According to Figure 5.31, Sesotho participants used Afrikaans mostly with their Afrikaans-speaking friends. Afrikaans is not a common language used by Sesotho people, who participated in this study with the Igbo in any way. Afrikaans is also not an important language used by the Sesotho in Bloemfontein; the Sesotho have a preference for Setswana (see Section 5.3.6).

One hundred and eighty (180) participants have no proficiency in Afrikaans. Most of the remaining 20 Sesotho who understand and speak Afrikaans indicated that they never used Afrikaans with their spouses and none of them used Afrikaans with their children. Within the home context, Afrikaans is not used by the Sesotho respondents in interactions with their spouses and children, as shown in Figure 5.32 (see Appendix 12d). The Figure (5.32) shows that, although 20 Sesotho participants understood and spoke Afrikaans, their use of the language was very restricted both in terms of the domains and in terms of frequency. This is surprising against the background information, that 11.9% of the people in the Free State (Bloemfontein as

its capital) speak Afrikaans as their first language and only 1.2% speak English as their first language (see Table 2.4).

In the educational context, 15% of the Sesotho respondents often used Afrikaans with their fellow students who were Afrikaans speakers and 10% often used it with their lecturers who were Afrikaans speakers. Twenty percent (20%) of the respondents rarely used Afrikaans with their fellow students. Therefore, there was minimal use of Afrikaans by Sesotho students that participated in this study in the educational context, as shown in Figure 5.33 (see Appendix 12e).

The results from the study confirm the claims in some recent studies (such as KhaJawan, 2002; Louw, 2004; Duvenage, 2006) that Afrikaans is fast acquiring the status of a minority language in South Africa because of the collapse of the apartheid policy. According to KhaJawan (2002:67), in a post-apartheid South Africa, the status of Afrikaans undoubtedly changes as more black people move into managerial positions and become employers of labour themselves. The need to know Afrikaans reduces as the knowledge of Afrikaans is no longer a requirement for employment, as it was during apartheid. Even some Afrikaans speaking parents send their children to English schools (Duvenage, 2006:86). The regions of Northern Cape and Western Cape (see Table 2.5) where mother tongue speakers of Afrikaans predominate, are exceptions to this generalisation.

5.3.6 Setswana usage

The results from the questionnaire (see Table 5.9) and oral interviews (see Section 5.5) show that all the Sesotho participants could speak and understand Setswana, while only 30 Igbo participants could speak and understand the language. This brings the total number of the respondents who could speak Setswana to 130. According to the respondents, they often switched from Sesotho to Setswana and vice versa.

Table 5.33 (see Appendix 11) presents data on the use of Setswana by the Sesotho participants in different contexts in their daily lives. Although 30 Igbo participants

could understand and speak Setswana in different contexts, their use of Setswana is not included in the data presentation, because Setswana did not feature in the questionnaire for Igbo (see Appendix 2).

Setswana data are presented in full (with Tables and Figures) in this section based on two reasons:

- i. All the Sesotho participants and 30 Igbo could speak the language, making the number of the respondents who could understand and speak the language to be 130.
- ii. Setswana is very similar to Sesotho (see Section 2.4.2) and there is the possibility for the speakers to constantly switch from Sesotho to Setswana, and vice versa during interactions, even if they did not indicate the switch in their responses.

Table 5.19a The frequency of Setswana use in different contexts

RESPONSES									
	ALWAYS			OFTEN			RARELY		
D/C	Igbo	Sesotho	Total	Igbo	Sesotho	Total	Igbo	Sesotho	Total
S/A	—	6	6	—	41	41	—	43	43
F/C	—	6	6	—	42	42	—	42	42
C/L	—	1	1	—	9	9	—	16	16
FCM	—	4	4	—	36	36	—	33	33
C/A	—	1	1	—	8	8	—	36	36
M/L	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
FMM	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
M/A	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
R	—	2	2	—	14	14	—	23	23
N	—	2	2	—	8	8	—	23	23
Dr	—	2	2	—	6	6	—	12	12
O/P	—	4	4	—	62	62	—	25	25
F	—	5	5	—	75	75	—	15	15
S	—	—	—	—	21	21	—	67	67
O/S	—	3	3	—	30	30	—	19	19
O/C	—	1	1	—	26	26	—	29	29

F/S	—	—	—	—	5	5	—	1	1
LE	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LI	—	—	—	—	5	5	—	1	1
Drv	—	4	4	—	65	65	—	24	24
F/P	—	4	4	—	65	65	—	24	24

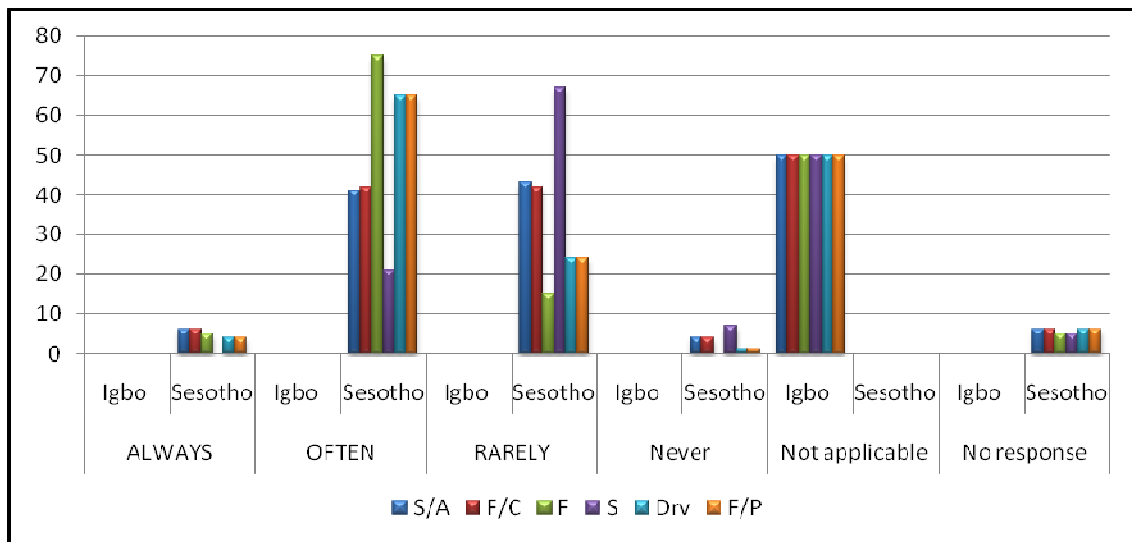
Table 5.19b The frequency of Setswana use in different contexts continued

RESPONSES									
NEVER				Not Applicable			No Response		
D/C	Igbo	Sesotho	Total	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)	Igbo	Sesotho	Total
S/A	—	4	4	100 (50)	—	100 (50)	—	6	6
F/C	—	4	4	100 (50)	—	100 (50)	—	6	6
C/L	—	59	59	100 (50)	9 (4.5)	109 (54.5)	—	6	6
FCM	—	12	12	100 (50)	9 (4.5)	109 (54.5)	—	6	6
C/A	—	38	38	100 (50)	9 (4.5)	109 (54.5)	—	8	8
M/L	—	—	—	100 (50)	99 (49.5)	199 (99.5)	—	—	—
FMM	—	—	—	100 (50)	99 (49.5)	199 (99.5)	—	—	—
M/A	—	1	1	100 (50)	99 (49.5)	199 (99.5)	—	—	—
R	—	55	55	100 (50)	—	100 (50)	—	6	6
N	—	61	61	100 (50)	—	100 (50)	—	6	6
Dr	—	74	74	100 (50)	—	100 (50)	—	6	6
O/P	—	3	3	100 (50)	—	100 (50)	—	6	6
F	—	—	—	100 (50)	—	100 (50)	—	5	
S	—	7	7	100 (50)	—	100 (50)	—	5	
O/S	—	3	3	100 (50)	38 (19)	138 (69)	—	7	7
O/C	—	3	3	100 (50)	36 (18)	136 (68)	—	5	5
F/S	—	—	—	100 (50)	86 (43)	186 (93)	—	8	8
LE	—	6	6	100 (50)	86 (43)	186 (93)	—	7	7
LI	—	—	—	100 (50)	86 (43)	186 (93)	—	8	8
Drv	—	1	1	100 (50)	—	100 (50)	—	6	6
F/P	—	1	1	100 (50)	—	100 (50)	—	6	6

Table 5.20a indicates that although all the Sesotho participants could understand and speak Setswana, only 6% of them always used it with shop attendants and

fellow customers, 4% always used it with taxi/bus drivers and their fellow passengers in bus stations, while 5% of the Sesotho participants always used it with their friends. Sixty-five percent (65%) of Sesotho participants often used Setswana with taxi/bus drivers and their fellow passengers at bus stations. Seventy-five percent (75%) often used it with their friends, while 24% of the Sesotho participants rarely used Setswana at bus stations, either with taxi/bus drivers or fellow passengers. Forty-three percent (43%) and 42% rarely used Setswana with shop attendants and fellow customers, respectively, while 67% rarely used Setswana with strangers as shown in Figure 5.34.

Figure 5.29 The frequency of Setswana use in the social contexts



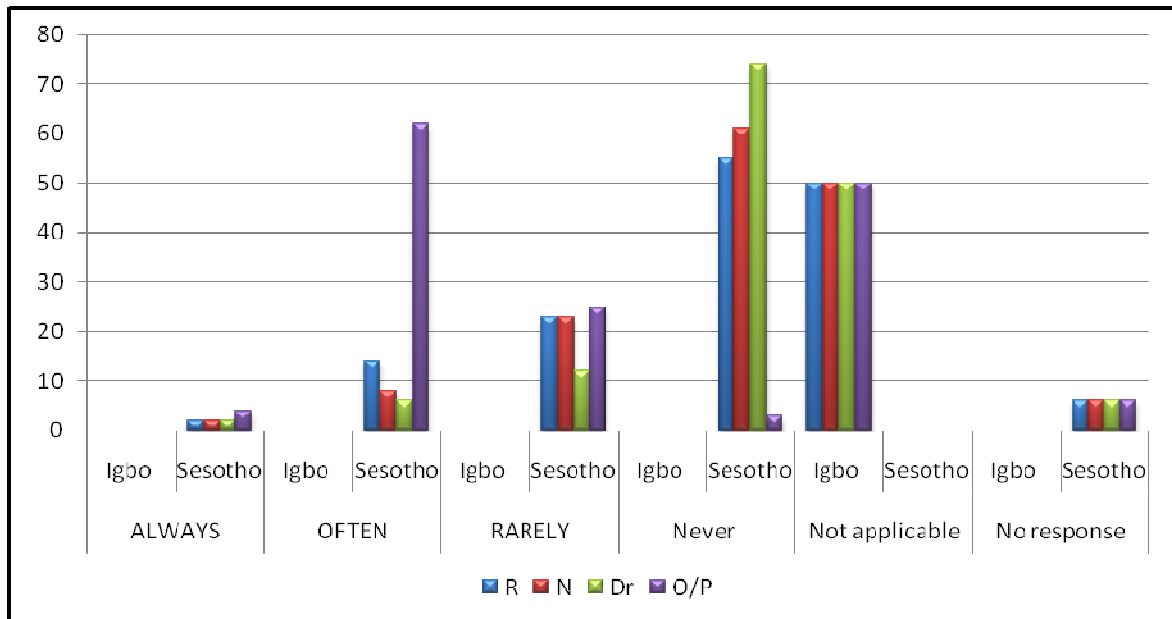
Key: S/A: with shop attendants; F/C: with fellow customers; F: with friends; S: with strangers; Drv: with taxi/bus drivers; F/P: with fellow passengers.

Figure 5.34 indicates that Setswana is used mainly in social contexts, especially with friends, but is rarely used with strangers, as they might come from different language groups.

In the hospital context, 4% of the Sesotho respondents always used Setswana with other patients in the hospital, while 62% often used it with other patients in the

hospital. Twenty-three percent (23%) of the Sesotho respondents rarely used Setswana either with the hospital receptionists or nurses, while 25% rarely used it with other patients in the hospital. Fifty-nine percent (59%) and 38% of the Sesotho respondents never used Setswana with their church leaders or during church activities, respectively, while 12% never used Setswana with fellow church members. Furthermore, 55%, 61% and 74% of the Sesotho respondents never used Setswana with hospital receptionists, nurses and doctors, respectively, as shown in Figure 5.30.

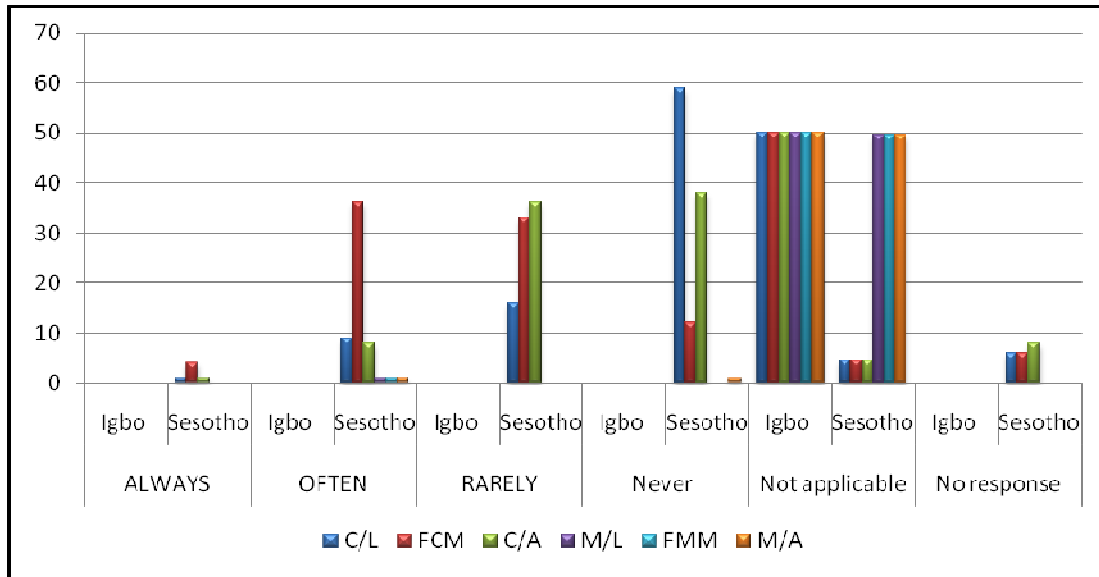
Figure 5.30 The frequency of Setswana use in the hospital context



Key: R: with hospital receptionists; N: with nurses; Dr: with doctors; O/P: with other patients.

In religious contexts, 36% of the Sesotho respondents often used Setswana with their fellow church members, while 33% rarely used Setswana with fellow church members. The Sesotho respondents rarely used Setswana, except with their fellow church members as shown in Figure 5.31.

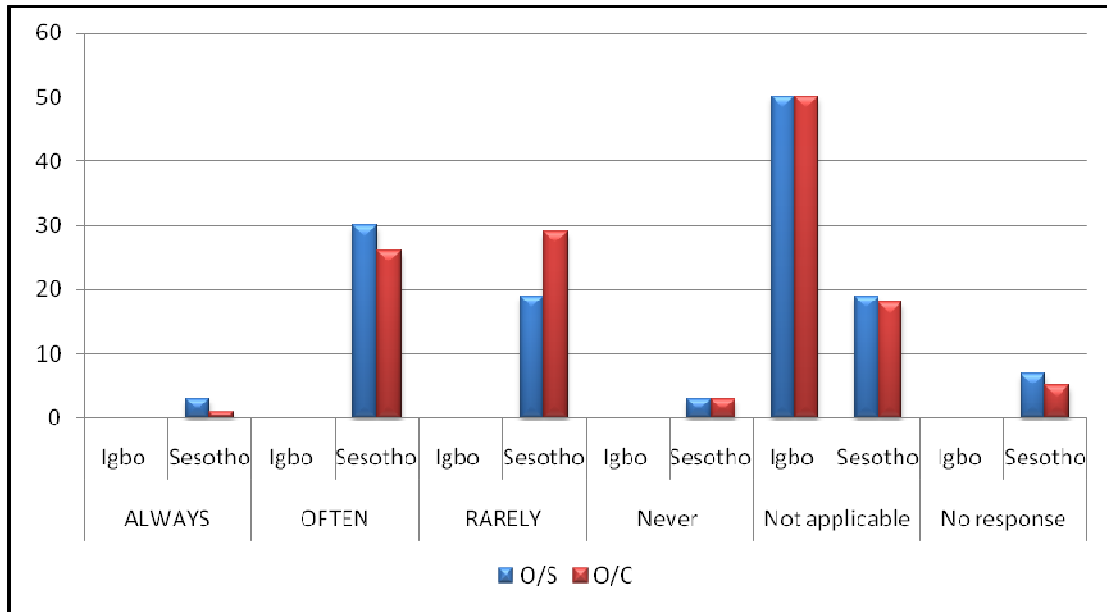
Figure 5.31 The frequency of Setswana use in the religious contexts



Key: C/L: with church leaders; FCM: with fellow church members; C/A: at church activities; M/L: with mosque leaders; FMM: with fellow mosque members; M/A: at mosque activities.

In the home context, the use of Setswana is very minimal among the Sesotho participants. Thirty percent (30%) and 26% often used Setswana with their spouses and children, respectively. Nineteen percent (19%) rarely used Setswana with their spouses, 29% rarely used it with their children, while 3% never used Setswana either with their spouses or children. This is shown in Figure 5.32.

Figure 5.32 The frequency of Setswana use in the home context



Key: O/S: with one's spouse; O/C: with one's children.

Table 5.18 indicates that the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein prefer the use of Setswana to Afrikaans across all contexts. The reason according to most of the people interviewed is that they (the Sesotho) are not in daily contact with Afrikaans speakers in comparison with the frequency with which they are in contact with Setswana speakers. In addition, Sesotho and Setswana are mutually intelligible and most people who speak Sesotho understand Setswana (see Section 2.4.1).

With regard to question 2 of the interview (*Where and when do you use each of the languages?*), the responses to the question correspond to the questionnaire responses (see Tables 5.15a to 5.19b, as well as Table 5.33). The results show that the Igbo participants use Igbo when communicating with their children, all their Igbo friends, their Igbo customers and when they speak to their family in Nigeria through phone calls. The Sesotho use Sesotho with all the people that understand the language. The study also reveals that they (the Sesotho participants) address strangers in Sesotho first (see Table 5.18, on the frequency with which the

participants use Sesotho with strangers) and only change over to another language if the person does not understand the language (Sesotho).

Generally, this study exposes different contexts where the respondents use the languages they can speak and to whom. The study also reveals English as the language the respondents (both the Igbo and the Sesotho) mostly use in a formal setting, such as in the hospitals – with doctors and nurses; and in church – with the church leaders and during church activities, as participants in these contexts are from diverse language groups. The Igbo mostly use Igbo in informal contexts, especially with friends; the Sesotho also mostly use Sesotho in informal settings (see Tables 5.15 to 5.19 and 5.33, on the frequency of language use in different contexts).

The study indicates that English is used in all contexts, followed by Sesotho. The main reason for this is that English is the lingua franca and cuts across all sectors. Sesotho, on the other hand, is a dominant language in Bloemfontein (see Section 2.4.2). Some languages are used in formal contexts, such as with the church leaders, nurses, doctors, receptionists, lecturers and librarians (see Tables 5.15 to 5.19 and 5.33). The Igbo and the Sesotho in Bloemfontein show solidarity towards their different languages, through the way in which they use their languages in different contexts, although this solidarity does not extend to the Igbo participants ensuring that their children learn and speak Igbo. This is because language is not just an instrument for conveying a message; it is also a symbol of social and group unification and identity (see Tables 5.15 to 5.19 and 5.33, which summarise the different contexts in which the Igbo and the Sesotho use different languages during interactions).

From the data collected, only 20 Sesotho participants admitted to understand and use Afrikaans (see Section 5.3.6). Even the participants who understood and spoke Afrikaans rarely used it in all the contexts (church, hospital, school, garage, bus station, home, among friends) assessed. From Table 2.5, only 1.2% of the population use English as their first language, while 11.9% use Afrikaans as their first language, yet most of the participants in this study either always or often use English in most of the contexts assessed (see Table 5.15) in comparison to the

frequency at which they use Afrikaans (see Section 5.3.5). Sesotho, which is spoken by 64.4% of the Free State Province, from the study, is gaining more ground as the language is virtually used in all the contexts assessed. Although, 6.8% speak Setswana as their first language in the Free State Province, all the Sesotho participants understand and use Setswana in different contexts more than they use Afrikaans, which was a language competing with English in the previous political administration. The decrease interest in Afrikaans came after Soweto uprising in 1976 as a result of the subsequent change in language policy, that secondary schools were not only to use English as a medium of instruction but also Afrikaans for some subjects. After the Soweto uprising, Afrikaans was banished from black schools (Perry, 2004:114), as the blacks preferred English to Afrikaans.

In education, the findings reflect the fact that different mother tongues and English play varied roles. While the former is used more in informal contexts, the later is used in instruction in the class for our participants instead of Afrikaans. Therefore, the study reflects a trend towards English-only education in tertiary education (as the study is limited to adults only) since the students come from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

Although the study did not investigate the use of a particular language in education and how it affects the rate of literacy for the speakers of that language, poor mastery of a language is a barrier to teaching and learning/understanding.

The study shows that in hospital context, there are often problems of understanding between the patients and nurses/doctors, as some of the patients are not proficient in English, which is often the only common means of communication between the doctor and the patients. In this kind of situation, the doctor often looks for interpreter, which breaks the confidentiality between the doctor and the patient and which could make the patients reserved in disclosing their medical problems.

5.4 Presentation of results from Section “C” and “D”

Due to the nature of the questions, this section presents results from Section “C” for the Igbo and the Sesotho in tables which differ from those in Section 5.3. The

analysis of the data does not come immediately after the data presentation. Instead, the analysis follows after all the data from Section “C” have been presented. This is because Section “C” deals with many sub-topics and the data are analysed according to these different sub-topics: turn-taking, interruption, code-switching/code-mixing, discourse dominance, language and gender, language stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments.

Table 5.20 presents the results about language attitudes from the Igbo participants. Questions 1 to 8 deal with the feeling of the Igbo people towards themselves and towards the Sesotho people. Questions 9 to 12 are on discourse dominance, while questions 13 to 18 are on language and gender. Questions 19 to 23 are on interruption during conversation, questions 24 to 28 deal with language and stereotyping; while questions 34 to 36 deal with the kind of language the media used to portray the Igbo and the Sesotho people in South African newspapers. Question 29 is on code-switching, whereas questions 30 to 33 deal with turn-taking during interactions.

Questions 17 and 24 are marked by asterisks because they are referred to in Section “D” where the respondents are asked to write out the words. For example, question 17 is extended to questions 49 and 50 (see Section 5.4.1.2.5.1), while question 24 is extended to questions 51 (see Section 5.4.2).

Table 5.20 Language attitude results for the Igbo (Part 1)

S/N	Descriptions	Yes	No	D/K	N/R
1	The respondent likes interacting with Sesotho people	100	—	—	—
2	Sesotho people like interacting with the respondent	74	7	19	—
3	Communicating with Sesotho people makes you feel uncomfortable	11	88	—	1
4	The respondent is afraid to speak up when conversing with the Sesotho	3	97	—	—
5	The respondent is confident when interacting with the Sesotho	98	—	1	1
6	The respondent is nervous when interacting with the Sesotho	9	81	6	4
7	The respondent avoids interaction with the Sesotho	—	100	—	—
8	The respondent is relaxed when interacting with the Sesotho	94	5	—	1
9	Sesotho people dominate conversations	—	91	7	2
10	Sesotho people speak more during conversations	—	96	3	1

11	Igbo people take control of conversations	95	—	2	3
12	Igbo people dominate during conversation	93	5	—	2
13	Igbo women in Bloemfontein speak more freely than their men	3	88	9	—
14	Sesotho women speak more freely than their men	8	53	39	—
15	There are restrictions on what Igbo women can say during conversation	20	74	6	—
16	There are restrictions on what Igbo men can say during conversation	2	97	1	—
17*	There are derogatory word(s) used to refer to Igbo women	97	—	2	1
18	There are derogatory word(s) used to refer to Igbo men	24	69	7	—
19	The respondent interrupt conversations	11	89	—	—
20	Igbo women interrupt men	21	79	—	—
21	Igbo men interrupt women	—	100	—	—
22	Sesotho women interrupt men	71	2	27	—
23	Sesotho men interrupt women	92	—	8	—
24**	The Igbo have words used to refer to foreigners	85	4	7	4
25	Sesotho people like these words	4	41	39	16
26	The respondent would be happy if you were being referred to with such words	1	87	5	6
27	These words contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa	—	92	3	5
28	The respondent has been addressed with such words by Sesotho people	92	2	6	—
29	The respondent code-switch between different languages within a conversation	99	—	—	1
30	The respondent take turns during conversation	74	—	19	7
31	Igbo people take turns during conversation	31	57	9	3
32	The Sesotho take turns during conversation	51	38	11	—
33	The respondent take turns during conversation	87	—	4	9
34	The respondent read newspapers	100	—	—	—
35	The language use in South African newspapers portrays the Igbo negatively	89	—	11	—
36	The language use in South African newspapers portrays the Sesotho negatively	24	58	13	5

Key: D/K: Don't Know

In Table 5.21 (Part 2), the data presented come from Section “A”²⁶ and “C”. The table solicits information on the frequency of using English to communicate with the Igbo and the Sesotho, the frequency with which the Igbo and the Sesotho interact,

²⁶ Questions 15 and 16 are from section “A” of the questionnaire —part of demographic information of the participants. It is presented here because the options correspond with the options in this part of section “C”.

the frequency with which they take turns and the frequency with which they interrupt and code-switch during interactions.

Table 5.21 Language attitude results for the Igbo (Part 2)

S/N	Descriptions	Always	Often	Rarely	Never	D/k	N/R
15	The frequency the Igbo use English to communicate with the Sesotho	90	6	4	—	—	—
16	The frequency the Igbo use English to communicate with other Igbo people	1	2	89	8	—	—
37	The frequency you interact with Igbo people	19	81	—	—	—	—
38	The frequency you interact with Sesotho people	24	76	—	—	—	—
39	The frequency you take turns during conversation	26	68	2	—	4	—
40	The frequency you interrupt during conversation	12	43	20	15	8	2
41	The frequency Igbo women interrupt men	5	24	48	12	10	1
42	The frequency Igbo men interrupt women	20	79	—	—	—	1
43	The frequency Sesotho women interrupt men	16	54	5	1	26	4
44	The frequency Sesotho men interrupt women	29	37	—	—	31	3
45	The frequency you code-switch within a conversation	19	81	—	—	—	—
46	The frequency you read newspaper	11	89	—	—	—	—

The responses from the participants on question 15 (the frequency with which the Igbo use English to communicate with the Sesotho people) show that 90% of the Igbo participants always used English to communicate with the Sesotho people, 6% often used English to communicate with the Sesotho people, while 4% rarely used English to communicate with the Sesotho people. On question 16 (the frequency with which the Igbo use English to communicate with other Igbo people), 89% of the Igbo participants rarely used English to communicate with the Igbo people, 8% never used English to communicate with the Igbo people, while 1% and 2% always and often used English to communicate with other Igbo people.

The responses to questions 37 to 46 will be analysed after the presentation of all the results from Section “C”. This is done because the analysis will be based on different sub-topics namely: turn-taking, interruption, code-switching/code-mixing, discourse dominance, language and gender.

Table 5.22 Language attitude results for the Sesotho (Part 1)

S/N	Descriptions	Yes	No	D/k	N/R
1	The respondent likes interacting with the Igbo	75	8	17	—
2	Igbo people like interacting with the respondent	50	—	49	1
3	communicating with Igbo people makes you feel uncomfortable	29	58	10	3
4	The respondent is afraid to speak up when conversing with the Igbo	—	87	13	—
5	The respondent is confident when interacting with the Igbo	96	—	—	4
6	The respondent is nervous when interacting with the Igbo	—	99	—	1
7	The respondent avoids interaction with the Igbo	12	85	—	3
8	The respondent is relaxed when interacting with the Igbo	79	21	—	—
9	Igbo people dominate conversations	48	31	19	2
10	Igbo people speak more during conversations	44	26	30	—
11	Sesotho people take control of conversations	89	—	11	—
12	Sesotho people dominate during conversation	92	3	5	—
13	Sesotho women in Bloemfontein speak more freely than their men	—	87	12	1
14	Igbo women speak more freely than their men	—	9	91	—
15	There are restrictions on what Sesotho women can say during conversation	4	77	19	—
16	There any restrictions on what Sesotho men can say during conversation	—	100	—	—
17*	There are derogatory word(s) used to refer to Sesotho women	99	—	—	1
18	There are derogatory word(s) used to refer to Sesotho men	81	—	19	—
19	The respondent interrupt conversations	32	57	3	8
20	Igbo women interrupt men	11	1	88	—
21	Igbo men interrupt women	27	—	71	1
22	Sesotho women interrupt men	90	5	5	—
23	Sesotho men interrupt women	100	—	—	—
24**	The Sesotho have words used to refer to foreigners	99	—	—	1
25	The Igbo like these words	—	61	37	2
26	You would be happy if you were being referred to with such words	—	89	2	9
27	These words contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa	9	67	24	—
28	The respondent has been addressed with such words by the Igbo	6	—	94	—
29	The respondent code-switch between different languages within a conversation	100	—	—	—
30	The respondent take turns during conversation	81	—	14	5
31	The Sesotho take turns during conversation	75	—	24	1
32	The Igbo take turns during conversation	—	56	41	3
33	The respondent take turns during conversation	79	—	21	—
34	The respondent read newspapers	98	—	—	2

35	The language use in South African newspapers portrays the Igbo negatively	13	69	18	–
36	The language use in South African newspapers portrays the Sesotho negatively	13	–	85	2

Tables 5.22 and Table 5.20 deal with language attitudes and different discourse styles to be analysed under different sub-headings, as mentioned in the introduction of Section 5.4.

Table 5.22 presents the responses on language attitudes from the Sesotho participants. Questions 1 to 8 deal with the feelings of the Sesotho towards themselves and towards the Igbo. Questions 9 to 12 are on discourse dominance, while questions 13 to 18 are on language and gender. Questions 19 to 23 are on interruption during conversation. Questions 24 to 28 and questions 34 to 36 deal with language and stereotyping. Question 29 is on code-switching, while questions 30 to 33 deal with turn-taking during interactions. Questions 34 to 36 deal with language and stereotyping, that is, the kind of language used to portray the Igbo and the Sesotho people in South Africa's newspapers.

Table 5.23 Language attitude results for the Sesotho (Part 2)

S/N	Questions Descriptions	Always	Often	Rarely	Never	D/k	N/R
15	The frequency the Sesotho use English to communicate with the Igbo?	78	16	5	1	–	–
16	The frequency the Sesotho use English to communicate with other Sesotho people	–	–	2	98	–	–
37	The frequency you interact with the Igbo	24	69	2	–	–	1
38	The frequency you interact with the Sesotho	92	8	–	–	–	–
39	The frequency you take turns during conversation	16	80	–	–	4	–
40	The frequency you interrupt during conversation	1	23	74	–	2	–
41	The frequency Igbo women interrupt men	7	9	–	–	81	3
42	The frequency Igbo men interrupt women	3	22	–	–	75	-
43	The frequency Sesotho women interrupt men	28	59	13	–	–	–
44	The frequency Sesotho men interrupt women	14	86	–	–	–	–
45	The frequency you code-switch within a conversation	7	92	–	–	1	–
46	The frequency you read newspaper	19	78	–	–	–	3

In Table 5.23, questions 15 and 16 are from Section “A” — part of demographic information of the participants. It is presented here because the options they have (“Always”, “Often”, “Rarely”, “Never”, and “Don’t know”) correspond with the options of this part of Section “C”. The answers to question 15 indicate that 79% of the Sesotho participants always used English to communicate with the Igbo, while 16% often used English. Five percent (5%) rarely used English to communicate with the Igbo. The responses on question 16 reveal that 98% of the Sesotho participants never used English to communicate with other Sesotho people, while 2% rarely used English to communicate with other Sesotho people.

5.4.1 Analysis of responses from Sections “C” and “D”

In this section, a detailed analysis of the results collected from Sections C and D (see Appendix 2 and 3), the interview (see Appendix 4) and the recorded interactions (see appendices 6 to 10) is presented. The analysis and discussion are structured under the following sub-topics:

- i. Language and attitudes
- ii. Discourse features
 - a. Turn-taking
 - b. Interruption
 - c. Code-switching/code-mixing
 - d. Discourse dominance
- iii. Language and gender
 - a. Derogatory words
- iv. Language stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments

5.4.1.1a Results on language and attitudes (from recordings)

One of the research questions is — what are the attitudes, feelings, and opinions of the Igbo and the Sesotho people towards one another and towards the languages they use? According to Martin and Rose (2007:18), in evaluation (appraisal), the key resource has to do with evaluating things, people’s character, and their feelings. Martin and Rose (2007:26) point out that we use the resources of appraisal for

negotiating our social relationship, by telling our listeners or readers how we feel about things and people; that is, what our attitudes are in words.

In this study, the feelings and opinions were evaluated through the analysis of the recordings of natural interactions in different contexts. In the recording among friends, the Sesotho lady and the Igbo man were discussing about the Sesotho lady's son named Ugoo (short form of Ugochukwu), whom the Igbo man wanted his friend to allow to be coming to the shop, but the Sesotho lady expressed strongly her attitude (which is negative) towards her son coming to the shop, as seen in examples 2 and 3:

Example 2

- B: You must allow Ugoo to be in
A: Now, is gonna give me problem. I don't want problem here!
B: Bring him is a problem? No problem
A: No, is a big problem. When he comes here, he will want this and that. Then, I don't like that.
B: You'll give it to him..
A: No!
B: After all, he is the owner of everything.
A: (Laughs) No, is not working like that.

Example 3

- A: You want him to be spoilt?
B: No, no, no! I don't want that.
A: Then, why?
B: You must
A: Everything he want, I must give it to him?

("A" in the above extracts is a Sesotho lady, who is married to an Igbo man, while "B" is an Igbo man, who is a friend to A's husband). In Igbo society, the way boys are seen and raised are often different from their girls' counterparts. Boys are seen as

the successor and the promulgator of their family lineage, whereas, girls are seen and grown to be somebody's wife. With regards to this, girls do not partake in the sharing of their parents' inheritance. So, from the discussion between A and B, the Igbo man (B) based his argument on the culture of the Igbo, when he was asking the Sesotho lady (A) to be bringing the child to shop, even if he (the boy) requests for anything, it should be given to him because he is the owner (the heir) of everything in the shop, if the father dies. However, the Sesotho lady objects because they do not practice the only male inheritance like the Igbo.

Of the many observations that could be made from this extract about the intercultural communication between the Igbo man and the Sesotho lady, the analysis is in relation with Martin and Rose (2007:26). They (Martin & Rose) assert that the resources of appraisal are for negotiating social relationships, by expressing how strongly one feels about things and people. Here, the Sesotho lady expresses (strongly) how she feels on the issue of allowing her son to come to the shop. In example 2, the Sesotho lady employs an emphatic word, "No" to express her stand on what they are discussing. Although the Igbo man is pressuring her to be coming to shop with her son, she refuses and stands her ground, that bringing the child to the shop is like bringing a problem; thus, she objects. The Sesotho lady expresses her feelings strongly as seen in the following extracts (see also Appendix 9):

- i. "... is gonna give me problem. I don't want problem here!"
- ii. "No! Is a big problem"
- iii. "I don't like that"
- iv. "I don't want to spoil him"

Martin and Rose (2007:29) argue that the feelings of people vary in two general ways — good feelings and bad feelings. In other words, the feeling can be positive or negative. Therefore, in the extracts above, the Sesotho lady's feeling about her son coming to shop is totally negative. Martin and Rose state further that a person can express his or her feelings directly or the feeling can be inferred. In the light of this, the extract number "iv" indicates the reason behind the Sesotho lady's negative feeling about her son coming to shop. She infers that bringing her son to the shop

and giving him all that he wants will amount to spoiling him: “*when he comes here, he will want this and that*”, which she as a mother does not want.

Example 4

B: [] is good to train him very well so that when he grows

A: He know what is good and bad, nè?

B: Yeah

From examples 3 and 4, the Sesotho lady was able to convince the Igbo man that giving a child everything that he wants is not good, even if the child is to inherit everything when the father dies, because he is still under-age and do not know what is good for him. The Igbo man thereby changed his attitude towards bringing the child to the shop. The conviction is noticed in this statement below, which was started with “B” (an Igbo man) but completed by “A” (the Sesotho lady):

“Is good to train him very well so that when he grows, he know what is good and bad”.

According to Martin and Rose (2007:42), one of the features of attitude is that it is gradable. In the recording made in the hospital context, the Igbo patient shows how she feels about her pains: *really* uncomfortable. According to Clyne (1994:3), one of the ways in which the role of culture in discourse can be and has been studied is by “examining and comparing the discourse of people from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, interacting either in a lingua franca or in one of the interlocutors’ languages” (see also Section 3.4.2.1). Here, the study explores the discourse of a Sesotho lady who is married to an Igbo man, and an Igbo man who is a friend to the Sesotho lady’s husband. The interaction took place in a Sesotho lady’s shop. The focus of the analysis is on the choice of words by the two people involved and their attitudes towards the issue (bringing Ugochukwu to the shop) they are discussing about.

Their different backgrounds reflect on their choice of words. While the Igbo patient is constantly using interjection (“eh” and “ah!”), the Sesotho nurse used more

affirmative expression (“mm”) in concurring to what the Igbo woman said. In their interaction, the Igbo patient during her medical examination states what she wants: “to stop it (the pain) *entirely*” as shown in the example 5 below.

Example 5²⁷

B: Eh, yes! ... Doctor asked me to ... use it whenever I feel pains ... and it will help me eh to, to

A: Mm

B: Stop ... but what I want now is if there is anything that will help me to stop it entirely not feeling pain after eating. It makes me really uncomfortable.

A: But how, how is your sleep ... during the night? You sleep the whole night. You sleep well or does it come to pain you or during the day maybe?

B: Ah! Because of that pain, I don't go to bed so early you know

A: Mm ... mm

Really and *entirely* are intensifiers, which make it possible for us to compare things and to say how strongly we feel about someone or something (Martin & Rose, 2007:42-43). From the extract, the Igbo patient has been having the pain for a very long time, and the pain has made her not to go to bed as early as she wants, as shown in the extract below:

“...I don't go to bed so early...”

The Igbo patient feels *really uncomfortable* because of the pain. She had gone to see a doctor, who prescribed medication for her, but the medication only relieves her from the pain, and after a while, it comes back. She says that she is tired of having the pain, which often goes and comes back: *it is often and on*, as shown in the example below.

²⁷ “A” is an Igbo woman (the patient), while “B” is a Sesotho woman (a nurse).

Example 6

A: For how long have you have that pain?

B: Ah! You know, it is often and on. I started having this since ... eh ten years ago.

The expression “often and on”, from the context of the discussion, should be “off and on”. She uses this to describe the frequency of her pain, which comes often and goes only for awhile. The frequency or the occurrence of the pain made her to start seeking for permanent cure, as she asked the nurse for one;

“anything that will help me to stop it entirely”

In the church context, there is an interaction between four people (2 Igbo and 2 Sesotho people), which is comprised of one male (Igbo) and three females. Example 7 is an extract, taken from the church recording, where “A” is an Igbo man (Bible study co-ordinator); “B” is a Sesotho lady, a member and sales girl; “C” is an Igbo lady, a member as well as a student; while “D” is a Sesotho lady, who is a member and a student as well.

Most of the discussions here were dominated by the Igbo, and the topic of discussion is neutral which anybody could contribute; “God’s nature”. However, the different cultural backgrounds of the participants contribute much on the way the participants react to the issue (a lie). The Igbo participants come from a place where religion is very close to the heart, unlike what is seen among the two Sesotho participants who were not much committed to the church activities like the Igbo participants, rather, other members of the church according to the co-ordinator are daily/constantly motivating them (the Sesotho participants) to go to church, attend the activities and pray on a daily basis. Even when they are in the church, they (the Sesotho participants) still find it difficult to contribute especially in the Bible study (also refer to the whole church recording; Appendix 8, for their few turns they took) as seen in the examples below:

Example 7

- A: You know one thing about lies?
- C: They must breed lies.
- A: eh?
- C: They gave pregnant ... lie. When you tell one lie, it can lead to another one, it can lead to cover up (laughs)
- A: It is ... very easy to tell a lie ... eh! Mm (no) it is not very ... ok, it is very easy to tell a lie. But, it is very, very hard not to tell more lies when you tell one..
- C: It is very, you said it is very easy?
- A: To tell a lie.
- B: What then
- A: But, tell mm! Just ... tactically understand it. It is very easy to tell a lie, but it is ... very ...very hard not to tell another lie on top.
- C: Yes, that is what I was saying, that is what I was saying that lies multiply

Generally, everybody has a negative attitude towards a lie. However, nobody can claim not to have told a lie at one point in his or her life. The attitude of the four interactants towards a lie is negative (condemnation), which may be attributed to the context in which the discussion took place (church). None of the participants condones it. But the way each of the participants talks about a "lie" shows how the person sees a liar. "C" personifies lies, and shows that once somebody tells a lie, the lie keeps multiplying to cover the previous lies as shown in these words:

"They breed lies"

"They gave pregnant"

"A" shows his negative attitude towards telling lies. He expresses how strongly he feels about telling lies, by being paradoxical: "*very easy, very hard*", showing the degree at which one cannot control lies:

"It is very easy to tell a lie, but it is ... very ...very hard not to tell another lie on top".

Although people's attitude towards lies is negative, "D's" opinion is mild. She states that once someone tells a lie, the person should ask to be forgiven as a Christian, as seen in the extract below:

Example 8

D: There was a scripture saying that the Christians are not, are not the sinners, meaning that if a Christian maybe is telling a lie.

A: Mm!

D: She can ask God for forgiveness ... and then she will be ... forgiven. Meaning that if you know that you have sinned, you better ask God to forgive you, not like just to ignore that and just to repeat, repeat and then you say that you are a Christian, knowing that you are repeating the sin, you are doing the sin without even asking forgiveness to God.

5.4.1.1b Results on language and attitudes (from the questionnaire)

In this section, the study presents the results on the attitudes of the Igbo people during interaction towards the Sesotho people and vice versa. The analysis will help to know if their attitudes are positive or negative. The results from the interviews will also be presented here and comparison with them will be made where necessary. The questionnaire questions 1 and 2 (*Do you like interacting with Sesotho people?* and *Do Sesotho people like interacting with you?*) like other questions in the questionnaire, are addressed to all the respondents, both those that are in intercultural marriage and those who are not. The results reveal that all the Igbo respondents (100%) ascertained that they like communicating with the Sesotho people. However, 74% (which consist of 56% that are in intermarriage with the Sesotho; and 18% are either single, married but are not in intermarriage with the Igbo, or separated) of the Igbo respondents are positive that the Sesotho people like communicating with them, 7% (6% of whom are not married) said that the Sesotho people do not like communicating with them, and 19% did not respond to the question. With regard to the Sesotho's response on the same questions 1 and 2, 75% said that they like interacting with the Igbo people. Out of this figure, only 11%

were in intermarriage with the Igbo people. Eight percent (8%) of the Sesotho respondents (none of them were in intermarriage with the Igbo) said that they do not like interacting with the Igbo people. However, on question 2, half of the Sesotho respondents said that the Igbo people like interacting with them, which include 13% of the Sesotho respondents who were in intermarriage with the Igbo people. Forty-nine percent (49%) of the Sesotho respondents (which consist of people who are not in intermarriage with the Igbo people) did not know if the Igbo people like interacting with them, while 2% of the Sesotho respondents did not respond to the question (see Tables 5.20 and 5.22).

Meanwhile, none of the Igbo women participants is married to the Sesotho, only Igbo men are in intermarriage with the Sesotho. This makes the Sesotho who are in intermarriage with the Igbo to be fewer in comparison with the number of the Igbo. It is important to point out at this juncture that the number of the Igbo and the Sesotho females that participated in the study is 16 for each group (see Table 5.2). In addition, the majority of the Igbo male in Bloemfontein (66) have Sesotho women as their spouses. However, none of the Igbo women is known to the researcher or revealed by the study as being married to Sesotho men. Therefore the percentages of the people who were in intermarriage differ between the Igbo (66) and the Sesotho people (12).

Moreover, the responses of the Igbo respondents (74%) seem to correlate with those of the Sesotho respondents (75%), although only partially (that is, question 1). Nevertheless, there is a margin in the responses to question 2 (74% Igbo versus 50% Sesotho). This confirms the result of the preliminary study: that the Igbo and the Sesotho people are in mutual contact and relationship, as 53% of the Igbo married men in Bloemfontein have married South African women and have children with them (see Section 2.3).

With regard to the frequency of the interactions between the Igbo and the Sesotho, the participants' responses to questions 37 and 38 (*How often do you interact with the Igbo people?* and *how often do you interact with the Sesotho people?*) show that 19% of the Igbo participants always interacted with the other Igbo people. This figure (19%) consists of 5% Igbo people who were married to Igbo people and 7% of others

who were not in intermarriage but stayed with the Igbo people in the same house. Eighty-one percent (81%) of the Igbo participants stated that they often interact with the Igbo. This 81% consists of 26% of people who did not intermarry with the Sesotho, and 55% of those who intermarried with the Sesotho but have shops close to some other Igbo people. Twenty-four percent (24%) of the Igbo respondents interacted with the Sesotho people always and 76% often interacted with them (57% of them were married to Sesotho or in relationship with them).

The responses to the same questions 37 and 38 on the part of the Sesotho participants are much similar to those of the Igbo. Twenty-four percent (24%) and 69% of them (the Sesotho participants) always and often interacted with Igbo people, respectively (12% of them were in intermarriage with the Igbo people), while 2% Sesotho respondents, who were widowed and separated rarely interacted with the Igbo people. Ninety-two percent (92%) of the Sesotho respondents always interacted with other Sesotho people, while 8% of the Sesotho, who were in intermarriage with the Igbo often interacted with other Sesotho. Concerning the frequency with which these Sesotho interact with the Igbo and vice versa, the results show that both groups seem to estimate the frequency of their contact in the same way – 96% of the Igbo and 94% of the Sesotho either always or often interacted with the other group. However, the percentage of the people in intermarriage varies. The interaction or communication the study covered includes face-to-face, email, sms, and phone calls. The more the people interact with one another, the more increase in their understanding. Tannen (1985:211) avers that when people from different linguistic groups communicate with each other frequently, they should come to understand each other better.

During the interview (see Section 5.5), the researcher asked the two Sesotho respondents who said that they rarely interacted with the Igbo people for the reason they rarely interacted with the Igbo people. One person stated that he only interacted with the Igbo people when he was in the Igbo people's shops and that this was the only place they met. The second person, a woman whose friend was married to an Igbo person, said that she rarely interacted with her friend's husband. She usually visited her friend when her husband was still at work and even if the husband was

around, she did not feel comfortable interacting with him, or know what to talk to him about.

The analyses of the responses from questions 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8 are merged. These questions are meant to elicit information on the feelings of the Igbo and the Sesotho during interaction towards one another. This is because negative feelings are perceived as barriers to intercultural discourse (see Section 1.2).

The participants' responses indicate that an average of 92% of the Igbo respondents were comfortable, not afraid, confident, relaxed and not nervous when interacting with the Sesotho people. The figure (92%) has the average of 58% of the respondents who were in intermarriage, while the remaining ones were either not married or not in intermarriage. This is in comparison with an average of 6% of the Igbo people, who were not in intermarriage or any kind of relationship with the Sesotho who felt contrary. Eight-four percent (84%) of the Sesotho people were comfortable, not afraid, confident, relaxed and not nervous when interacting with the Igbo people. Most of these people (63%) were in intermarriage with the Igbo people. Ten percent (10%) of the Sesotho people (9% were not in intermarriage) had opposite feelings. This means that they were not comfortable, afraid, confident, relaxed and are nervous when interacting with the Igbo. The positive attitudes of these groups to each other are due to the fact that they are in mutual contact, intermarry, live and do business together.

On question 7 (*Do you avoid interaction with Sesotho people?*), all the Igbo respondents (see Table 5.20) claimed that they do not avoid interaction with the Sesotho people. Eighty-five percent (85%) of the Sesotho respondents did not avoid interaction with the Igbo. Some of the respondents (11%) are into intermarriage, 20% are separated with their spouses. Twelve percent (12%) of the Sesotho people avoided interaction with the Igbo (see Table 5.22); some of these people (7%) were not married.

In response to interview questions 10 and 11 (*Do you avoid interaction with the Sesotho people?, if "Yes", why? and Does engaging in group discussion with the Sesotho people makes you feel tense or nervous?*), all the 24 Igbo participants

(100%) stated that they do not avoid interaction with the Sesotho people, neither does engaging in group discussion with the Sesotho people makes them feel tense nor nervous, (see Table 5.21). Seventy-three point three percent (73.3%) of the Sesotho people interviewed did not avoid interaction with the Igbo people and they neither felt tense nor nervous when in group discussions with the Igbo (see Table 5.22). Thirty-three point three percent (33.3%) of these people were in intermarriage, while 40% were not. Twenty-six point six percent (26.6%) of the Sesotho people interviewed avoided interaction with the Igbo and were tense and nervous when involved in group discussions with the Igbo. Some of these people (23.3%) were either not in intermarriage or have any intimate relationship with the Sesotho. When asked for the reasons they avoided interaction with the Igbo, they gave the following reasons:

- i. The Igbo seem not to understand the Sesotho's English, which leads to repetition;
- ii. The Igbo make fun of the Sesotho people which discourages the Sesotho from interacting with them; and
- iii. The Igbo people talk too much.

In their responses to questions 8 (*Do you like interacting with the Sesotho people?*), all the 24 Igbo people interviewed (15 males and 9 females) said they liked to interact with the Sesotho. Similarly, all the Sesotho people interviewed stated that they liked interacting with the Igbo, whereas only 75% of the Sesotho stated in the questionnaire (see Table 5.23) that they did not avoid interaction with the Igbo. The contradictions between some of the questionnaire and interview responses indicate that these respondents probably did not understand the questions or they deliberately filled in the questions without thinking about their responses, or it might possibly be that the respondents were more truthful when filling out the questionnaire than when they were answering the interview questions.

The study discloses the attitudes of the Igbo and the Sesotho residing in Bloemfontein. Since all the respondents speak English, understand each other and use English in virtually all the applicable contexts, there is a need to discuss the relationship that exists between the two groups. The question remains if the groups

really like interacting with each other if they are not in intermarriage. The response to the question may vary from one person to another. Some people may like while others may not. For example, during the course of data collection, the researcher asked one Sesotho woman who is in a relationship with an Igbo man the reason she choose to date an Igbo man instead of a Sesotho man. In her response, she said that she has been dating Sesotho man but she discovered that “these Nigerians” are more caring than the Sesotho men she knew, that he buys many things for her which she has never dreamed that a man can buy for his girlfriend. In another discussion, the researcher met a Sesotho man who said that if he is given a chance, he will kill all Nigerian in South Africa, his reason being that they are all dealing on drugs. However, when the researcher asked him if the researcher who he knows and see often is dealing on drugs? He said he doesn’t know, he said that the researcher may not be dealing with drugs because she is a student and a woman. Therefore, this kind of generalised stereotype about a group is what Gudykunst and Kim (1992:92) call normative stereotype²⁸. Gudykunst and Kim (1992:92) state that when one group does not have a normative stereotype about another group with whom friendly relations exist, the member of the group begins to think of members of the other group as being “like us”.

As regards to language attitudes, the study looks at the attitudes of the groups involved towards themselves and towards the opposite group. In this study, many questions in connection with attitudes focus on the relationship between the Igbo and the Sesotho (see Tables 5.21 to 5.24). The study evaluates the attitudes and feelings of the Igbo towards the Sesotho and vice versa in their intercultural contact. Through the use of questionnaires, the study evaluates how the Igbo and the Sesotho residing in Bloemfontein feel about one another. However, the analysis is in connection with Martin and Rose’s (2007) appraisal, which is concerned with evaluation which can be observed from the kind of attitudes that are negotiated either in a written or spoken text.

²⁸ Normative stereotype, according to Gudykunst and Kim (1992:92), is a cognitive norm for thinking about a group of people based on information gained from education, mass media, or historical events.

5.4.1.2 Discourse features

In this section, the data collected on the discourse features are analysed under different sub-headings, namely: turn-taking, interruption, code-switching/code-mixing, and discourse dominance. The analyses also extend to language and gender, language stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments.

5.4.1.2.1 Presentation of results on turn-taking

This section presents results on turn-taking. The questionnaire results were presented first, followed with that of the recordings with examples of how the actual turns are taken by the interactants. The results from the recording will either confirm or dispute the respondents' questionnaire responses.

Five questions on turn-taking were included in both the Igbo and the Sesotho copies of the questionnaire (questions 30 to 33 and 39). Questions 30 and 33 solicit the same information (see Appendix 2 and 3), to cross-check the consistency on the respondents' answers. The responses from question 30 (*Do you take turns during conversation?*) and that of 33 (*During conversation, do you wait for your turns before you speak?*) show some inconsistency. The results show that 74% and 87% of the Igbo participants stated that they took turns during conversation, respectively. Nineteen percent (19%) and 4% for each of the questions claimed that they did not know if they waited for their turns, respectively; while 7% did not respond to question number 30. Even though the two questions have the same meaning, their responses vary. However, the draft questionnaire was piloted three times (see Section 4.3.4.1.4) and the necessary changes were made before the questionnaire administration for this research study. But in using a questionnaire, so much depend on the actual wordings of the items and that minor differences could change the response pattern of the respondents (Dörnyei, 2003:63) which is what happened with the two questions (30 and 33).

The responses from question 30 and 31 on the part of the Sesotho reveal that 81% and 79% of the Sesotho respondents agreed, for each of the questions, that they

waited for their turns during conversation. Fourteen percent and 21% did not know if they waited for their turns during conversation. Five percent (5%) did not respond to question number 30.

On question 39 (*How often do you wait for your turns before you speak?*), 26% of the Igbo participants affirmed that they always took turns, 68% often took turns, while 2% of the Igbo participants rarely took turns during interactions. Sixteen percent (16%) of the Sesotho participants always waited for their turns during interactions, 80% often waited for their turns, while 4% of the Sesotho participants did not know if they waited for their turns during interactions.

Questions 31 and 32 alternate in the Igbo and the Sesotho copies of the questionnaire (see Appendix 2 and 3). Thirty-one percent (31%) of the Igbo participants revealed in their answer to question 31 (on whether the Igbo people wait for their turns before they speak during conversation), that they believed that they waited for their different turns during conversation. Fifty-seven percent (57%) said that the Igbo people did not wait for their turns, 9% of the Igbo participants said that they did not know if they waited for their turns, while 3% of the Igbo participants did not respond to the question. In responding to question 32 (*During conversation, do Sesotho people wait for their turns before they speak?*), the results reveal that 51% of the Igbo participants believed that Sesotho people wait for their turns during conversation, 38% of the Igbo participants believed that Sesotho people did not wait for their turns during conversation, while 11% of the Igbo participants did not respond to the question.

For question 31 on the side of the Sesotho (*During conversation, do Sesotho people wait for their turns before they speak?*), 75% of the Sesotho participants believed that Sesotho people wait for their turns before they speak, 24% do not know if Sesotho people wait for their turns during conversation, while 1% did not respond to the question (see Table 5.23). In responding to question 32 (*During conversation, do Igbo people wait for their turns before they speak?*), 56% of the Sesotho participants said that Igbo people did not wait for their turns before they speak, 41% did not know if the Igbo wait for their turns during conversation, while 3% of the Sesotho participants did not respond to the question.

In summary, 80.5% of the Igbo respondents and 80% of the Sesotho respondents claimed that they wait for their turns during their intercultural communication. From personal observation and interaction with the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein, turn-taking in conversation largely depends on the participants, who they are, their relationships, and their age differences. The frequency with which the turns are allocated during interactions to unequal people is different from the allocation of turns when the participants are of the same gender and age group/mate, as well as being close friends or family members. In addition, the turn allocations and the frequency with which the interactants maintain talking turns depend on the context of interaction. The turns are more maintained in formal setting in comparison to informal places. According to Schegloff (2000:2), “the organisation of turn-taking practices in talk-in-interaction is among those features of social life that are so deeply embedded in ordinary common-sense practice that they challenge articulate awareness and explicit, disciplined description”.

The data from recorded interactions clearly show the rate at which the participants took turns during interaction and how often they do not take turns (see Appendices 6 to 10, for the full transcription of the five recordings). The data from all the recordings show that turn-taking in interaction depends on some factors: who the speaker and the addressee are, the context in or the setting at which the interaction involves take place, and also the ages of the participants and their relationships. For example, in the shop recording, the three people involved in the interaction take turns to talk, except in the two places where interruption and overlapping occurred between “A” and “B” (see Appendix 6). The turns come in pairs as mentioned in chapter 3 (see Section 3.5.2.1). The first pair creates expectations of what is coming. The turn activities in the shop is often follow “question – answer sequences” (Schiffrin, 1994:16). For example, the following extracts are from the recording during the interactions between a Sesotho lady (the customer) and the shop attendant (an Igbo man).

Example 9

- A: Hey! ...you don't have battery?
B: Yeah, ...is there any other thing you want?
A: Eh?

Example 10

- B: For now we don't have it
(long silence)
A: Eh!
B: I don't have it now.
A: You have some [?]headphone?
B: Card?
A: Headphone
B: OK, Yeah, Yeah, Yeah.

In the above two examples, the customer ask a question and in turn the shop attendant responded to her question accordingly and asked the customer another question.

The hospital recording also shows equal allocation of turns between the Sesotho nurse and the Igbo patient, as this context also involves questions and answers or explanations; "question – answer sequences". Although the two participants may be of the same age group, the context of their interaction (medical examination) require equal participation, starting from greetings to questions- answers as seen in the following extracts:

Examples 11

A: Morning mme

B: Eh, morning ... mme ... how are you?

A: Am fine and how are you mme?

A: Am fine ... [hei ...] but am not really fine.

B: [Mnh] I am sister Hat ... I am sister Hatane mme.

Examples 12

A: Hey! Where may I help you today ... what is your problem?

B: Ha! Hey mme you see ah! In this season I don't know really, I have pain all over me and eh you know, I used to have a peptic ulcer, they said right here, when I, is very painful ehm

A: Is between the ...the, the breast here?

B: Yes, ... exactly just right inside here, mm! Very painful, can [?], and I have taken mix mag²⁹

From the above examples, the two participants are from different culture and language, they are of the same age, and educated, but they uphold their cultural way of respect which is apparent in their greeting. The Igbo woman though she is not proficient in Sesotho uses Sesotho words for respect to identify with the Sesotho nurse, because she has been in Bloemfontein for over five years and has learnt some Sesotho common words.

The other recordings, especially the one in the church context (Bible study and the discussion of the part of the Bible read) gave room for people to talk freely. In the church context, people interrupted other speakers more than observed in the other contexts recorded, either to support what they were saying or to help the speaker to

²⁹ This is a white liquid that helps to stop stomach pain.

clarify the topic at hand. The examples of these interruptions will be given in section 5.4.1.2.2.

Turn-taking as one of the discourse features assessed in this study is common not only to this particular interaction, but to all interactions. Turn-taking according to Yule (1985:108), “is when only one person speaks at a time and there tends to be an avoidance of silence between the participants”. The study reveals that the results of the questionnaire on turn-taking do not show much difference from that of the recorded interactions (see Appendices 6 to 10). The questionnaire responses reveal that more than 80% of both the Igbo and the Sesotho respondents affirmed that they take turns during interactions (see Tables 5.20 and 5.22). The recorded interactions exposed the frequency with which the participants take turns. The participants took more of turns in comparison to the number of times they interrupted one another. For example, a total of 39 turns were recorded in the shop context in comparison with only one interruption. In the church context, a total of 89 interruptions were recorded out of 681 turns, while only eight interruptions out of a total of 78 turns were recorded in the hospital context.

5.4.1.2.2 Presentation of results on interruption

Ten questions on interruption were included in both the Igbo and the Sesotho copies of the questionnaire (see questions 19 to 23 and 40 to 44). The responses to question 19 (*Do you interrupt conversations?*) reveal that 11% of the Igbo participants ascertained that they interrupt during conversation, while 89% said that they do not interrupt. Thirty-two percent (32%) of the Sesotho participants revealed that they interrupt during conversation, 57% stated that they do not interrupt, 3% did not know if they really interrupt during interaction, while 8% of the Sesotho respondents did not respond to the question. The results show that the participants may probably see interruption as being negative. The majority of the group members (89% Igbo and 57% Sesotho) who claimed not to interrupt support the assumption that an “interruption is a hostile act, a kind of conversational bullying, where the interrupter is seen as a malevolent aggressor, and the interruption of an innocent

victim, as well as an intrusion, trampling on someone else's right to floor, and an attempt to dominate the other" (Tannen, 1991:189).

When asked the frequency with which they interrupt (question 40), 12% of the Igbo participants stated that they always interrupt, 43% of them stated that they often interrupt during interaction, 20% rarely interrupt, 15% never interrupt during conversation, 8% of the Igbo participants did not know if they interrupt others during conversation, while 2% of them did not respond to the question. With regard to the frequency with which the Sesotho respondents interrupt during interaction, the results reveal that one percent (1%) of them claimed to always interrupt during conversation, 23% of the Sesotho respondents said they interrupt often, 74% said that they rarely interrupt, while 2% of them did not know if they interrupt at all during conversation.

With regard to question 20 (*Do Igbo women interrupt men?*), 79% of the Igbo participants believed that Igbo women do not interrupt conversations, while 21% believed that Igbo women do interrupt conversations. Eleven percent (11%) of the Sesotho participants were of the opinion that Igbo women interrupt men during interaction, 1% said Igbo women did not interrupt men, while 88% of the Sesotho participants did not know whether Igbo women interrupt men during interactions. The reason for large number of the Sesotho participants who do not know whether Igbo women interrupt men during interactions is because the Igbo women in Bloemfontein are very few (see Section 5.2.2 on the participants' gender distribution). Since the Sesotho participants are not more in contact with the Igbo women, it is understandable why many of them (88% Sesotho) do not know the frequency at which the Igbo women interrupt men during interactions.

In their responses to question 41 (*How often do Igbo women interrupt men?*), 5% of the Igbo respondents were of the view that Igbo women always interrupt men, while 24% said they often interrupt. Forty-eight percent (48%) believed that Igbo women rarely interrupt men during interactions, 12% said they never interrupt men, while 10% did not know whether Igbo women interrupt men or not, and 1% did not respond to the question. Seven percent (7%) of the Sesotho participants believed that Igbo women interrupt men always during conversation, 9% said that Igbo women interrupt

men often. However, 81% of the Sesotho participants did not know if Igbo women interrupt men during conversation or not, while 3% of the Sesotho participants did not respond to the question.

All the Igbo respondents (100%) stated in their answers to question 21 (*Do Igbo men interrupt women?*) that Igbo men do interrupt women during conversation. Twenty-seven percent (27%) of the Sesotho participants said that Igbo men interrupt women during conversation, 71% did not know if Igbo men interrupt women, while 1% did not respond to the question.

On question 42 (*How often do Igbo men interrupt women?*), 20% of the Igbo participants were of the opinion that Igbo men always interrupt women, while 79% believed that Igbo men interrupt women often, one percent (1%) did not respond to the question. Three percent (3%) of the Sesotho participants believed that Igbo men always interrupt women during interaction, 22% said that they often interrupt women, 81% did not know if Igbo men interrupt women during conversation, while 3% did not respond to the question.

With regard to question 22 (*Do Sesotho women interrupt men?*), 71% of the Igbo participants believed that Sesotho women interrupt men during conversation, 2% believed that Sesotho women do not interrupt men, while 27% did not know if Sesotho women interrupt men during interaction. However, quite a substantial number of the Sesotho participants (90%) were of the opinion that Sesotho women interrupt men, 5% of the Sesotho respondents believed that Sesotho women did not interrupt men, while another 5% do not know if Sesotho women interrupt their men during conversation or not.

In their responses to question 43 (*How often do Sesotho women interrupt men?*), 16% and 54% of the Igbo participants were of the opinion that Sesotho women always and often interrupt men during interactions, respectively. Five percent (5%) of the Igbo respondents said that Sesotho women rarely interrupt men, while 26% did not know the frequency with which Sesotho women interrupt their men during conversation, 1% believed that Sesotho women never interrupt conversations, while 4% did not respond to the question. Twenty-eight percent (28%) of the Sesotho

participants believed that Sesotho women always interrupt men, 59% were of the opinion that Sesotho women interrupt men often, while 13% believed that Sesotho women rarely interrupt men during conversation.

Ninety-two percent (92%) of the Igbo respondents who answered question 23 (*Do Sesotho men interrupt women?*) agreed that Sesotho men interrupt women during conversations, while 8% did not know if they interrupt. On the same question 23, all the Sesotho respondents were of the opinion that Sesotho men interrupt women during conversation.

With regards to question 44 (*How often do Sesotho men interrupt women?*), 29% and 37% of the Igbo participants affirmed that Sesotho men either always or often interrupt women during interaction, respectively; 31% (which contradicts the response to question 23, where 8% did not know if Sesotho men interrupt women) did not know the frequency of their interruption; while 3% did not respond to the question. The contradiction may probably be that the options given in question 23 (“Yes”, “No”, and “Don’t know”) are limited and none of the options fits into the answer they wanted (for example, sometimes). Fourteen percent (14%) and 86% of the Sesotho participants were of the opinion that the Sesotho men either always or often interrupt women during conversation, respectively.

The results reveal that the two groups (the Igbo and the Sesotho in Bloemfontein) interrupt one another during conversation, but the frequency with which they interrupt varies. For example, the results show that the Igbo people interrupt the Sesotho people more than the Sesotho interrupt them during communication. For instance, in the church recording³⁰, a total of 89 interruptions were recorded, with the Igbo participants interrupting 72 times in comparison with 17 times of interruption by the Sesotho participants.

³⁰ Most of our examples are taken from the church recording. This is because, the duration of the recording is longer than other recordings; it has different discourse features explored by this study, and more participants are involved. However, it has its limitation; the Sesotho man is not represented.

On the gender that interrupts more, although the gender of the participants is not well represented: 84% male and 16% female (see Figure 5.2), the results show that men interrupt women more. Using the church recording as an example again, the man (the Igbo) has a total of 45 interruptions in comparison to 44 interruptions recorded by the three women participants.

On who interrupts more among the Igbo and the Sesotho women, the results show that interruptions among the Igbo and the Sesotho women depends on the participants, their relationships and their status. For example, if the church recording is used for assessment, the results favour the Igbo woman, who interrupted 27 times in comparison to 17 interruptions by the two Sesotho participants. The reason for the Igbo woman interrupting more than the two Sesotho participants may be attributed to the level of her education (she was a post-graduate student , at the time of this study), the first Sesotho lady, referred to as “B”, was an undergraduate student, while the other Sesotho lady, referred to as “D” was a sales girl. In addition, the Igbo lady’s exposure to English was better (as English was the only means of communication she used often with different people around her) than those of the Sesotho participants, who use their language (Sesotho, a dominant language in Bloemfontein) on a daily basis and only use English when they meet people who do not share a common language with them.

However, from the recorded interaction in the hospital context (between the patient and the nurse), the researcher recorded only eight interruptions out of a total of 78 turns. “A”, an Igbo female patient interrupted “B” just twice, while “B”, a Sesotho female nurse interrupted the patient (A) six times. This was probably because the nurse was the authority, and she used her position as a nurse to take charge of the interaction: to make inquiry and to give suggestions and medical advice. The examples of these interruptions in the hospital context are shown below:

Example 13

- A: Am fine ... hei ...but am not really fine.
B: Mnh I am sister Hat ... I am sister Hatane mme.
A: OK.
B: I work at mutual hour clinic mme

Example 14

- B: Do you have any other pain?
A: eh! Not only that one, you know, ... the joints, my ... all my joints.
To climb the stair-case ... is difficult for me. I struggle a lot to climb the stair ...
steps.

The reasons for interruption vary from one scene to another and from one person to another. The interruption in example 13 comes from the nurse who may probably think that they (the nurse and the patient) have not done proper introduction of each other before the main business (medical check-up). "A" thinks that "B" has finished her turn and so she wants to take over, meanwhile "B" continues talking, which results in overlapping, but "A" drops-out for "B", probably because of B's position as a nurse and the person in authority.

In example 14, another interruption is noticed, this time from "A". Here, the nurse (B), with her position asks the patient: "Do you have any other pain?" that is, if she has another pains apart from the one she has in her chest, but before she finishes the question, the Igbo patient interrupts her. The interruption here shows that the Igbo patient knows what the nurse wants to ask her before the nurse finishes because she is attentive and follows their previous dialogue.

In the church recording, the interaction starts with a leader of the programme, taking turn to read the daily scripture reading to be discussed afterwards. The discussion has many interruptions (89) and 14 overlappings among the participants. In most cases, before one person finishes his or her turn, another person interrupts (see the full recording in Appendix 8). The interruptions that occur in this context (89) are

more than those in the shop (1) and hospital interactions (8). Each of the four participants in the church interaction interrupts at one point or the other.

A total of 89 interruptions were recorded in the church interactions out of 681 turns. The four people that participated in the Bible studies' rate of interruptions differ. The person that interrupted most was the Igbo man, with a total of 45 interruptions. The reason for the Igbo man to interrupt more than other participants could be attributed to his role as the "co-ordinator", his age (the oldest among the interactants) and probably his gender (male). The motives of the interruption in this context vary: to support the current speaker, to object to the current speaker's opinion, to ask or to answer questions, as well as to give an example on the issue at hand. The extracts below show examples of interruptions by different participants which occurred during the church activity; the motivations for the interruption vary:

Example 15

- A: But, tell mm! Just ... tactically understand it. It is very easy to tell a lie, but it is ... very ...very hard not to tell another lie on top.
- C: Yes, that is what I was saying, that is what I was saying that lies multiply
- A: Mm, Mm! ... yes that is what I was saying, mm.
- C: And, once you tell one lie you try to tell another one to cover.
- A: mm! To cover that one
- B: And, and another one to cover the former one.
- C: So, ee ... when you want to tell a second lie, it is ... easier, it is easier because you, you want to cover that, you can now you know say

Example 16

C: That ... all the ... miracle ... all the things that Jesus done in this world was not recorded, that these things are record for us to belief.

A: You can never record [Everything.

C: [Everything that is [what I'm saying

A: [Is John that went [even further

C: [Yeah ... You

cannot record everything not how he breath, how he slept, how he woke up, how he ate

D: Yeah

Example 17

B: My understanding ... we are ... gods because we are from [God ...

A: [Because that is

what

Example 18

A: But, tell mm! Just ... tactically understand it. It is very easy to tell a lie, but it is ... very ... :very hard not to tell another lie on [top.

Am: [Yes, that is what I was saying,

[that is what I was saying that lies multiply

A: [Mm, Mm! ... yes that is what I was saying, mm.

C: And, once you tell one lie [you try to tell another one to [cover.

A: [mm! [To cover that [one

B: [And, and

another one to cover the former one.

Example 19

- B: Whatever you do
D: What you are doing
C: The feature of born again in you
B: Mm
A: Mm
C: Like ... what, what, which word should I even use to ... is like insulting the ... I didn't know the, how to put ...

Example 20

- C: They don't believe. They know Jesus but they don't believe that Jesus is the son of God that Jesus is God.
B: OK
A: Mm

All the interruptions as observed from the extracts (examples 15 to 20) above occurred as the listener either wanted to support the current speaker on the issue at hand; or to complete what the speaker was saying. This shows the cohesion in the interaction as well as the attentiveness of the listeners in responding accordingly. In interaction, if the first part of a saying or a proverb is said by a current speaker, it is expected that the listeners should finish or complete it if s/he is attentive and knows it. In addition, the extracts show that interruptions are not always disruptive; supporting or completing what current speaker is saying or about to say is not meant to be negative, but encouraging the person and showing that s/he has the same opinion with you.

Sometimes, more than one person can interrupt a person as shown in the examples 19 and 20. In the two examples, "A" and "B" affirmed concurrently on what "C" was saying, using "ok" and "mm", regardless of their different cultural backgrounds.

In the recording made among friends, the discourse feature identified is more of turn-taking (98) than interruptions (5). The interactants took their different turns to talk,

one at a time; the study recorded only five interruptions from 98 turns (see Appendix 9) in the interactions among friends. The Igbo man interrupted twice, while the Sesotho lady interrupted three times. One of the interruptions noted in the conversation is shown below:

Example 21

- A: Now, is gonna³¹ give me problem. I don't want problem here.
- B: Bring him is a problem? No, [problem
- A: No, [is a big problem! When he comes here, he will want this and that. Then, I don't like that.

From the above extract, it is observed that "A" interrupts "B" during the course of their interaction. "A" is telling "B" that bringing her child to the shop is a problem; while "B" is trying to convince her that it is not a problem, but she interrupts, showing her disagreement with "B" and also how strongly she feels about her child being in the shop. Among the Sesotho people the researcher had earlier met, "gonna" is often common in their spoken English as seen in example 21.

During the conversation in the shop context, the researcher noticed both interruption and overlapping, although, the interruption in this context is minimal in comparison with the church recording. The pattern of talk here is that one person speaks at a time. In this context (shop), a total of 39 turns, one interruption and one overlap were recorded. The interaction here follows only "question-answer sequence" and that is why the interactants did not interrupt one another much. The cases of interruption and overlapping are shown in the example below:

³¹ Gonna means "going to"

Example 22

- B: Charger or what?
A: Face face³²
B: Charger?
A: Face

During the transaction, there seem to be a mutual interaction which follows more turns than interruptions between the Sesotho lady and the Igbo man. Example 22 shows the only two places in which interruption and overlapping occurred in the short interaction recorded in the shop context. In the interaction, the interruption and overlapping occurred only from the Sesotho lady (the customer). The “A” interrupted “B” as she (A) was clarifying what she wants from the Igbo man (the sales attendant). However, there is lack of understanding between the two participants which led to overlapping.

Interruptions were also recorded during the conversation in the home context. A total of nine interruptions were recorded by different members of the family from 77 turns. Examples of such interruptions are shown in the extracts below:

Example 23

- A: The thing ... I ask for the ... that part I didn't understand [?]
D: is keeper?
A: For me it was good. The people that sponsor us came...
D: They did?
A: Yes, the people that sponsor us, the people that pay your daddy
D: Daddy!
A: They came, look at our work and they were very happy.

³² “Face” is a part of a cell phone. If the body of the cell phone wears off, this part is used to replace the original part.

Example 24

- A: This is
- B: Eh
- A: Design something
- B: [?]
- A: What you should have done is ...
- D: Oh!
- A ... by the time they come back, you would have ... because I don't know what, what solvent they use in ... to dissolve it
- D: I forgot to wash it in the school
- A: OK in the water ... for the allowing it [?]

The results from questionnaire responses on interruption reveal that the majority of the Igbo and the Sesotho respondents are under the impression that they do not interrupt during interactions (see Tables 5.20 and 5.22). This is because they may see interruption as being negative. However, interruption is not always negative or disruptive (Coates, 1986:99). It is negative if it disrupts the conversation, or when the interrupter is strongly against the opinion of the current speaker and interrupts with aggression. But from the recorded interactions, especially from the church recording (see Appendix 8), it is evident that interruption is a common discourse feature among the interactants, and most of the interruptions recorded are positive. For example, some the participants interrupt as they are supporting the current speaker as shown from the examples below.

Example 25

- C: They don't believe. They know Jesus but they don't believe that Jesus is the son of God, that Jesus is God.
- B: OK
- A: Mm. Like one book here, is a Christian book, but ... is ... eh ... is

Example 26

- A: They also say Jesus is only, they must put only there. Jesus is only a prophet like Mohammed is a prophet. They want to compare Jesus Christ with a
[Mohammed.
- C: [Mohammed

Example 27

- A: But, tell mm! Just ... tactically understand it. It is very easy to tell a lie, but it is ... very ...very hard not to tell another lie on [top.
- C: [Yes, that is what I was saying.

Example 28

- A: But, tell mm! Just ... tactically understand it. It is very easy to tell a lie, but it is ... very ...very hard not to tell another lie on [top.
- C: [Yes, that is what I was saying,
[that is what I was saying that lies multiply
- A: [Mm. Mm! ... yes that is what I was saying, mm.

However, some participants interrupt the current speaker as they try to complete what the speaker is saying as shown in the examples below.

Example 29

- D: Amen!
- A: And since we are his children, ... we [are of the same nature ...
- C: [we because he made us in his own
image

Example 30

- A: That is what the Bible says, because Jehovah Witness people want to belittle Jesus. They say Jesus is only a prophet like ... ok the, the Mohamedalism ... people, you know the Muslims.
- C: Muslim

The motivation for interruptions differed from one participant to another. The way the people involved (the Igbo and the Sesotho) interrupted are not in any way peculiar to one group, that is, there is no cultural basis to the frequency of interruption among the groups.

As for the gender that interrupts more, the study shows that men interrupt women more than women interrupt in both groups (the Igbo and the Sesotho). For example, in church recording, a total of 89 interruptions were recorded, while the only man in the interaction interrupted 45 times, the three female participants interrupted 44 times. Also in the home context, a total of nine interruptions were recorded, the two male participants interrupted their female counterparts seven times, while the female interrupted only two times. This confirms the study conducted earlier by Nwoye (1998). His study reveals that Igbo men interrupt women more and at the same time successfully maintain new topics more than woman do. Nwoye illustrates the dominance of men in interruption with an example, where an attempt by a woman to change a topic was unsuccessful; her attempt was resisted by the man with interruption (Nwoye, 1998:101). In intercultural discourse, where one group's gender interrupts more than the other group's gender, effective communication between the people involved will be affected, especially when the two groups involved are in intermarriage like Igbo and Sesotho people in Bloemfontein.

5.4.1.2.3 Presentation of results on code-switching/code-mixing

In this section, the results collected on code-switching from questionnaires and interviews will be presented. In addition, the examples from recorded interactions will be used to confirm or dispute that of questionnaires and interviews.

On question 29 (*Do you code-switch between different languages within a conversation?*), all but one of the respondents (an Igbo person who did not respond to the question) confirmed that they switch between different languages within a conversation.

In responding to question 45 (*How often do you switch between different languages within a conversation?*), 19% and 81% of the Igbo participants said that they either switch always or often during interaction, respectively. Seven percent (7%) of the Sesotho participants said that they switch always, 92% switch often, while 1% did not know whether they switch during conversation.

From the recordings, the group that engaged in code-switching more frequently than the other group was the Igbo people. For example, in the hospital context, although the two interactants equally use Sesotho word *mme* which is a form of a respect to a woman in Sesotho, the Igbo woman also switched to Sesotho expression “*kea leboha mme*” and “*ke lebohie*” in greeting and appreciation, to identify with the Sesotho nurse. Also, in the church recording, the only man (the Igbo) among the interactants code-switched five times, while the study did not record switch from other participants. However, from personal observation, the Sesotho people too often code-switch from one language to another. This is because the Sesotho people understand many other South African languages in comparison with the Igbo (see Tables 5.8 and 5.9). In addition, the study reveals that Sesotho and Setswana are closely related languages (see Section 2.4.2), and the Sesotho people often switch from Sesotho to Setswana and vice versa. Their (the Sesotho speakers) switch also extend to other language(s) which is common to them and their addressee. Although the Igbo code-switch from Igbo to English, as well as to NP and to other language(s) common to them (the Igbo speakers) and their addressee, the frequency with which the Igbo code-switch cannot be compared with that of the Sesotho.

In their responses to the interview question 7 (*Do you switch between different languages within a conversation and why?*) all the 54 people interviewed (comprises of the Igbo and the Sesotho participants) affirmed that they code-switch when they are interacting with people either in the same language group or from other linguistic backgrounds. The response corresponds to the results on question 29 (see also

Tables 5.20 and 5.22). The results confirms the study by Scotton's (1997:217), that "fluent bilinguals sometimes engage in code-switching by producing discourse which, in the same conversational turn or in consecutive turns, includes morphemes from two or more of the varieties in their linguistic repertoire".

The interview results of the responses with regard to the reasons why they (the participants) code-switch from one language to another are summarised in Table 5.24 below.

Table 5.24 Reasons for code-switching

<p>The respondents' reasons for code-switching:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">i. When a person who does not understand the present language of discussion joins the interaction.ii. Some words or expressions from one language may more readily come to mind than the equivalent expression in another language.iii. To identify with a speaker or a group and build relationship with them.iv. At times, some expressions in dominant language of the immediate environment often come to mind and even if the speaker does not understand the language switches to the little s/he knows.
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There are some other causes for a speaker to switch code during interactions. These reasons, according to Chen and Jing (2008:76), include convenience, clearer expression, intimacy and solidarity with listeners. Other reasons include lexical need, the topic and setting of the discussion, speaker or group identity and relationship-building, words order (that is, code-switching often occur at the points where the grammars of both languages match each other). Code-switching can also help an ethnic minority community to retain a sense of their cultural identity (see also Section 3.5.2.3.1).

From the recorded interactions, it was observed that the participants code-switched (words/phrase switch) during their interactions. For example, in the hospital context, the Sesotho word “*mme*” (a form of a respect to a woman in Sesotho) occurred twelve times in the whole recording. The two interactants (the Igbo patient and the Sesotho nurse) use “*mme*” six times each. The participants code-mixed English and Sesotho, as shown in the examples below:

Example 31

- A: Morning mme
B: Eh, morning ... mme ... how are you?
A: Am fine and how are you mme?
A: Am fine ... [hei ...] but am not really fine.
B: [Mnh] am sister Hat ... I am sister Hatane mme.
B: [OK].
A: [I] work at mutual hour clinic mme/

Example 32

- A: So, I'll give you the referral letter, then you show them to the doctor.
B: OK, Oh!
A: Eh!
B: Kea leboha mme³³
A: Eh!
B: Thank you mme. Oh!
A: Oh!
B: Ke lebohie!³⁴

From examples 31 and 32 above, the Igbo participant switched from English to Sesotho words in greeting and appreciation of the services received (to identify with

³³ “*Kea leboha mme*” is Sesotho expression meaning “thank you ma”

³⁴ “*Ke lebohie*” is Sesotho expression meaning “thank you for everything you have done”.

the nurse, who is a Sesotho) from the Sesotho nurse. When the researcher asked her (the Igbo participant in the hospital recording) why she switched to these Sesotho words after saying “thank you” in English, her response was that she normally feels as if she is not appreciative enough if she just says “thank you” in English. The Sesotho word “*mme*”, is a marker of respect to an elderly woman, or a person senior to someone. The switches from English to Sesotho are repetitions of what has been said earlier. Locher (2006:249) points out that “a polite behavior is part of the relational work inherent in all human social interactions”, and language is seen as one of its crucial means of communication, as portrayed by the Igbo participant.

The occurrence of code-switching is minimal in the church context. For example, a total of five switches were recorded within 57 minutes of interaction between the four participants. Some of the examples on code-switching in the church context are shown in the extract below:

Example 33

- A: You tell them, don't do this, don't do this, eh ... akiri we are human being, akiri we are human beings. You know what I'm saying.
- B: I see you learn more in Lesotho (laughs)
- A: Akiri we are human being, always you ... you ... maybe I'm the only man here.
- B: Mm
- A: Always, you go out with men ... mm ... fornicating every time. One man of God says, fornicating here and there (laughs) and he said that they said, Oh! Akiri we are human beings
- All: (Laugh)
- A: Why should that be? A pastor, our pastor, did you know ntate ... ehm ...
- B: Ntate?

“*Akiri*” is a tag question which means “isn't it” in Sesotho and is very common in informal conversation among the Sesotho people. The Igbo person switched to it because he had been in Bloemfontein for more than five years and was conversant with some of the Sesotho common words.

“*Ntate*”, just as “*mme*” in examples 32 and 33 is a Sesotho word used to show respect to an elderly and senior man. According to the participants who switched to the word, if a person is close to the Sesotho person and you do not use it when referring to your elder, they (the Sesotho people) will see you as being disrespectful. In the examples 31 to 33, the Igbo participants used these words to identify with the Sesotho people whom they know and have relationships with.

In the recording among friends, code-switching occurred only once, by the Sesotho lady, in an interaction that lasted for 2 minutes, 35 seconds. Here, the study also recorded a total of 39 turns, one interruption and one overlap (see Appendix 6). The Sesotho lady mixed English with Afrikaans, as shown in the example below:

Example 34

- B: [?] is good to train him very well so that when he grows
A: He know what is good and bad, *nè*?³⁵
B: Yeah

From the example above, “A” is a Sesotho lady who is married to an Igbo man, while “B” is an Igbo man, a friend to A’s husband. “A” understands English, Sesotho, Setswana and little of Afrikaans, while “B” understands English, Igbo and Nigerian Pidgin. Although “B” does not understand Afrikaans, *nè* is a common word among Sesotho people and most people residing in Bloemfontein, including the Igbo participant (B). That is why “A” used it during their interaction and “B” responded accordingly. In addition, this kind of code-switch (word switch) is similar to other switches shown in examples 31 to 33.

In the home context, the interaction started with English, and proceeded with a prayer in Afrikaans. After the prayer in Afrikaans, there were lots of code-switching

³⁵ “*Nè*” is an Afrikaans wording meaning isn’t?

and code-mixing episodes from English to Sesotho and vice versa, especially among the children with varied reasons. For example, the children who are proficient in both English and Sesotho switch between the languages sometimes as shown in the extracts below:

Example 35

- C: Come and see, come and see them ... Oh!
A: No!
D: O maka³⁶
C: O maka

Code-switching also occurred in the home context when the child is speaking to his father, who all the family members know that does not understand or speak Sesotho. This kind of code-switching is just to create humour in the family, as shown in the example 36.

Example 36

- A: What is sokola, mm?
D: [Speaks in Sesotho again]
A: Aah, I don't know it
D: [?]
A: God?
All: (Laughed)
A: (To his wife) what is it?
D: Sokola!
B: Sokola is to struggle
A: To struggle
B: Yes
-

³⁶ "O maka" is a Sesotho phrase meaning "you are lying".

- D: O tla rapela jooj?³⁷
- B: You want your father to /know/ Sesotho by fire by force?
- A: I don't know Sesotho
- D: O tla rapela jooj?
- A: Mmh
- B: No, pray before you sleep. I have to do something.
- A: Mm
- D: Jwang?³⁸

Example 37

- C: Kea koloing! Kea koloing!³⁹
- A: OK, they visit the school?
- D: Yes
- C: [?]
- D: [?] (talks for long)
- B: [?]
- C: [?]
- D: [Talks for long]
- C: Daddy! Daddy!
- D [Talks for long]
- A: OK
- D: The floor
- A: Mm, Ekene, what did you do?
- C: [?] Akere⁴⁰, I jumped [?]
- A: You were jumping only, OK.
- C: I later
- D: /Haholo⁴¹ [?]/

³⁷ "O tla rapela jooj?" is a Sesotho wordings meaning "how will you pray"?

³⁸ "Jwang?" is Sesotho expression meaning "how"?

³⁹ "Kea koloing! Kea koloing!" is a Sesotho expression meaning "I am going to the car"!

⁴⁰ "Akere" is Sesotho word meaning "do you agree"?

⁴¹ "Haholo" is a Sesotho wordings meaning "too much" or "very big".

A: OK, /you jumped Haholo [?]/

Code-switching do occur among the people who understand and share the same languages. For example, in the extract below, “D” code-switched from English to Sesotho when talking to his mother, as the mother also understands and speaks both English and Sesotho.

Example 38

D: Wait I want to tell you ... Ke batla ho o bolelia⁴²

B: What is it?

D: Eh!

C: Chinedu! Ke batle bohobe⁴³

B: OK

From the above examples, “A” is an Igbo man who is married to a Sesotho woman, “B” is a Sesotho lady, a wife to the Igbo man. “C” is a girl (their daughter) who is six years old, while “D” is a boy (their son) who is four years old. The interesting thing is their language background; they were born in different areas, with different languages. The study reveals that the Igbo man could only speak Igbo and English; his Sesotho wife could speak Sesotho Setswana and English, while their children could speak Sesotho, English and Afrikaans (see also Section 4.3.4.3.5). However, their interaction only reflects their common language and the different languages the children can speak. This started with “D” praying in Afrikaans, later switched between English and Sesotho (see Appendix 10).

The study recorded 16 switches from English to Sesotho, mostly by the children. Even though the man of the house (the Igbo man, referred to as “A”) did not understand Sesotho, the children kept on switching from Sesotho to English when talking to him which creates humour in the family. The examples show that code-

⁴² “Ke batla ho o bolelia” is Sesotho expression meaning “wait, I want to tell you”.

⁴³ “Ke batle bohobe” is a Sesotho expression meaning “I want bread”.

switching occurs among all age groups.

All the participants of the study claimed to code-switch from one language to another, but the frequency at which they switched varied from always (19% Igbo and 7% Sesotho) to often (81% Igbo and 92% Sesotho). In addition, the language(s) from which they switched varied from one person to another. The Sesotho people that participated in this study often switched from Sesotho to Setswana/English and to other South African languages they understood, depending on the language which their addressee understood. However, the Igbo people that participated in the study switched from Igbo to English, Nigerian Pidgin, Sesotho (for the people that understood the language) and to any other language also common to them and their addressee. The kind of switches recorded mostly in this study is word/phrase switches, and mostly the words of the dominant language (often Sesotho) as seen from extracts below.

1. O maka
2. Akere, I jumped [?]
3. OK, /you jumped Haholo
4. OK. You didn't allow it to enter your mouth, akere?
5. He know what is good and bad, nè?

However, the reasons for their switches are mostly because their addressee understands the same language and nothing more is attached to it, according to one participant during the interview. Another reason is because the common words are familiar to all of them and also to identify with their addressee and build relationship with them. Another reason is that the children used code-switching to create humour in the family, they were making fun of their father who does not understand Sesotho, as seen in example 36. However, in intercultural communication, there is every tendency for the participants to switch from one language to another, especially when a person who does not understand the current language of discussion joins the interactants, which obviously is not the case from the examples given.

5.4.1.2.4 Presentation of results on discourse dominance

For discourse dominance, questions 9 and 10 solicit information on the group which dominates conversation between the Igbo and the Sesotho people. According to Nwoye (1998), Igbo men always succeed in effecting topic change and exercise power over women by their greater success in maintaining conversation, although his study was based on dominance of discourse between the Igbo men and women. Ninety-four percent (94%) of the Igbo participants said that the Sesotho do not dominate the Igbo during their intercultural communication. Equally, 94% of the Igbo respondents believed that they dominate the Sesotho people during interactions. Nwoye (1998:101) states that Igbo men deliberately abuse their power over women in conversations which, according to him, can lead to control and domination.

Forty-six percent (46%) of the Sesotho participants (men and women) said that the Igbo dominate them during conversation, 28.5% said that the Igbo do not dominate during conversation, 25% of the Sesotho participants did not know the group which dominates conversation. On whether the Sesotho people dominate the Igbo during interaction, 90.5% of the Sesotho participants were of the opinion that the Sesotho people dominate the Igbo during conversation. The Igbo responses on questions 9 and 10 contradict their responses on questions 11 and 12.

With regard to interview question 12 (*Which group among the Igbo and the Sesotho people dominate conversations?*), 78% of the Igbo people interviewed said that they (the Igbo) dominate conversation, 6% claimed that they have equal number of turns with their Sesotho interactants, while 16% did not know the group that dominate conversation. The results confirm the questionnaire responses (see Tables 5.20 and 5.22, questions 9 to 12). Eighty-six percent (86%) of the Sesotho participants claimed that they do not know the group that dominates conversation. They stated that turns are equally distributed during conversation, while 14% said that they dominate conversation.

From personal observation, it is difficult to state which group dominates (talk more) during conversation. For example, in the shop recording, it was difficult to determine

who dominated interaction between the Igbo man (the shop attendant) and the Sesotho woman (the customer). This is because the context (buying and selling) demands question and answer or clarification which follows “adjacency pair”. The two people involved took turns in responding to the other.

In the shop context, a total of 39 turns were recorded. The interaction in this context involved related utterances produced by two successive speakers in such a way that the second utterance is identified as a follow up to the first (Holmes, 2008:378). The turns in this context would have been equally distributed if the interaction was only between two people. A total of 19 turns were taken by “A” (the Sesotho lady who was a customer), 14 turns were taken by “B” (an Igbo man who was a shop attendant), while 6 turns were taken by “C” (an Igbo man who was the owner of the shop).

In the hospital recording, the interaction also took the form of “adjacency pairs” throughout. The study recorded 78 turns in the hospital context, the nurse and the patient each had a total of 39 turns. One person talked at a time, followed by the response from the next person. But looking at the length of each person’s turns, the Sesotho woman (a nurse) talked more than the Igbo woman (see Appendix 7). Their unequal length of talk is attributed to their positions and relationship (nurse-patient relationship).

In the church recording where four people were involved — one man and three ladies, the turns in the interaction and the discourse dominance were not equally distributed. A total of 681 turns were recorded. The only man among the interactants (an Igbo man) took more turns and dominated the interaction with a total of 287 turns. This was followed by an Igbo lady, who took 233 turns. The two Sesotho ladies took 75 and 86 turns, respectively.

The recording among friends indicates equal amount of turns during the interaction amongst the interactants, just as the recordings in the shop and the hospital contexts. The total of 98 turns was recorded, with each of the participants, “A” (the Sesotho lady), and “B” (the Igbo man) taking 49 turns.

The home recording lasted for ten minutes, with a total of 174 turns. The home interaction was dominated by the man (the Igbo), with a total of 65 turns. It was followed by his daughter, who was six years old with 60 turns. The woman (the Sesotho) hardly contributed to the interaction and took 31 turns. The little boy, who was just four years old, took 18 turns and his speech was not audible in most cases to be transcribed.

The results obtained from the questionnaire responses indicate that each group claims to dominate the other during interactions. However, the recorded interactions show that it is difficult to identify a group that dominates during interaction, as seen in the recorded interactions conducted at shop, hospital, and the recorded interaction among friends (Appendices 6, 7 and 9, respectively). The following factors helped in determining the group or an individual that dominates the conversation – the context of discussion (whether the interaction is in the shop, church or at home); the age of the participants (among the unequals or equals); gender of the participants; and the relationship between the participants (friends, customers, couple, or parents/children relationships).

With the five recordings (in the shop, hospital, church, among friends and at home), it is difficult to state the group or gender that dominate interactions. If the recordings were done only in the church, the study would have suggested that the Igbo man dominates conversation. However, this conclusion is not valid as no Sesotho man was represented in the church recording. If the recording made among friends were solely used, one can simply conclude that no group (neither the Igbo nor the Sesotho) or gender dominates during conversation. This is because the recording was done among friends whose age difference was no more than one or two years and who were very open with one another. In addition, their respective interactions took adjacency pair, making the turns to be equal.

In summary, each group claimed to dominate the other during conversation. But the study reveals that the issue of dominance varies from speakers to speakers. The group or the gender that dominates in each interaction depends on the relationships between the participants. For example, the older person is more likely to dominate the younger ones during interaction, as shown in the church recording. Also, the

interaction may not show any dominance from anybody or group if the participants are friends, age mate, as observed in the recording among friends (see Appendix 10) or if the participants are involved in buying and selling, as seen in the shop recording (see Appendix 6).

5.4.1.2.5 Presentation of results on language and gender

Before we present the results on language and gender, it is necessary to point out that the genders of the participants are not well balanced. For example, the questionnaire respondents have the representation of 84% males and 16% females. The gender balance only comes close on the people interviewed. A total of 54 people were interviewed, 30 men and 24 women (see Section 4.3.4.2.1.3).

There is general consensus with regard to question 13 (*Do Igbo women in Bloemfontein speak more freely than their men?*) in both groups. The results reveal that 88% of the Igbo respondents stated that the Igbo women do not speak more freely than their male counterparts. Three percent (3%) of the Igbo respondents believed that they speak more freely, while 9% did not know if they speak more freely than their male counterparts. The responses from the Sesotho participants on question 13 (*Do Sesotho women in Bloemfontein speak more freely than their men?*) show that 87% were of the opinion that the Sesotho women do not speak more freely than their male counterparts, 12% did not know if Sesotho women speak more freely than their men counterpart or not, while 1% did not respond to the question.

Since the responses to the question (*Do Igbo women and Sesotho women in Bloemfontein speak more freely than their male counterparts?*) are similar, the Igbo people who are in intercultural marriage with these Sesotho may not have much to worry about during interaction with their wives, or any conflict result from it. The dominance of male over women in the two cultures is evident. According to Nwoye (1998:101), the Igbo society expects a woman to “talk like a woman” as a mark of good behaviour, and to “talk like a woman” implies to talk “volubility” and “loquacity” (talk too much, soft spoken, talking on a pitched level). “Talking like a woman” also includes the features of female language in English, as indicated by Lakoff (1975) for

English, which include multiple adjectives, exclamations and diminutives (Nwoye, 1998:101).

Pertaining to question 14 (*Will you say that Sesotho women speak more freely than their men?*), 53% of the Igbo participants said that Sesotho women do not speak more freely than their male counterpart. Thirty-nine percent (39%) did not know, while 8% believed that Sesotho women speak more freely than their male counterparts. In responding to the question (*Will you say that Igbo women speak more freely than their men?*), 91% of the Sesotho participants did not know if Igbo women speak more freely than their male counterparts, while 9% said that Igbo women do not speak more freely than their male counterparts.

In their response to question 15 (*During conversation, are there any restriction on what Igbo women can say?*), 74% of the Igbo participants believed that there are no restrictions on what the Igbo women can say and what they cannot say, 20% believed that there are restrictions, while 6% did not know if there is any restriction on what the women can say and what they cannot say. On the same question on the side of the Sesotho (*During conversation, are there any restriction on what Sesotho women can say?*), 77% of the Sesotho participants believed that there is no restriction on what the Sesotho women can say. Nineteen percent (19%) did not know if there is any restriction, while only 4% said that there is restrictions on what Sesotho women can say. Meanwhile, if there is restriction on language use of one group's gender over the other, it can mar the intercultural communication between the two groups involved, especially when the two groups involved are into intermarriage. However, the results show that the majority of the respondents (74% Igbo and 77% Sesotho) believed that there is no restriction on what the Igbo and the Sesotho women can say and what they cannot say.

When the researcher learnt about the language of respect in some Southern Africa Bantu languages, Nguni and Sesotho in particular (see Section 3.3.2.1) at the course of this study, she inquired from some Sesotho people, who confirmed the existence of such words. Further study into language restrictions in Sesotho reveals that married women use a language of respect; "*hlompha*", which is not common to their male counterparts. The existence of this "*hlompha*" made women not to pronounce

any word relating to the name of their father-in-law; rather, they use “*hlompha*” (language of respect instead) in referring to their in-laws, especially their father-in-law. Some of these expressions of respect in Sesotho as the researcher gathered are shown in Table 5.25 below.

Table 5.25 Language of respect in Sesotho

	Hlompha	Sesotho Translation	English Translation
1	Thabo	Nyakallo	happy
2	Metsi	Manyabolo	Water
3	Kgomo	Tjepa	Cow/cattle
4	Bohloko	Boichu	Pain
5	Lefu	Mokgohlane	Death
6	Kgaba	Lelepele	Spoon
7	Mosebetsi	Mmerekko	Work
8	Tsela	Pata	Road
9	Ntja	Nyalasi	Dog
10	Sello	Seboko	Cry

On the responses to question 16 (*During conversation, are there any restrictions on what Igbo men can say?*), 97% of the Igbo participants claimed that there are no restrictions on what the Igbo men can say and what they cannot say, only 2% said that Igbo men do have their own restrictions, while 1% did not know. All the Sesotho participants (100%) believed that there are no restrictions on what the Sesotho men can say during interactions and what they cannot say.

Concerning interview question 13 (*Do Sesotho women in Bloemfontein speak freely like their men counterpart in ALL contexts?*), 79.1% of the Igbo (59% males and 20.1% females) people interviewed ascertained that women have freedom to talk as they want like their male counterparts, while 20.8% (17.4% females and 3.4% males) said that they are not as free as their male counterparts during interaction on what they say.

When the researcher asked those female respondents who said that they were not as free as their male counterparts during interactions, why they think that women do not have freedom to talk as they want like their male counterparts, they gave the following reasons:

- i. There are restrictions because men and women are not equal;
- ii. Women are not allowed to discuss or talk about masquerade, because they are not initiated in it, therefore, they know nothing about it;
- iii. Women are restricted because they talk too much and can often land in troubles; and
- iv. Women are not allowed in serious talks because they talk before thinking, while men think before talking.

These reasons above confirm the study conducted by Nwoye (1998), that there is no lack of gender-based distinctions in the grammar of the Igbo. However, there are obvious differences in conversational strategy that portray the hierarchical nature of Igbo male-female relationships, which is based on an imbalance of power in Igbo society.

On the same interview question 13 (*Do Sesotho women in Bloemfontein speak freely like their men counterpart in ALL contexts?*), the study reveals that Sesotho women have the belief that women are equal to men in “all areas”. In line with this, all the Sesotho people interviewed (100%) said that, since they are living in a democratic country, women can say anything at any time and they have equal rights with men, which includes freedom of speech. The results that confirm the study by Finlayson (2002:279) that language of respect is eluding the people due to urbanisation and modernisation (see Section 3.3.2.1).

Among the Igbo people, social ranking and respect are reflected in the relationships that exist between parents/children, men/women, husband/wife, older/younger in speech. Social ranking and respect are marked by the younger deferring to elderly people, women to men, wives to husbands and children to parents (Nwoye, 1998:101). The Igbo girls are socialised from childhood in the belief that women

should avoid anything that will make a man, particularly the husband, lose face (or disgrace the husband). For example, if there is an argument between a man and a woman, the woman is expected to “give in” or “surrender”, because the Igbo believed that, it is much more difficult for a man to back down than for a woman. In addition, “a woman is never encouraged to speak against her husband publicly; she is also never allowed to do or say anything that will embarrass her husband” (Nwoye, 1998:92).

The Sesotho, especially most of the Sesotho residing in Bloemfontein and those who participated in this study, believed in the principle of 50-50⁴⁴. According to Zulu (2004:158), “one thing that becomes evident with respect to the gender and cultural representations of men and women characters in Sesotho is that they are seen in terms of patriarchal culture”. Traditionalists respect their cultural places and roles in life according to the dictates of patriarchally determined feminine and masculine virtues. Zulu states further that the Sesotho women and their men who comply with this patriarchal directive are the initiated traditional illiterate rural men and women. The males and females in towns and townships who ignore this traditional rule (male superiority over female) and practice the principle of 50-50 are seen “as single, immoral, independent and arrogant by traditionalists”. They are often ridiculed by the elders for ignoring their culture, while embracing the foreign culture.

Pertaining to interview question 14 (*During conversations, are there any restrictions on what women can say and what they cannot say?*), 87.5% of the Igbo participants interviewed said that there are no restrictions on what Igbo women can say and what they cannot say, compare their questionnaire response (74%). But the study carried out by Nwoye (1998:88) states that “gender equality exists only in theory, in practice, the male has a higher status than the female and this is reflected in speech”. However, personal observations and interactions with the Igbo men and women in Bloemfontein show that Igbo women talk freely when they are interacting with either

⁴⁴ “50 - 50” is a common saying among Sesotho female that they have equal rights in everything with their male counterpart. For example, in maintaining the family, they believe that they (female) should contribute 50% while men equally contribute 50%; and that also in speech, each person either male or female, has equal right to talk about anything.

men or women on any topic especially with close acquaintances. For example, the recording made among friends shows how free the two participants were because they are friends and their age differences from their physical appearances are not much. Inequality only exists in a talk if a speaker is talking with a person who is not of the same age, status nor a friend or family member. Inequality seems to prevail more in formal contexts. For example, the interaction between the Igbo patient and the Sesotho nurse shows that although there is no much differences in their age, the way the Igbo woman was responding to the nurse's question indicates different in their status.

Twelve percent (12.5%) of the Igbo participants were of the opinion that there are some restrictions on what women can say and where they can say it. But these people could not give any tangible reasons to support their claim, except the two Igbo respondents who said that:

- i. Women are not allowed to talk or say anything about masquerade⁴⁵; and
- ii. Women are not allowed to be present or contribute during bargaining of the bride's price.

The results from the recorded interactions, on different discourse styles in connection with gender are addressed under different sub-topics: turn-taking, interruption, discourse dominance and code-switching. Nonetheless, the recorded interactions, especially the ones recorded in the shop and among friends reveal no difference between the genders during the interactions, on the aspect of dominance. The results confirm Woods' (1988:141) opinion that it is not gender which causes men to dominate women during interaction. Rather, the power and status of the conversational participants has a strong and predictable effect upon the conversational dominance. Woods states further that, where women are in positions

⁴⁵ "Masquerade" refers to masked men who are used in Igbo culture to represent the ancestors. It is used as a form of entertaining during festivals or during the burial of heroes. The boys who are 12 years old or above are initiated into the secrets of "the masquerade"; however, "the masquerade" in traditional Igbo society excludes women. Women are not allowed to know the secrecy of masquerade, neither are they allow to ask questions, talk about masquerade or to discuss anything relating to masquerade.

of power, they will dominate conversation in the same way similar to men in that position; and men dominance behaviour will diminish or disappear where they (the men) are in subordinate positions.

This section presented, analysed and discussed the results on language and gender. The genders of the respondents are not equally represented (84% males and 16% females) in the study, as well as in the preliminary study – 88.6% males and 11.4% females (see Section 2.3). However, the results show that although the Igbo and the Sesotho participants did not speak more freely than their male counterparts during interactions, the majority of the participants (74% Igbo and 77% Sesotho) agreed that there is no restriction on what women can say, except the Sesotho people who have the language of respect. The Sesotho married women's language is in a way restricted, as they are not traditionally allowed to mention the name of their in-laws; rather, the tradition makes available alternative forms for their use in place of the actual names. However, the Sesotho married women that participated in this study and those who resided in the cities did not follow this tradition (*Hlonipha*). In addition, the recorded interactions made in shop, among friends and in the church did not show that there are restrictions on what women can say or what they cannot say.

5.4.1.2.5.1 Presentation of results on derogatory words

This section presents results on the derogatory words used to refer to both males and females in the two languages (Igbo and Sesotho). The results on question 17 (*Are there any derogatory word(s) used to refer to Igbo women?*), show that 97% of the Igbo participants were of the opinion that there are derogatory words used to refer to the Igbo women, 2% did not know, while 1% did not respond to the question. On the Sesotho side, 99% of the Sesotho participants believed that there are derogatory words used to refer to the Sesotho women, while 1% did not respond to the question. The results show that there are derogatory words used to refer to women in both languages.

Responses on question 49 (*What are the derogatory (insulting, offensive) words used to refer to women in your language. For example English has words, such as*

prostitute, harlot, bitch and mistress?) are summarised in Tables 5.26 and 5.27. The Igbo derogatory words given by the Igbo participants in this study are shown in Table 5.26 below.

Table 5.26 Igbo derogatory words for women

	Igbo words	English translation
1	Nwoke or nwaanyị-aga	Barren woman
2	Amụosu	Witch
3	Ashawo*/Ọkụ enu	Prostitute
4	Ajadu/nwaanyị isi mkpe	Widow

The words in the above Table 5.26 are different derogatory words used to refer to women, which do not have masculine form in Igbo. The word which is followed by an asterisk, “*ashawo*” is a Yoruba word and is borrowed and commonly used among the Igbo. “*Nwoke*” literally means “a male”, but when it is used to refer to a woman, it means a person who cannot conceive (that is “barren”).

The Igbo word “*Ajadu/nwaanyị isi mkpe*), literally is not supposed to be derogatory. But looking at the word linguistically, it really shows the position of women in Igbo society. For example, a bereaved husband and a bereaved wife are equivalent in English for the husband and wife who have undergone the loss of a partner. But in Igbo, there is no common word for a man that loses his wife. In addition, a woman who loses her husband mourns him for a longer time in comparison with the period of time the man mourns the wife. Also, the widow is associated with deprivations, needs, ill-treatments (from the in-laws), and feeling of pity from everybody around who cares for her, which is never the case with the man who loses his wife. Therefore, when someone is talking and make a comment such as: “*Ọ dika nwaanyị isi mkpe*”, (she looks like a widow), the person being referred to, is in a pitiable condition.

Apart from the above derogatory words used to refer to Igbo women as obtained from the study, the researcher got the following derogatory words from an Igbo woman who visited her friend in the University of the Free State during the course of the study:

Igbo words	English translation
i. “ <i>Ajakaaja nwaanyị</i> ”	Wild woman
ii. “ <i>Nkịta ara</i> ”	Cantankerous woman
iii. “ <i>Ọgbanje</i> ⁴⁶ ”	Evil possessed female child
iv. “ <i>Akwụnakwuna</i> ”	Prostitute

On the Sesotho part, the derogatory words used to refer to women in Sesotho as given by the Sesotho participants are shown in Table 5.27.

⁴⁶ “*Ọgbanje*” is a child who is believed by the Igbo people to be evil possessed. The child is believed to repeatedly die after a few days of her birth and come back again and again to the same family to make her parents suffer.

Table 5.27 Sesotho derogatory words for women

Sesotho words	Translation
i. Sefebe	Prostitute
Mokubata	
Sehlola	
Pere	
Lehure	
Lekgosha	
Letekatsi	
Dikwena	
Nyatsi	
ii. Nyopa	Barren woman
iii. Moloji	Witch
iv. Lefetoa	Old and unmarried woman
v. Molotsana	Devious person
vi. Dinwamadi	Parasite

There is no difference between the responses gathered from the interview question 15 (*Are there any derogatory (insulting, offensive) words or expressions used to refer to the Igbo and the Sesotho women only, If yes, what are the words?*) and those of question number 17 of the questionnaire (from both the Igbo and the Sesotho participants).

On the response on the man's side, question 18 (*Are there any derogatory word(s) used to refer to Igbo men?*), 69% of the Igbo participants were of the opinion that there are no derogatory words for men in Igbo, 24% of the Igbo participants said that there are derogatory words for men, while 7% did not know if there are derogatory words used to refer to Igbo men. In responding to the same question 18 (*Are there any derogatory word(s) used to refer to Sesotho men?*), 81% of the Sesotho participants believed that Sesotho men too have derogatory words used to refer to

them, while 19% of the Sesotho participants did not know if there are derogatory words used to refer to Sesotho men.

On question 50 (*What are the derogatory, “insulting, or offensive” words used to refer to men in your language?*) The Igbo participants gave the following derogatory words for men in Igbo as shown in Table 5.28.

Table 5.28 Igbo derogatory words for men

	Igbo words	Translation
1	Okokporo	Bachelor (old and unmarried man)
2	Akanaoghorì/ Ofeke/agafu	Irresponsible man
3	Nwaanyi/agbala ⁴⁷	Non-title-man
4	Abalìdìegwu/Agamevu/Omekome	Robber

Derogatory words are not only used to refer to women. The words listed in Table 5.28 show how society sees men, when these words are used to refer to them.

The derogatory words used to refer to Sesotho men as given by the Sesotho participants are shown in Table 5.29.

⁴⁷ “*Agbala*” is an Igbo word meaning “idol” but it is equally used to refer to a man who does not take a title or defend himself and his family as a man.

Table 5.29 Sesotho derogatory words for men

	Sesotho words	Translation
1	Tsotsi	Pickpocket
2	Marashea	Miner
3	Serathana	Irresponsible man
4	Mahlalela	Lazy person
5	Lehlabaphiyo	Bat/spy
6	Sehlola	Womaniser
7	Mongala	Bachelor (old and unmarried)

The interview responses on question 15 (*Are there any derogatory (insulting, offensive) words or expressions used to refer to men only? If yes, what are the words?*), were no different from what was obtained from the questionnaire responses. All the interview responses match the answers to the questionnaire responses. According to one of the participants, the word “*marashea*” naturally is not meant to be derogatory, but calling a person who is not a miner “*marashea*” implies that the person is wretched.

The study reveals that there are derogatory words for both men and women, as presented in Tables 5.26 to 5.29. However, “*nwoke or nwaanyi-aga*” and “*nyopa*” in Igbo and Sesotho, respectively, are used to refer to “barren women”, but there are no such words for men who are impotent. This means that when a woman cannot conceive, whether the problem is from her or her husband, she is the one that society blames and ridicules.

The words “*serathana*” and “*akanaogho/ofeke*” means “irresponsible man” in Sesotho and Igbo, respectively, but they do not have equivalence for woman in the two languages. Examples of derogatory words in Igbo include “*nwaanyi*” or “*agbala*” (meaning “woman” or “idol”). When these words are used to refer to a man, the speaker insinuates that the man is “not a man enough” (he does not have a title or is not a match to other respected and responsible men in society). For example, in

Things Fall Apart, Achebe narrates the ordeal of Okonkwo in these words “... Okonkwo still remembered how he had suffered when a play-mate had told him that his father was “*agbala*”. Chinua explains that this was how Okonkwo first came to know that “*agbala*” was not only another name for a woman, but could also mean a man who had taken no title” (Achebe, 1958:13).

The study reveals that the roles and responsibilities of people are expressed through language. Also, the society sets an ideal way of life for the people and when one goes contrary to that, one is ridiculed, through appropriate words or expressions. These derogatory words influence the way people live, except a situation which is beyond human control, such as being barren.

5.4.2 Results on language stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments

On question 24 (*Do you have words used to refer to foreigners?*), 85% of the Igbo participants ascertained that they have words used to refer to foreigners, 4% of the Igbo participants said that the Igbo people do not have such words, 7% of the Igbo participants did not know if the Igbo people have words used to refer to foreigners, while 4% did not respond to the question. Ninety-nine percent (99%) of the Sesotho respondents ascertained that there are words used in Sesotho to refer to foreigners, while 1% of the Sesotho respondents did not respond to the question (see Tables 5.21 and 5.23).

When asked to mention such words — question 51 (*What are the words used to refer to foreigners in your language?*), the Igbo participants mentioned only two words used in Igbo to refer to foreigner, which are:

Igbo words	English translation
i. “ <i>Onye</i> ⁴⁸ <i>ɔbja</i> ”	“Foreigner”
ii. “ <i>Ndi mbjambja/mbjarambjara</i> ”	“Foreigners/stranger”

⁴⁸ “*Onye*” means singular noun, while “*Ndi*” means Plural noun.

Most of the Igbo participants (62%) did not respond to the question. Eight percent (8%) of the Igbo participants state that they did not know, while the above expressions summarise the responses of 30% of the Igbo participants. The above two phrases “*onye ɔbja*” and “*ndi mbjambja/mbjarambjara*” mean the same thing; “foreigner”. The only difference is that the first one is used in a positive way in all contexts, while the second one is rarely used positively, according to the participants. It is often used when the foreigner is not welcomed or accepted in the community.

The words used to refer to foreigner(s) in the Sesotho language as gathered from the study are shown in Table 5.30.

Table 5.30 Sesotho words for foreigner(s)

Sesotho words	English translation
i. Lekwerekwere Makwerekwere	foreigner
ii. Mazwanzwiri	
iii. Lekomfere	
iv. Matswantle*	
v. Siya thengisa	
vi. Bomokgotsi*	
vii. Magrigamba	

Apart from “iv” and “vi” which are followed by an asterisk, all other words are negative words used to refer to foreigners in Sesotho. The words with asterisk are mostly used positively to refer to foreigners. Even the words in “iv” and “vi”, are sometimes used negatively to refer to foreigners, depending on the tone of the speaker’s voice, according to the respondents.

Some of these words, such as “*lekwerekwere*”⁴⁹, “*makwerekwere*”⁵⁰ “*magrigamba*” and “*mazwanzwiri*” according to the Sesotho participants are the negative words generally used to refer to African foreigners.

“*Lekomfere*” means someone from afar and is often used negatively to refer to foreigners.

“*Matswantle*” is a Sesotho common word for foreigners; it is never used negatively in any context according to the respondents.

“*Siya thengisa*” is an isiZulu phrase meaning “we are selling”. But the Sesotho people use this phrase negatively to refer to foreigners, especially the foreigners who sell things from house to house.

“*Bomokgotsi*” is a Sesotho word, meaning “friend”. Since some foreigners tend to address them (the Sesotho) as “friend” probably because they do not know or remember their names, in return, the Sesotho equally address foreigners with the word which is not meant negatively in any way.

On question 25 (*Do you think that Sesotho people like these words?*), that is, words used to refer to foreigners, 4% of the Igbo participants said that the Sesotho like such words, 41% of the Igbo participants believed that the Sesotho would not like if they are addressed with such words, 39% did not know if the Sesotho people would like such words, while 16% of the Igbo participants did not respond to the question. Although the Igbo people use these words only in their traditional society to refer to foreigners, they do not have any context in Bloemfontein where they can use them, especially to refer to the Sesotho. In responding to the same question 25 (*Do you think that Igbo people like words used to refer to foreigners?*), 61% of the Sesotho participants said that the Igbo people would not like such words, 37% did not know if

⁴⁹ “*Le*” in Sesotho means singular

⁵⁰ “*Ma*” in Sesotho means plural

Igbo people would like such words, while 2% of the Sesotho participants did not respond to the question.

On question 26 (*If you are being referred to with such words, would you be happy?*), 87% of the Igbo participants believed that they would not be happy if they were addressed or referred to with such words. One percent (1%) would be happy if they were addressed with such words, 5% of the Igbo participants did not know if they would be happy when addressed or referred to with such words, while 6% did not respond to the question. Eighty-nine percent (89%) of the Sesotho participants would not be happy if someone referred to them with such words, 2% did not know if they would be happy, while 9% of the Sesotho participants did not respond to the question.

The results show that people would not be happy when referred to with words used to refer to foreigners. It means that anybody who uses the words to refer to foreigners has a negative attitude towards the person s/he is referring to. According to Van Dijk (1998:223), negative attitudes or prejudiced attitudes show both in discriminatory actions and are communicated to other group members of the society through unbalanced media reports (see Section 3.3.1) which may result in xenophobic sentiments.

In responding to question 27 (*Do you think that these words contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa?*), 92% of the Igbo participants believed that such words do not contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa, 3% did not know if the words contribute to xenophobic sentiments, while 5% did not respond to the question. Sixty-seven percent (67%) of the Sesotho participants believed that these kinds of words used to refer to foreigners do not contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa, 9% of the Sesotho participants believed that such words contribute to xenophobic sentiments, while 24% of the Sesotho participants did not respond to the question.

The results from the study reveal that words used to refer to foreigners are not perceived to contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa. The xenophobic sentiments started in Alexandra in 11th May, 2009, through the dissemination of

information from the media, it spread to other parts of the country. According to Pillay (2008:13), anti-foreigner sentiments expressed uncritically in the media or through official channels can however contribute indirectly to the creation of an enabling environment within which anti-foreigner sentiments can flourish in the popular discourse. According to him, “the causes of xenophobic sentiments in South Africa are perception of a relative deprivation (a general sense of feeling deprived of something to which a person or groups feels entitled to), poverty, and levels of inequality”. Although all the reasons or factors that lead to xenophobic sentiments are social, they are expressed with language and might be escalated in the media through the use of language. According to Van Dijk (1988b:169) people often let media account for their knowledge, beliefs and opinions about ethnic minority groups: including the foreigners. The media often portray the minority and the foreigners negatively in terms of problems, whether as causing problems of different types (in immigration, crime, employment, housing or welfare), or as having problems and in need of help. In this way, the media reproduce a dominant consensus, often pre-formulated by different political, social or academic elite, but also produce their own focused, stereotypical picture of minorities, thereby contributing to and confirming the prevailing prejudices in society at large (Van Dijk, 1988a).

Pertaining to interview question 18 (*Do you think that language contributes to xenophobic sentiments and stereotypes in South Africa?*), 83.3% (15 males and 5 females) of the Igbo people interviewed said that language did not contribute to the recent xenophobic sentiments in the country, while 16.6% (only female) do not know. Eighty percent (80%) of the Sesotho people interviewed reported that language does not contribute to recent xenophobic sentiments, while 20% of the Sesotho people interviewed said that they did not know.

Cities like Bloemfontein are often subjected to external influences due to mass migration of people in search of better life. The migrants are sometimes faced with problem of acceptance by the host community, as they (the migrants) are often seen as competing for limited resources with their hosts. The xenophobic sentiments have motivated research on the problems encountered by immigrants in South Africa, which may include the impact of language of the media. This is because language is

an embodiment of culture and an easy resource to access the community, as well as to disseminate information.

The study reveals that the Igbo and the Sesotho people have words used to refer to foreigners. Some of these words are positive, while others are negative. The study further reveals that most of the respondents (87% Igbo and 89% Sesotho) will not like somebody to refer to them with such words. From three years of living and staying with the Sesotho people and interacting with the Igbo people in Bloemfontein, the researcher can say that the meaning of these words may be positive but the way the words are being used to address the foreigners, the contexts of its use, as well as the way the foreigners, the Igbo in particular perceives these words are negative. In addition, the inability to understand the other group's language can turn the positive words into negative, thereby leading to xenophobic sentiments. The negative perception of these words can mar intercultural communication between two groups in contact.

On the contrary, the results on language stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments in summary show that the words used to refer to foreigners do not contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa, and therefore do not mar the relation between the two groups (the Igbo and the Sesotho).

5.4.2.1 Presentation of results on language use in the newspapers

One thing this study needs to point out on this section is that any news in South African newspapers does not specifically refer to the Igbo, rather "the news" points at Nigerians in general. With this generalisation, the study solicits information to determine the percentage of the Igbo in Bloemfontein out of all the Nigerians residing in Bloemfontein.

With regard to interview question 19 (*Among 10 Nigerians you know in Bloemfontein, how many are Igbo?*),⁵¹ out of the 33 Nigerians interviewed (see Section 4.3.4.2.2 on the backgrounds of the respondents), three people said that 50% of Nigerian in Bloemfontein they know are Igbo, seven participants said 60% of all Nigerians in Bloemfontein they know are Igbo, 12 people said that 70% of all Nigerians in Bloemfontein they know are Igbo, 8 participants said that 80% of all Nigerians in Bloemfontein they know are Igbo, two people interviewed said that 90% of all Nigerians in Bloemfontein they know are Igbo, while only one person said all (100%) the Nigerians he knows in Bloemfontein are Igbo.

In summary, the participants believed that 70% of the Nigerians in Bloemfontein are Igbo. Although the references in South African newspapers refer to Nigerians in general, the names of Nigerians in the South African newspapers tell Nigerians the tribe the person comes from, which is often Igbo. For example, the names of the people in the four newspapers (Star, Daily News, Sunday Tribune and City Press) randomly selected on xenophobic sentiments for this study all contains Igbo names. The names as indicated in these newspapers are: Christopher Iheukwuneme, Edwin Chukwudi, Chidi Ugwu and Tony Nnachetta (see Appendix 13a to d). This shows the dominance of the Igbo people in South Africa, generally, and in Bloemfontein, specifically.

With regard to question 34 which elicits if the participants read newspapers, almost all the participants (100% Igbo and 98% Sesotho) ascertained that they read newspapers, only 2% (the Sesotho) did not respond to the question.

In responding to question 46 on the frequency with which the participants read the newspapers, the results from both the Igbo and the Sesotho participants reveal the high frequency with which the participants read newspapers. Eleven percent (11%) and 89% of the Igbo participants always and often read the newspapers,

⁵¹ This question was addressed to Nigerians (the Igbo and all the people who comes from Nigeria and resides in Bloemfontein) in Bloemfontein (see Section 4.6.2.5), who the researcher could reach during the time of this study. This question excludes the Sesotho participants, as they are not familiar with different language groups in Nigeria.

respectively. Nineteen percent (19%) and 78% of the Sesotho participants always and often read newspapers respectively, while 3% of the Sesotho participants did not respond to the question.

With regard to question 35 (*Does the language use in South African newspapers portray the Igbo people negatively?*), the participants' responses indicate that 89% of the Igbo participants are of the opinion that the language used in South African newspapers portrays the Igbo people as negative or bad, while 11% did not know if the language used in South African newspapers portrays the Igbo in a negative way. In responding to the same question, 69% of the Sesotho participants believed that the language used to portray the Igbo is not negative or bad, while 13% said the language to portray the Igbo is bad. Eighteen percent (18%) of the Sesotho participants did not know if the language used in South African newspapers portrays the Igbo as positive or negative.

On question 36 (*Does the language used in South African newspapers portray the Sesotho people negatively*), 58% of the Igbo respondents believed that the language used in South Africa newspapers does not portray the Sesotho as negative or bad, 24% said that the language used in South African newspapers portrays the Sesotho as being bad, 13% of the Igbo respondents did not know if the language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers is bad, while 5% did not respond to the question. Eighty-five percent (85%) of the Sesotho participants did not know if the language used to portray the Sesotho people in South African newspapers is negative or bad, 13% of the Sesotho participants said that the language used to portray the Sesotho people in South African newspapers is bad, while 2% did not respond to the question.

Table 5.31 Igbo responses to the rating of language of newspapers

RESPONSES							
S/N	DESCRIPTIONS	V/G	G	F	B	V/B	D/K
47	The Igbo rating of the language used to portray the Igbo in South African newspapers	—	—	3	87	9	1
48	The Igbo rating of the language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers	6	24	5 1	12	—	7

Key: V/G: Very Good; G: Good; F: Fair; B: Bad; V/B: Very Bad.

Table 5.31 on rating the language used to portray the Igbo in South African newspapers, the results show that 87% of the Igbo participants stated that the language used to portray the Igbo in South African newspapers is bad, 3% is of the opinion that the language used to portray the Igbo in South African newspapers is fair, 9% said that the language used to portray the Igbo in South African newspapers is very bad, while 1% did not know. In responding to the question on language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers, while 6% and 24% of the Igbo participants reported that the language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers is “very good” and “good”, respectively, 51% believed that the language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers is fair. Twelve percent (12%) said that the language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers is bad, while 7% did not know the kind of language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers.

Table 5.32 Sesotho responses to the rating of language of newspapers

RESPONSES							
S/N	DESCRIPTIONS	V/G	G	F	B	V/B	D/K
47	The Sesotho rating of the language used to portray the Igbo in South African newspapers	—	2	23	30	—	45
48	The Sesotho rating of the language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers	18	64	10	—	—	8

Table 5.32 reveals that 2% of the Sesotho participants said that the language used to portray the Igbo in South African newspapers is good, 23% were of the opinion that the language used to portray the Igbo in South African newspapers is fair, 30% believed that the language used to portray the Igbo in South African newspapers is bad, while 45% did not know if the language used to portray the Igbo in South African newspapers is good or bad. With regard to question 48, on rating the language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers, 18% of the Sesotho participants believed that the language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers is very good, 64% believed that the language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers is good, 10% believed that the language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers is fair, while 8% of the Sesotho participants did not respond to the question.

All the 54 participants (100%) stated in their responses to interview questions 17 (*Do you read newspapers? If, "Yes", what image do these newspapers portray of the Igbo people on one hand and the Sesotho people on the other hand?*), that they read newspapers. On the image these newspapers portray of the Igbo, 62.5% of the Igbo people interviewed said that the language used to portray the Igbo in South African newspapers is bad, that South African newspapers write only bad things about them (the Igbo), while 37.5% said that they did not know how south African newspaper portray Igbo people. Concerning the language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers, 54.1% of the Igbo people interviewed said that the language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers is good, 8.3% (all males) said that the language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers is bad, while 37.5% (5 males and 4 females) did not know if the language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers is good or bad.

On the Sesotho side, 3.3% (males only) said that the language used in South African newspapers portrays the Igbo as good, 16.6% (also all males) said that the language used in South African newspapers portrays the Igbo people as bad, while 80% (9 males and 15 females) of the Sesotho respondents did not know whether the language used in South African newspapers portrays the Igbo as good or not. In responding to the issue of language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers, 50% (9 males and 6 females) said that the language used to portray

the Sesotho in South African newspapers is good, while the remaining 50% (6 male and 9 female) did not know if the language used to portray the Sesotho in South African newspapers is good or bad.

The participants believed that the majority of Nigerians in Bloemfontein (70%) are Igbo, and the portrayal of the Igbo in South African newspapers is negative, from the views of both the Igbo and the Sesotho respondents. However, the portrayal of the Sesotho in South African newspapers is good from the responses of the Igbo and the Sesotho respondents. Although the preliminary study reveals that 53% of Igbo married men married South African women (see Section 2.3), the marriage did not rule out the negative perception of foreigners (and the Igbo specifically) in the eyes of the South Africans, which is evidenced in the newspapers. This confirms Pillay's (2008:21) opinion, that there is a widespread perception that Nigerians in particular (which are mostly Igbo) are involved in high-level organised crime, in particular drug trafficking, which draws in young people as partners to this crime and has led to an escalating problem of addiction and drug abuse.

In summary, the Igbo, like other African groups are portrayed negatively by South African media. This is because South Africans see these Igbo and other African people as totally dependent on their economy; competing with locals with their limited resources and therefore their perception and any news in South African newspaper about these foreigners are often negative.

5.5: Conclusion

As the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein share English as their common language, an assessment of their discourse features (turn-taking, interruption, code-switching and discourse dominance) during interactions or conversations is important. Also, the investigation into which language is used by different genders is necessary, since the two groups are involved in intermarriage. The increased opportunities for communication or interactions between the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein have motivated this study on intercultural discourse between the two groups.

People use language to express their emotions and feelings to one another. Language is also used to express other people's character, and appreciate people or nature. The attitudes and the kinds of relationships that exist among the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein are evaluated. The findings of the study show that the two groups have positive attitudes and feelings towards one another, and that English is most widely used in different contexts by the participants, which is followed by Sesotho, the language of most people residing in Bloemfontein. To live and communicate effectively with people from other cultural and linguistic backgrounds in a city, such as Bloemfontein, one needs to master the common language(s), which is English and Sesotho (the language of the immediate environment). According to Bonvillain (2003:299), "in multilingual communities, each language has a particular status, one (or some) having greater prestige than others". However, each language a person can speak is assigned to a (or some) particular context(s) where it is used more than the other.

The study also discloses the kind of discourse features they employ during interactions. The frequency with which the Igbo and the Sesotho use English, Igbo, Sesotho, Afrikaans, Setswana, NP in different contexts and where they do not use each of the languages are equally revealed by the study. The study further reveals that the issue of dominance in interaction cannot be attributed to any group or gender (refer to Section 5.4.1.2.5).

Lastly, the study reveals that the language used in South African newspapers portrays the Igbo negatively, while the portrayal of the Sesotho in the same newspapers is positive. But none of the respondents (the Igbo and the Sesotho) believed that language use in South African newspapers contributes to the recent xenophobic sentiments in the country.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a general overview of the study. It also presents an overall conclusion to the study and recommendations for further research. The study was motivated by the movement of the Igbo from Nigeria to Bloemfontein where they meet up with, live with and communicate with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, especially the Sesotho.

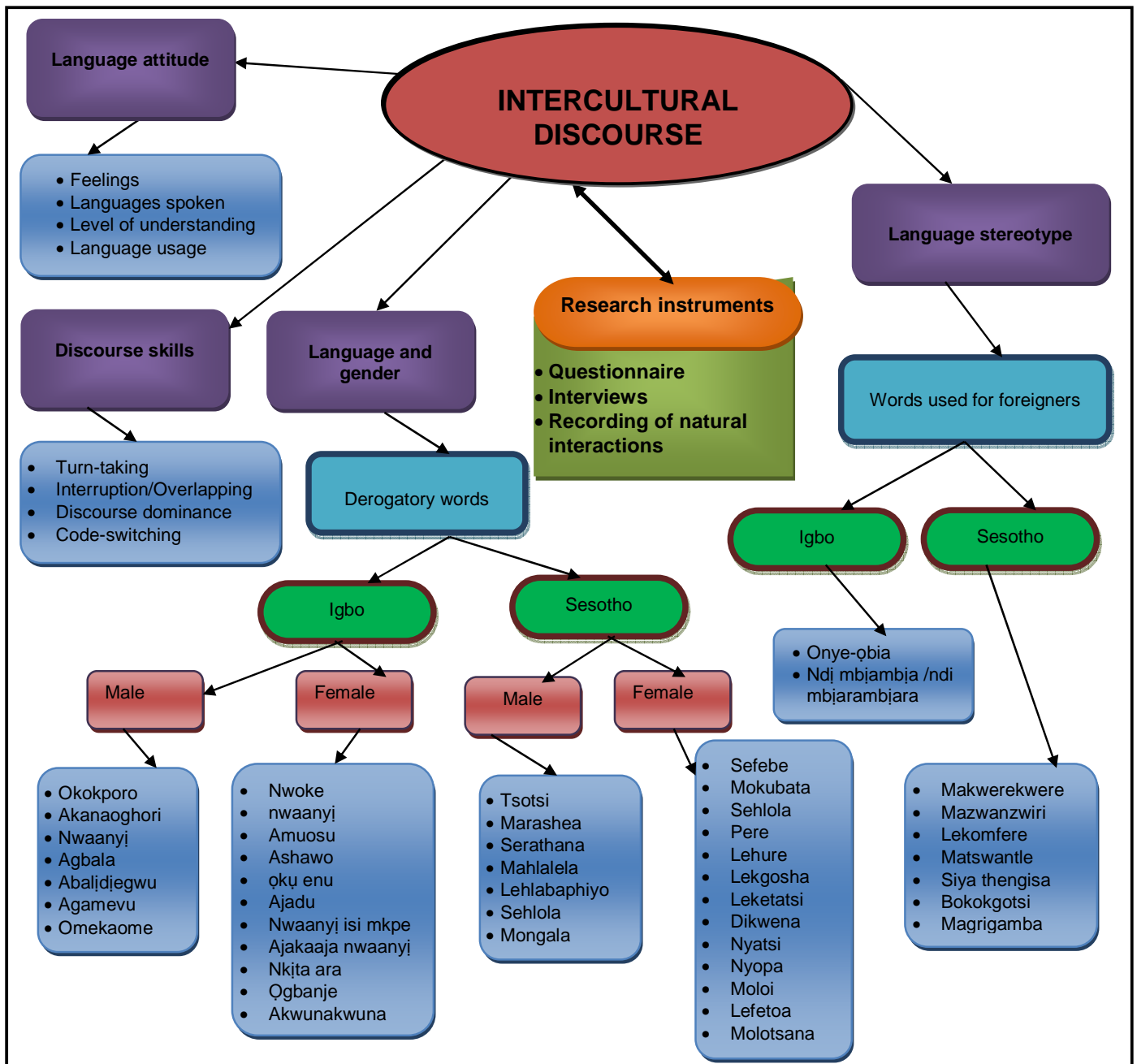
Most of the Igbo people who settle in Bloemfontein marry the Sesotho partners. The intermarriage that exists among the Igbo and the Sesotho people, and the way the Igbo people in Bloemfontein use language was one of the issues that prompted the researcher to conduct the preliminary study. The preliminary study reveals that the Igbo people in Bloemfontein are multilingual. The manners in which they use language are of interest, as they use different languages when communicating to their wives, children, friends or customers. The different languages and the contexts in which they use these languages motivated the current investigation.

This study explored different discourse features employed by the Igbo and the Sesotho people during interaction. The study assessed the varieties of languages spoken by the Igbo and the Sesotho people, the common language between the two groups, as well as the different contexts in which these languages are used. The study further investigated whether there are restrictions on the speech of women, in comparison to their male counterparts, and assesses derogatory words used to refer to both males and females in the two languages (Igbo and Sesotho). The portrayal of the Igbo and the Sesotho people in South African newspapers was also explored. The study equally assessed the words used to refer to foreigners, and if the participants feel that such words contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa.

6.2 Overview of the study

The study examined the intercultural discourse between the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein using three instruments, namely questionnaire, interviews and recordings of natural interactions in different contexts. Figure 6.1 below provides a schematic overview of the research.

Figure 6.1 Overview of the study



People migrate for different reasons, such as education, sports, business, tourism and to get away from natural disasters (like floods, wars and earthquakes). These movements lead to intercultural discourse. As discovered from this study, 71.5% of all the respondents (the Igbo and the Sesotho people) were business people. In addition, 86% of Igbo people in Bloemfontein, as revealed from the preliminary study, were into business.

Intercultural discourse occurs when people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds are in direct contact. As people travel, their languages and cultures travel with them. The Igbo people, although a minority group in Bloemfontein, are one of the major tribes in Nigeria, alongside Hausa and Yoruba. They are loyal to their language, as they use it often with their fellow Igbo people and their children (see Sections 5.3.3 and 5.2.12, respectively). However, the children did not have a good mastering of the language as they suppose, because they understood Igbo but could not speak it.

Figure 6.1 shows the four different areas explored in this study: language attitudes, discourse features, language and gender, and language stereotypes. The Igbo in Bloemfontein are exposed mostly to English, Igbo, NP and Sesotho (the language of the immediate environment); 45 out of 100 Igbo participants could understand and speak Sesotho (see Section 5.2.9). The understanding of Sesotho by some Igbo people in Bloemfontein, gives them (the Igbo) the opportunity to socialise and interact with the Sesotho in their own language. They maintain their identity, and at the same time interact freely with the Sesotho in their language without barrier. Deumert (2006:63) points out that “language can act as an obstacle to civic participation, and thus lead to social exclusion, and a lack of access to labour markets, health services and education”. The knowledge of many languages, especially being able to speak and understand the language of one’s immediate environment enables one to identify with the people and feel part of the society and communicate freely.

The results from the study reveals that Sesotho and Setswana are mutually intelligible (see Section 2.4.2) and quite a number of the Igbo people (68 in the preliminary study and 45 in this main study) could understand and speak Sesotho.

However, the results from the Igbo participants do not show that the Igbo participants use Sesotho and Setswana to interact with their children and spouse. But, there is every possibility that the Igbo people in Bloemfontein who understand and speak Sesotho (Setswana inclusive) use it in every context (wherever they meet Sesotho or Setswana speaking), including with their children and spouse. The frequency of its use among the children and spouse, nonetheless, may be low in comparison with the frequency of their use in the shops and among their Sesotho and Setswana friends.

With regard to the attitudes and feelings among the Igbo and the Sesotho towards one another, the study reveals that most of the two groups (average of 97%) like communicating with each other, either “always” or “often”. The positive attitude and feelings among the two groups may be attributed to the high rate of intermarriage between them. The study also reveals that both groups are comfortable, confident and relaxed when interacting with one another. However, the number of both the Igbo and the Sesotho participants who are of the contrary are very small (3%), and they consist of those who are not in intermarriage or in any intercultural relationship (see Section 5.4.1.1b).

The study discloses a total of 16 different languages (see Table 5.9) spoken by all the 200 participants. These languages are used in different contexts (in shops, churches, mosques, hospitals, among friends, with strangers, at homes, at schools and at bus stations) by the participants, as presented in Tables 5.15 to 5.20. However, the frequency at which one language is used rather than the other by these participants might vary from one context to another.

The study explored the six languages most frequently spoken by the Igbo and the Sesotho people. The languages assessed were English, Igbo, Sesotho, Afrikaans and Setswana, including Nigerian Pidgin. Furthermore, the Igbo people were assessed on the different contexts in which they use Sesotho. This is because 24% of the Igbo that participated in the preliminary research could understand and speak Sesotho. Among these six languages assessed, English is the only common language used by all the participants in this study. The frequency of its use by the participants varied from one context to another (see Figures 5.12 to 5.14). Therefore,

English is the lingua franca for the Igbo and the Sesotho people living in Bloemfontein (see Sections 2.2.4 and 2.4.3). The study reveals that English is not only used in intercultural communication between the Igbo and the Sesotho, but it is also the language participants use to communicate most frequently (see Tables 5.12 and 5.13, respectively) in different contexts.

This study reveals that the Igbo people, who understand and speak Sesotho, use it in all contexts, whenever they are in contact with Sesotho speaking, especially those that do not understand English. The research results further indicate that the Igbo people use both Igbo and English in discourse with their children. However, these Igbo people often switch from English, Igbo and NP when interacting with their Igbo friends, and also switch to other languages, which are common to them and their addressees. Meanwhile, they are comfortable with the switches. The Sesotho people use English when interacting with a person that does not understand Sesotho or Setswana. This is because, all the Sesotho people as gathered from the study are proficient in both languages; Sesotho and Setswana (see Section 2.4.2), as they are mutually intelligible.

In addition, some basic forms of organisation of interactions, such as turn-taking, interruption/overlapping and discourse dominance were explored. Code-switching among the Igbo and the Sesotho people during interactions were also one of the issues investigated.

At this juncture, it is important to point out that the style and organisation of interactions vary according to the context and activity in which one is engaged, and the relationships between the participants of the interaction. For example, the style of informal conversations at home with siblings, and among friends differs from that of formal contexts, such as at shop (buying and selling), giving a lecture or speech at school, and during sermon at the church. Holmes (2008:236) states that the better you know someone, the more casual and relaxed the speech style you will use to interact with the person, while a speaker uses more standard forms with a stranger.

With regards to turn-taking, the allocation of turns and turn-taking management between the participants vary which is based on the participants, the context of

discussion, the status and the age of the interactants. The questionnaire results reveal that the Igbo and the Sesotho participants agreed to take turns during interactions. However, turn-taking varied from one context to another. The recordings made in the study reveal that people take turns during interaction, but, there is no pre-assigned rule to the interactants on who speaks first, second or last. Interactants take their respective turns and equally interrupt one another, which is revealed by the five recordings made in this study (see appendices 6 to 10). According to Settineri (n.d.:171), in conversations, such as the one between friends, family members, teachers and learners, shop-keepers and customers, doctors and patients, the order and allocation of turns vary, while, within other speech-exchange systems, such as debates and interviews, turns are pre-allocated, and the time allocated is limited.

Interruption is another discourse feature explored in this study. The study assessed the way in which the Igbo and the Sesotho people interrupt one another during interactions. According to Livingston, Flowers, Hoder and Ryan (2000:236), interruption is an unsuccessful turn transition, which results in a breakdown in the turn exchange system. The results from the questionnaire from both groups show equal responses: most participants were of the opinion that they do not interrupt another person during interactions. Although the participants did not affirm interrupting one another during conversations, the data from the recorded interactions and what happens in real life situations are often contradictory. People often interrupt others unconsciously. It is, however, difficult to determine from all the recordings made in this study the group that interrupts most. This is because interruptions in conversation are based on the relationships that exist between the participants.

Pertaining to the gender that interrupts most, the study reveals that interruptions in the recorded interactions were not based on gender. Rather, they depended on who the speaker and addressee are, their relationships, age differences and the context of the interaction. For example, a lecturer who has his own child in his class experiences a different relationship with his child in the class compared to his relationship with his child at home (that is lecturer-student; and parent-child relationship, respectively). In these cases, lecturers and parents are in more likely to

interrupt the student and the child, respectively, without fear of being punished. Also, interruption will be more prevalent at home between parents and children than in the school among lecturers and students.

Code-switching is the most predominant conversational skill explored in this study. The results from the questionnaire and the interviews show that all the participants code-switched during interactions (see Tables 5.20 and 5.22), at one point. The study reveals that among the interactions of the two groups recorded, most of the code-switching occurred among the Igbo (for example in the church and hospital recordings). Code-switching is a very useful social skill in interaction especially among bilinguals or multilinguals. It enhances mutual understanding, identification and personal relationships among the interactants. Code-switching is inevitable in Bloemfontein due to the multilingual situation of the city.

The recorded interactions disclosed the kind of code-switching that occurs. The study did not record total switch from one language into another, but only word(s)-phrase(s) switches (that is, mixture of words and phrases from two languages in a sentence). The only place the study encountered sentence switch is from “the home recording”. At this recording, code-switching only occurs within the children’s turns as they were making jest of their Igbo father for not understanding Sesotho (see Appendix 10). According to Reyes (2004:78), simultaneous bilinguals⁵² develop knowledge on how and when to use their two languages, depending on the addressee(s), the topic of the conversation and the situation. Due to the multilingual nature of the respondents, they switch from one language to another to identify with whomever they are interacting with, or with whoever joined the conversation. Code-switching is also used to emphasise a word or expression, as well as to be more polite, as seen in the hospital recording.

Other reasons for code-switching as gathered from this study are summarised in Table 5.25. Wolff (2000:318) asserts that when a new participant joins the verbal

⁵² Simultaneous bilinguals are people who grow with two languages simultaneously, and who switch from one code to another or who mix codes within an utterance.

interaction, speakers will often switch codes when they do not share the same mother tongue with the newcomer or when they differ in status and experience a social distance from the new participant(s). According to Chen and Jing (2008:76), code-switching is a very useful social skill in interaction, which can enhance mutual understanding and personal relationships among the interactants. In inter-ethnic communication, there is need for effective communication. Code-switching is often a feature of people from different linguistic backgrounds, as the participants are often bilinguals or monolinguals. Wolff (2000:317-318) gives more reasons for people code-switching, as follows:

- i. The multilingual repertoires⁵³ of the speakers involved and their respective degree of competence in the languages they use;
- ii. The social setting in which the communication takes place;
- iii. The number and the identity of the speakers;
- iv. The social role and status of the speakers;
- v. The social distance between the participants;
- vi. The topic of discussion;
- vii. The referential; and
- viii. The affective content of conversation.

The current study also explored the dominance of discourse in interaction among the Igbo and the Sesotho people, as well as which gender dominates the interactions. There is no evidence of one group or gender dominating the other from the study. The domination of the church recording by the Igbo man was due to some factors, such as his age (the oldest in the group) and his position (the leader and coordinator of the prayer group).

On the issue of language and gender, the study assessed whether there are any restrictions on the way women use language. In the assessment of this kind, it is necessary to note that the genders of the respondents are not balanced (84% male

⁵³ Linguistic repertoires are a range of language(s) varieties from which people select according to the context in which they are communicating (Holmes, 2008:8).

and 16% female) as mentioned in section 5.4.1.2.5. Gender differences in language use of men and women is caused by cultural constraints and is also manifested in the differences in the language they use or the language used to refer to them as seen from Nwoye (1998); (see Section 5.4.1.2.5). Gender difference is further evident in power and conversational style, dominance and the choice of topics. De Klerk (1991:93) states that “because of unequal status and unequal power distribution of the sexes in Western society, the speech of men and women has apparently evolved into two distinct varieties”, which is only evident in the language of respect; “*Hlonipho*” (see Sections 3.3.2.1 and 5.4.1.2.5). The variety of language used by women is seen to place women in the subordinate or second position in the society. Rudwick and Shange (2006:477) point out that *isiHlonipho*⁵⁴ in isiZulu culture is one of the linguistic manifestations of the general position of subordination and disempowerment of females in relation to men. The results of this present study reveal that, although women nowadays have freedom to speak in public (and they speak freely just as men in most cases) they do not speak more than their male counterparts or dominate them during interactions.

The results of the present study indicate that there seem to be no restrictions on what men or women can or cannot say during interactions as was the case of Igbo women in traditional Igbo community (see Section 5.4.1.2.5). The freedom to speak without any restrictions may be attributed to education and Western civilisation. The enlightened and educated women are sometimes seen and often referred to as “crossing speech boundaries” unlike their counterparts (uneducated and unexposed) in rural areas. However, further study on language restrictions in Sesotho reveals “*hlompha*” (language of respect) among the married women, which are not common to their male counterparts. This restriction made women not to pronounce any word relating to the name of their in-laws, as tradition demands (see Sections 3.3.2.1 and 5.4.1.2.5).

⁵⁴ “*IsiHlonipho*” is a word in isiZulu meaning a language of respect.

With regard to the derogatory words used to refer to men and women in both languages (Igbo and Sesotho), the study reveals that the Igbo people have fewer derogatory words for women in comparison with the number of such words used in Sesotho by the Sesotho people for the Sesotho women. However, the Igbo and the Sesotho have the same number of derogatory words for men, but these are much less in number than the derogatory terms for women.

On the issue of language stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments, the study investigated the words used to refer to foreigners and if such words contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa generally and particularly in Bloemfontein. The study reveals both positive and negative words used to refer to foreigners. However, the participants felt that these words do not contribute to xenophobic sentiments. According to Pillay (2008:21), xenophobic sentiments can be of “social” than “linguistic”. Language penetrates all sectors of the society, and even when the xenophobic sentiment is “social”, it is expressed with language. The reasons or causes of xenophobic sentiments in South Africa, as revealed by the study conducted by Pillay (2008) are based on three factors: poverty, feelings of virtual deprivation and a widespread perception in South Africa that foreigners are generally involved in high-level organised crime.

This current study also investigated the portrayal of the Igbo and the Sesotho in South African newspapers, and the words used to refer to foreigners in the two languages as well as the effects of such words on the people involved. The study reveals that the language used in South African newspapers portrays the Igbo as negative or bad, while the Sesotho are portrayed in a positive or good manner (see Section 5.4.2.1). The negative portrayal of the Igbo is attributed to the way and manner foreigners and the Igbo specifically are seen in the eyes of an average South African.

With regard to the language used to refer to foreigners, the Igbo have only two words. The first word, “*onye-obja*”, is used positively in all contexts to refer to

foreigners, while the second one, “*onye mbjambja*” or “*mbjarambjara*”⁵⁵ is sometimes used negatively. In contrast, the Sesotho have seven words used to refer to foreigners, namely “*lekwerekwere/makwerekwere*”, “*magrigamba*”, “*mazwanzwiri*”, “*lekomfere*”, “*siya thengisa*”, “*bokokgotsi*”, and “*matswantle*”. Among all these words, only two: “*bokokgotsi*” and “*matswantle*” are not used negatively (see Section 5.4.2). Although the majority of the participants ascertained that these words used to refer to foreigners do not contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa, these words, show that South Africans have phobia of and experience negativity towards the foreigners.

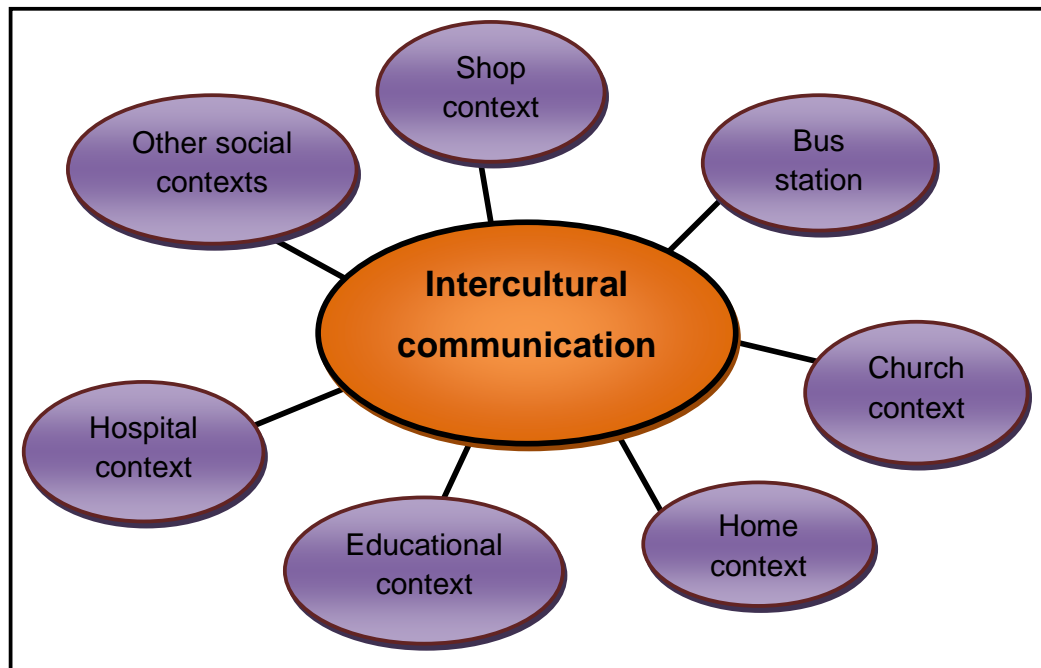
The study by Pillay (2008) discloses the negative attitudes of South Africans towards foreigners in full. Pillay’s study reveals that 25% of South Africans wanted a total ban on immigrants, 45% supported strict limitations on the number of immigrants allowed into South Africa. According to him, a large percentage of respondents opposed offering African non-citizens the same access to a house as South Africans. Pillay’s study further reveals that 54% felt that immigrants put additional strains on the economy. In addition, 65% of black respondents said they would be “likely” or “very likely” to take action to prevent people from other countries operating a business in their areas. Although the above survey by Pillay (2008) reveals that South Africans are very far from welcoming foreigners (including the Igbo) in their midst, there is no evidence from the current study that the negative words used to refer to foreigners contribute or fuel xenophobic sentiments in the country in any way.

6.3 Concluding remarks

This study is specifically significant as it assessed the different languages the Igbo and the Sesotho people in Bloemfontein speak, and the different contexts in which the languages are being used, are shown in Figure 6.2 below.

⁵⁵ “*Onye mbjambja*” and “*mbjarambjara*” are based on different dialects and their uses depend on the part of Igbo the person comes from.

Figure 6.2 Different contexts in intercultural communication



Adapted from Kim (1984:19)

Figure 6.2 above summarises the different contexts investigated with regard to the use of various languages (English, Igbo, Sesotho, Afrikaans and Setswana), as well as Nigerian Pidgin. These different contexts are indicative of where the Igbo and the Sesotho people in Bloemfontein mostly meet and interact.

This study led to the following key conclusions on the intercultural discourse between the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein. The study:

- i. reveals that all the Igbo in Bloemfontein and the Sesotho people, who are in contact with them are multilinguals;
- ii. discloses that English is the only common language among the Igbo and the Sesotho people in Bloemfontein, which is used in their intercultural communication; the two groups show reasonable understanding of each other's spoken English;
- iii. indicates that turn-taking, interruption/overlapping, code-switching and discourse dominance are discourse features employed in interactions

between the Igbo and the Sesotho people in Bloemfontein. However, it is difficult from the study to state the group that dominate the other. The use of each of these discourse features is determined by some factors, such as:

- a. age
 - b. status of the speaker and the addressee
 - c. educational background
 - d. gender
 - e. topic of discussion
 - f. the relationships between the speaker and the addressee
 - g. the context of the interaction;
- iv. reveals the derogatory words used to refer to both women and men in both languages; and
 - v. reveals that the Igbo and the Sesotho have words (both positive and negative) used to refer to foreigners; however, these words do not directly contribute to the recent xenophobic sentiments in South Africa.

6.4 Further research on this topic

This study leads to a number of key recommendations for further studies. One of these recommendations includes investigation on the kind of New English that emerges when the Igbo and the Sesotho people engage in interaction. This can be investigated from different levels of linguistics analysis, such as phonology and syntax.

Many studies have been conducted on Nigerian Pidgin, none of these studies have addressed whether Nigerian Pidgin remains *Pidgin* or *Creole*. Therefore, this study recommends investigation of the actual status of Nigerian Pidgin, regardless of what previous authors have called it.

This study could also lead to an investigation of the level of proficiency that exists among the Igbo children in Bloemfontein in speaking Igbo. This is because the preliminary research to this study revealed that the Igbo children in Bloemfontein which the researcher could reach during the study were not proficient in Igbo. They

are growing up with more proficiency in English and Sesotho but passive knowledge of Igbo.

The results from the present study reveal that 22.5% of the Igbo participants understand and speak Sesotho. However, the study did not record that these Igbo people use the language either with their Sesotho spouses or their children who understand the language (Sesotho) as well. The study recommends an investigation into the reasons why these Igbo do not use the language with their spouses and children

The study recommends an investigation into the level of proficiency that exists among the Igbo that understand and speak Sesotho and what motivates them to learn the language (Sesotho). The investigation should also include their attitudes towards the language, as 45 out of 100 Igbo people in Bloemfontein who participated in this study could understand and speak Sesotho.

Finally, this study recommends an investigation on the different dialects of Igbo spoken in Bloemfontein. This will reveal whether the Igbo in Bloemfontein retain their home dialect or if they shift to other dialects or use only standard Igbo during interactions with other Igbo people using Igbo in Bloemfontein.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the intercultural discourse between the Igbo and the Sesotho people residing in Bloemfontein. The study is motivated by the way in which the Igbo in Bloemfontein switch from one language into another, which is based on who their addressee is. The study assesses the backgrounds of the two countries (Nigeria and South Africa) where these ethnic groups emerged, including their languages. The backgrounds help in the assessment of the attitudes, feelings and opinions of the two groups under study in the way they relate with one another when they are in intercultural communication.

Related literature was reviewed on different aspects of intercultural discourse and intercultural communication (Chapter 3), with focus on: different views on discourse/discourse analysis; discourse, racism and discrimination; differences in male's and female's speeches. The review also covers language, migration and loyalty; language contact; intercultural discourse/communication; conversation analysis, as well as conversational features: turn-taking, interruption/overlapping, and code-switching/code-mixing. The review describes the field of discourse analysis and situates the current study within this field of research. The study further explored language stereotypes and xenophobic sentiments which help in identifying the power of dominant group over minority groups and foreigners, as well as the power of press in dissemination of information in the society.

Given the complexity of the research, the study employed different research instruments: questionnaire, interviews and audio-recordings of natural interactions in different contexts (shop, hospital, church, home and among friends) in collecting data. The data were analysed using qualitative and quantitative (tables and bar graphs) research methods. Intercultural interaction/communication/discourse between the Igbo and the Sesotho shows that the attitudes and feelings of the two groups are positive, as they are comfortable, not afraid, confident, not nervous and relaxed when interacting with each other.

The study reveals that the two groups often (81% Igbo and 92% Sesotho) switch from one language to another during intercultural communication. However, the kind of switch the study records is word/phrase switches, mostly the words/phrases of the dominant language (Sesotho). The reasons for their switches vary: to emphasis a word or an expression, to be more polite in greeting and appreciation, to show respect, as well as to identity with the addressee. The study records four sentences switching which only occurred among the children at home context. However, the results from the study show that during the intercultural communication between the Igbo and the Sesotho, turn-taking, interruptions and discourse dominance are determined by some factors, such as; age, educational background, gender, the relationships between the interactants, and the context of the interaction.

The freedom with which women speak during interaction is also assessed. The study reveals that although women speak freely, they do not speak more freely than their male counterparts, in mixed-gender interactions. In addition, the results reveal that there are no restrictions on the speech of Igbo women. However, Sesotho shows some restrictions on the language of their married women, "*hlompha*" (a language of respect), where a married women are bound by tradition not to pronounce any word relating to the name of her in-laws. The study establishes that there are derogatory words to refer to both women and men in both groups. For example, in Igbo "*nwoke/nwaayi-aga*" and in Sesotho "*nyopa*" are used to refer to barren woman with no counterparts for men. The study in addition investigates the words used to refer to foreigners and whether such words provide evidence for xenophobic sentiments in South Africa. The study identifies both positive and negative words used by the Igbo and the Sesotho to refer to foreigners. According to the majority of the respondents (79.5%), such words do not contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa generally or Bloemfontein specifically.

Keywords: Intercultural discourse; discourse features; interaction; code-switching; language and gender; language stereotypes; xenophobic sentiments; derogatory words; linguistics; language contact.

ABSTRAK

Hierdie studie ondersoek die interkulturele diskoers tussen Igbo's en Sesotho's wat in Bloemfontein woon. Die studie is gemotiveer deur die manier waarop Igbo's in Bloemfontein van een taal na 'n ander oorskakel, gegrond op wie hulle aanspreek. Hierdie studie bestudeer die agtergrond tot die twee lande (Nigerië en Suid-Afrika) waar hierdie etniese groepe, asook hul tale, voorkom. Hierdie agtergrondinligting is van toepassing in die assessering van die houdings, gevoelens en opinies van die twee groepe wat ondersoek word en hoe hulle met mekaar verband hou wanneer lede van die groepe interkultureel kommunikeer.

Verwante literatuur oor verskillende aspekte van interkulturele diskoers en interkulturele kommunikasie (Hoofstuk 3) is ondersoek, met 'n fokus op: verskillende sienings van diskoers/diskoersanalise; diskoers, rassisme en diskriminasie; en verskille in mans en vroue se spraak. Die oorsig sluit ook in taal, migrasie en lojaliteit; taalkontak; interkulturele diskoers/kommunikasie; gespreksanalise, asook gesprekskenmerke soos beurtneeming, onderbreking/oorvleueling en kode-wisseling/kode-vermenging. Die oorsig beskryf die veld van diskoersanalise en plaas die huidige studie binne hierdie navorsingsveld. Die studie het verder taalstereotipes en xenofobiese sentimente ondersoek. Dit help om die mag van 'n dominante groep oor minderheidsgroepe en buitelanders te identifiseer, asook die mag van die media in die verspreiding van inligting aan die samelewing.

Gegewe die komplekse aard van die navorsing het die studie verskillende navorsingsinstrumente gebruik: vraelyste, onderhoude en opnames van natuurlike interaksies in verskillende kontekste (winkel, hospitaal, kerk, huis en tussen vriende) om data te versamel. Die data is geanaliseer met behulp van kwalitatiewe en kwantitatiewe (tabelle en grafieke) navorsingsmetodes. Interkulturele interaksie/kommunikasie/diskoers tussen die Igbo en die Sesotho toon dat die houdings en gevoelens van die twee groepe positief is, aangesien hul gemaklik, nie bang nie, vol selfvertroue, nie senuweeagtig nie en ontspanne is wanneer hulle met mekaar in interaksie is.

Die studie toon dat die twee groepe dikwels (81% Igbo en 92% Sesotho) van een taal na 'n ander tydens interkulturele kommunikasie wissel. Die soort wisseling wat die studie aantoon is woord-/frase-wisselings en meestal die woorde/frases van die dominante taal (Sesotho). Die redes vir hul wisselings verskil: om 'n woord of 'n uitdrukking te beklemtoon, om meer beleefd te wees wanneer iemand gegroet word of waardering te toon, om respek te toon, asook om met die aangesprokene te identifiseer. Die studie toon die wisseling van sinne in vier gevalle wat slegs tussen die kinders binne die konteks van die huis voorgekom het. Die resultate van die studie toon egter dat tydens interkulturele kommunikasie tussen die Igbo en die Sesotho, beurtneemings, onderbrekings en diskoersdominansie deur sekere faktore soos ouderdom, opvoedkundige agtergrond, geslag, die verhoudings tussen die deelnemers en die konteks van die interaksie, bepaal word.

Die vryheid waarmee vroue tydens interaksie praat is ook geassesseer. Die studie toon dat hoewel vroue vryelik praat, praat hulle nie so vryelik soos hul manlike eweknieë in interaksies waar beide geslagte betrokke is nie. Bykomend toon die resultate geen beperkinge op die spraak van Igbo-vroue nie. Sesotho toon egter sommige beperkinge op die taal van getroude vrouens. *Hlompha* ('n taal van respek) is wanneer 'n getroude vrou deur tradisie gebind is om nie enige woorde te mag gebruik wat met haar skoonfamilie verband hou nie. Die studie het vasgestel dat daar in beide groepe neerhalende woorde is om na beide vrouens en mans te verwys. Byvoorbeeld, in Igbo word *nwoke/nwaayi-aga* en in Sesotho *nyopa* gebruik om na onvrugbare vrouens te verwys, met geen ekwivalent vir mans nie. Die studie ondersoek verder ook die woorde wat gebruik word om na buitelanders te verwys en of sulke woorde enige bewyse vir xenofobiese sentimente in Suid-Afrika bied. Die studie identifiseer beide positiewe en negatiewe woorde wat deur die Igbo en die Sesotho gebruik word om na buitelanders te verwys. Volgens die meerderheid van die respondente (79.5%) dra hierdie woorde nie by tot xenofobiese sentimente in Suid-Afrika in die algemeen, of Bloemfontein spesifiek nie.

Sleutelwoorde: Interkulturele diskoers; diskoerskenmerke; interaksie; kode-wisseling; taal en gender; taalstereotipes; xenofobiese sentimente; neerhalende woorde; linguistiek; taalkontak.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The preliminary research questionnaire

I am Ideh Amaka Edith, studying at University of the Free State. I am carrying out a research work on **the Igbo speakers in South Africa**. The research is purely academically and any information given in this questionnaire will be treated with utmost confidential. Your sincere answers will be highly appreciated. **Thanks!!!**

Section A: Demographic information

Instructions:

- A. You are required to mark or tick [X] to the answer which is most applicable to you.
- B. There are no right or wrong answers. All answers are equally important.

1. Name.....
2. Address.....
3. State of origin.....
4. Age: 1-17 [] 18-30 [] 31-45 [] 46 and above []
5. Gender: Male [] Female []
6. Marital Status: Single [] Married [] Divorced [] Widowed [] Separated []
7. If married, number of children 1 [] 2 [] 3 [] 4 [] 5 and above [] None []
8. If married, is your spouse an Igbo? Yes [] No []
9. If "No" state his or her country of origin..... State.....
10. Occupation: Business [] Teaching [] Schooling [] Others (specify).....
11. Religion: Christianity [] Islam [] Others (specify).....
12. Level of Education: Primary [] Secondary [] Tertiary [] None []
13. Language(s) spoken, i.....ii.....iii.....
iv.....v.....vi.....vii.....
14. Which language do you use when interacting with the Igbo people?
i.....ii.....iii.....
15. South Africans show hospitality. True [] False []
16. How will you rate your relationship with South Africans? Very good [] Good [] Fair [] Poor [] Very poor []

Section B

Instructions:

- A. You are required to mark or tick [X] to the answer which is most applicable to you.
- B. There are no right or wrong answers. All answers are equally important.

	OTHER QUESTIONS	Yes	No
1	Will you allow your children to attend school in South Africa?		
2	Will you encourage your child(ren) to learn Igbo?		
3	Will you encourage your child(ren) to speak Igbo?		
4	Do you always interact using Igbo with other Igbo people?		
5	Do you have contact with your people in Nigeria?		
6	Have you attended Igbo gathering before coming to South Africa?		
7	Have you attended any Igbo gathering in Bloemfontein?		
8	Will you attend Igbo gathering in Bloemfontein if organised?		
9	Will you support Igbo gathering in Bloemfontein if organised?		

Appendix 2: Research questionnaire for the Igbo people

I am Amaka Edith Ideh, a registered PhD student in Language Practice at University of the Free State. I am carrying out a research work on the language use in different contexts between the Igbo and the Sesotho people living in Bloemfontein. The research is purely academic in nature and any information given in this questionnaire will be treated as strictly confidential. Your sincere answers will be highly appreciated. **Thank you.**

Instructions:

1. You are required to mark or tick [X] to the answer which is most applicable to you.
2. There are no right or wrong answers. All answers are equally important.
3. Please, **DO NOT** write your name, surname or address on this questionnaire.

Section A: Demographic information

1. Age: Under 30 30 – 50 Above 50
2. Gender: Male Female
3. Marital Status: Single Married Divorced Widowed Separated
4. Occupation: Business Teaching Schooling Others, (specify).....
5. Religion: Christianity Islam Others (specify).....
6. Level of Education: Primary Secondary Tertiary None
7. How many languages can you speak? 2 3 4 5 6 7
8. Language(s) spoken: English A mixture of languages (Pidgin) Igbo Sesotho Setswana Afrikaans Others (specify).....
9. What is your first /home language? Igbo English Others (specify).....
10. How long have you been living in Bloemfontein? Below 2yrs 2-4yrs 5-6yrs Above 7yrs
11. Which language(s) do you use when interacting with Igbo people? English Igbo A mixture of languages (Pidgin) Sesotho Setswana Afrikaans Others (specify).....

12. Which language do you use when interacting with the Sesotho people?
 English [] Igbo [] A mixture of languages (Pidgin) [] Sesotho []
 Setswana [] Afrikaans [] Others (specify).....
13. If you are married, which language do you use to communicate with your spouse?
 English [] Igbo [] Sesotho [] Pidgin [] Others (specify).....
14. If you have child(ren), which language do you use to communicate with them?
 English [] Igbo [] Sesotho [] Pidgin [] Others (specify).....
15. How often do you use English to communicate with the Sesotho people?
 Always [] Often [] Rarely [] Never []
16. How often do you use English to communicate with the Igbo people? Always
 [] Often [] Rarely [] Never []
17. How will you rate your understanding of the Igbo people's English? Very well
 [] Well [] Fair [] Poor [] Not at all []
18. How will you rate your understanding of the Sesotho people's English? Very well
 [] Well [] Fair [] Poor [] Not at all []

Section B: (Language use in different contexts)

Instruction: Use this key to respond to the following questions

KEY	Always (A)	Often (O)	Rarely (R)	Never (N)	Not Applicable (N/A)
------------	-------------------	------------------	-------------------	------------------	-----------------------------

Description	English					Pidgin					Igbo					Sesotho				
	A	O	R	N	N/A	A	O	R	N	N/A	A	O	R	N	N/A	A	O	R	N	N/A
How often do you use																				
a in the shop?																				
i) With shop attendants?																				
ii) With fellow customers?																				
b at church?																				
i) with church leaders?																				
ii) with fellow members?																				
during church activities?																				
c in the mosque?																				
i) with mosque leaders?																				
ii) with fellow members?																				
iii) in mosque activities?																				
d in the hospital?																				

	i) with receptionist?																		
	ii) with nurses?																		
	iii) with doctors?																		
	iv) with other patients?																		
e	with friends?																		
f	with strangers?																		
g	at home?																		
	ii) With your spouse?																		
	iv) With your children?																		
h	at university/ college?																		
	i) with fellow students?																		
	ii) with lecturers?																		
	iii) with librarians?																		
i	at bus station?																		
	i) with driver?																		
	ii) with fellow passengers?																		

j Others (specify).....

Section C: Language attitude (Part 1)

You are required to mark or tick [X] to the answer which is most applicable to you

S/N	Descriptions	Yes	No	Don't know
1	Do you like interacting with the Sesotho people?			
2	Do Sesotho people like interacting with you?			
3	Does communicating with the Sesotho people make you feel uncomfortable?			
4	Are you afraid to speak up when conversing with the Sesotho people?			
5	Are you confident when interacting with the Sesotho people?			
6	Are you nervous when interacting with the Sesotho people?			
7	Do you avoid interaction with the Sesotho people?			
8	Are you relaxed when interacting with the Sesotho people?			
9	Do Sesotho people dominate conversations?			
10	Do Sesotho people speak more during conversations?			
11	Do Igbo people take control of conversations?			
12	Can you say that the Igbo people dominate during conversation?			
13	Do Igbo women in Bloemfontein speak more freely than their men?			
14	Will you say that the Sesotho women speak more freely than their men?			
15	During conversation, are there any restrictions on what the Igbo women can say?			
16	During conversation, are there any restrictions on what the Igbo men can say?			
17*	Are there any derogatory (insulting) word(s) used to refer to Igbo women?			

18	Are there any derogatory (insulting) word(s) used to refer to Igbo men?			
19	Do you interrupt conversations?			
20	Do Igbo women interrupt men?			
21	Do Igbo men interrupt women?			
22	Do Sesotho women interrupt men?			
23	Do Sesotho men interrupt women?			
24**	Do you have words used to refer to foreigners?			
25	Do you think that Sesotho people like these words?			
26	If you are being referred to with such words, would you be happy?			
27	Do you think that these words contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa?			
28	Have you been addressed with such words by the Sesotho people?			
29	Do you switch between different languages within a conversation?			
30	Do you take turns during conversation?			
31	During conversation, do Igbo people wait for their turn before they speak?			
32	During conversation, do Sesotho people wait for their turn before they speak?			
33	During conversation, do you wait for your turn before you speak?			
34	Do you read newspapers?			
35	Does the language use in South African newspapers portray the Igbo people as negative (bad)?			
36	Does the language use in South African newspapers portray the Sesotho people as negative (bad)?			

Section C: Language attitude (Part 2)

S/N	Descriptions	Always	Often	Rarely	Never	Don't know
37	How often do you interact with the Igbo people?					
38	How often do you interact with the Sesotho people?					
39	How often do you wait for your turn before you speak?					
40	How often do you interrupt during conversation?					
41	How often do Igbo women interrupt men?					
42	How often do Igbo men interrupt women?					
43	How often do Sesotho women interrupt men?					
44	How often do Sesotho men interrupt women?					
45	How often do you switch between different languages within a conversation					
46	How often do you read newspapers?					

Section D: Other questions

47. How would you rate the language use to portray the Igbo people in South African newspapers? Very good [] Good [] Fair [] Bad [] Very bad []
Don't know []

48. How would you rate the language use to portray the Sesotho people in South African newspapers? Very good [] Good [] Fair [] Bad [] Very bad [] Don't know []

49.*What are the derogatory (insulting, offensive) words used to refer to women in your language (e.g. English have words such as prostitute, harlot, bitch and mistress)?

i.....ii.....iii.....
iv.....v.....

50. What are the derogatory (insulting, offensive) words used to refer to men in your language (e.g. gangster)?

i..... ii.....
iii.....iv.....v.....

51**What are the words used to refer to foreigners in your language?

i.....ii.....iii.....
iv.....v.....

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE!!!

Appendix 3: Research questionnaire for the Sesotho people

I am Amaka Edith Ideh, a registered PhD student in Language Practice at University of the Free State. I am carrying out a research work on the language use in different contexts between the Igbo and the Sesotho people living in Bloemfontein. The research is purely academic in nature and any information given in this questionnaire will be treated as strictly confidential. Your sincere answers will be highly appreciated. **Thank you.**

Instructions:

1. You are required to mark or tick [X] to the answer which is most applicable to you.
2. There are no right or wrong answers. All answers are equally important.
3. Please, **DO NOT** write your name, surname or address on this questionnaire.

Section A: Demographic information

1. Age: Under 30 30 - 50 Above 50
2. Gender: Male Female
3. Marital Status: Single Married Divorced Widowed
Separated
4. Occupation: Business Teaching Schooling Others
(specify).....
5. Religion: Christianity Islam Others (specify).....
6. Level of Education: Primary Secondary Tertiary None
7. How many languages can you speak? 2 3 4 5 6
7
8. Language(s) spoken: English A mixture of languages (Pidgin) Igbo
Sesotho Setswana Afrikaans Others
(specify).....
9. What is your first language (home language)? Sesotho English
Others (specify).....
10. How long have you been living in Bloemfontein? Below 2yrs 2-4yrs
5-6yrs Above 7yrs

11. Which language(s) do you use when interacting with the Igbo people?
 English [] Igbo [] A mixture of languages (Pidgin) [] Sesotho [] Setswana [] Afrikaans [] Others (specify).....
12. Which language do you use when interacting with the Sesotho people?
 English [] Igbo [] A mixture of languages (Pidgin) [] Sesotho [] Setswana [] Afrikaans [] Others (specify)
13. If you are married, which language do you use to communicate with your spouse? English [] Sesotho [] Afrikaans [] Setswana [] Others (specify)
14. If you have child(ren), which language do you use to communicate with them?
 English [] Sesotho [] Afrikaans [] Setswana [] Others (specify)
15. How often do you use English to communicate with the Sesotho people?
 Always [] Often [] Rarely [] Never []
16. How often do you use English to communicate with the Igbo people? Always [] Often [] Rarely [] Never []
17. How will you rate your understanding of the Igbo people's English? Very well [] Well [] Fair [] Poor [] Not at all []
18. How will you rate your understanding of the Sesotho people's English? Very well [] Well [] Fair [] Poor [] Not at all []

Section B: (Language use in different contexts)

Instruction: Use this key to respond to the following questions

KEY	Always (A)	Often (O)	Rarely (R)	Never (N)	Not Applicable (N/A)
------------	-------------------	------------------	-------------------	------------------	-----------------------------

Description	English					Sesotho					Afrikaans					Setswana				
	A	O	R	N	N/A	A	O	R	N	N/A	A	O	R	N	N/A	A	O	R	N	N/A
How often do you use																				
a) in a shop?																				
i) with shop attendants?																				
ii) with fellow customers?																				
b) at church?																				
i) with church leaders?																				

	ii) with fellow members?																			
	iii) during church activities?																			
c	in the mosque?																			
	i) with mosque leaders?																			
	ii) with fellow members?																			
	iii) in mosque activities?																			
d	in hospital?																			
	i) with receptionist?																			
	ii) with nurses?																			
	lii) with doctors?																			
	iii) with other patients?																			
e	with friends?																			
f	with strangers?																			
g	i) at home?																			
	ii) with your spouse?																			
	iv) with your children?																			
h	at university/college?																			
	i) with fellow students?																			
	ii) with lecturers?																			
	iii) with librarians?																			
i	at bus station?																			
	i) with driver?																			
	ii) fellow passengers?																			

j Others (specify).....

Section C: (Part 1) Language attitude

You are required to mark or tick [X] to the answer which is most applicable to you.

S/N	Descriptions	Yes	No	Don't know
1	Do you like interacting with the Igbo people?			
2	Do Igbo people like interacting with you?			
3	Does communicating with the Igbo people make you feel uncomfortable?			
4	Are you afraid to speak up when conversing with the Igbo people?			
5	Are you confident when interacting with the Igbo people?			
6	Are you nervous when interacting with the Igbo people?			
7	Do you avoid interaction with the Igbo people?			
8	Are you relaxed when interacting with the Igbo people?			
9	Do Igbo people dominate conversations?			
10	Do Igbo people speak more during conversations?			
11	Do Sesotho people take control of conversations?			
12	Would you say that the Sesotho people dominate during conversation?			

13	Do Sesotho women in Bloemfontein speak more freely than their men?			
14	Would you say that the Igbo women speak more freely than their male counterparts?			
15	During conversation, are there any restrictions on what Sesotho women can say?			
16	During conversation, are there any restrictions on what Sesotho men are allowed to say?			
17*	Are there any derogatory (insulting) word(s) used to refer to Sesotho women?			
18	Are there any derogatory (insulting) word(s) used to refer to Sesotho men?			
19	Do you interrupt conversations?			
20	Do Igbo women interrupt men?			
21	Do Igbo men interrupt women?			
22	Do Sesotho women interrupt men?			
23	Do Sesotho men interrupt women?			
24**	Do you have words used to refer to foreigners?			
25	Do you think that Igbo people like these words?			
26	If you are being referred to with such words, would you be happy?			
27	Do you think that these words contribute to xenophobic sentiments in South Africa?			
28	Have you been addressed with such words by the Igbo people?			
29	Do you switch between different languages within a conversation?			
30	Do you take turns during conversation?			
31	During conversation, do Sesotho people wait for their turn before they speak?			
32	During conversation, do Igbo people wait for their turn before they speak?			
33	During conversation, do you wait for your turn before you speak?			
34	Do you read newspapers?			
35	Does the language use in South African newspapers portray the Igbo people as negative (bad)?			
36	Does the language use in South African newspapers portray the Sesotho people as negative (bad)?			

Section C: (Part 2) Language attitude

S/N	Descriptions	Always	Often	Rarely	Never	Don't know
37	How often do you interact with the Igbo people?					
38	How often do you interact with the Sesotho people?					
39	How often do you wait for your turns before you speak?					
40	How often do you interrupt during conversation?					

41	How often do Igbo women interrupt men?					
42	How often do Igbo men interrupt women?					
43	How often do Sesotho women interrupt men?					
44	How often do Sesotho men interrupt women?					
45	How often do you switch between different languages within a conversation					
46	How often do you read newspapers?					

Section D: Other questions

47. How would you rate the language use to portray the Igbo people in South African newspapers? Very good [] Good [] Fair [] Bad [] Very bad [] Don't know []

48. How would you rate the language use to portray the Sesotho people in South African newspapers? Very good [] Good [] Fair [] Bad [] Very bad [] Don't know []

49*What are the derogatory (insulting, offensive) words used to refer to women in your language (e.g. English have words such as *prostitute, harlot, bitch* and *mistress*)?

i.....ii.....iii.....
iv.....v.....

50. What are the derogatory (insulting, offensive) words used to refer to men in your language (e.g. *gangster*)? i.....ii.....

iii.....iv.....v.....

51. **What are the words used to refer to foreigners in your language?

i.....ii.....iii.....
iv.....v.....

Thank You for Completing this Questionnaire!!!

Appendix 4: Interview questions

1. What languages can you speak?
2. Where and when do you use each language?
3. Which language do you use most of the time? Why?
4. Which language(s) do you use to communicate with your spouse, and children?
5. Which language(s) do your spouse and children use to communicate with you?
6. Is language a barrier in any way between you and your spouse, or children?
(b) Between your children, their friends or your children's teacher?
7. Do you switch between different languages within a conversation, and why?
8. Do you like interacting with the Igbo/Sesotho people? If yes, how often?
9. Do you understand the Igbo/Sesotho people when they speak?
10. Do you avoid interaction with the Igbo/Sesotho people? If yes, why?
11. Does engaging in group discussion with the Igbo/Sesotho people makes you feel tense or nervous?
12. Which group among the Igbo and the Sesotho people dominate conversations?
13. Do Igbo/Sesotho women in Bloemfontein speak freely like their men counterpart in ALL contexts? If NO, the reasons.
14. During conversations, are there any restrictions on what women can say and what they cannot say, that is, are there any words or expressions that are forbidden for them to use? If yes, what are they? Is there any for men?
15. Are there any derogatory (insulting, offensive) words or expressions used to refer to women only? If yes, what are the words?
16. Are there any derogatory (insulting, offensive) words or expressions used to refer to men only? If yes, what are the words?
17. Do you read newspapers? If, "Yes", what image do these newspapers portray of the Igbo people on one hand and the Sesotho people on the other hand?
18. Do you think that language contribute to xenophobic sentiments and stereotypes in South Africa?

19. *Among 10 Nigerians you know in Bloemfontein, how many are Igbos?⁵⁶

⁵⁶ This question is meant for Nigerians in general to the percentage of Igbos in Bloemfontein, and was conducted in isolation of other questions.

Appendix 5: Key to transcription conventions

- i. Bracket connecting lines show overlapping or interruption speech. Two people talking at the same time. Taking over speech when the speaker has not finished.
- ii. ... Pause
- iii. (.....) Silence
- iv. [?] Indicates transcription impossible, or inaudible segment
- v. /word(s)/ within slashes indicates uncertain transcription
- vi. Word(s) underline indicates emphatic stress.
- vii. CAPS mark very emphatic stress
- viii. .Marks sentence final falling intonation (end of the sentence)
- ix. , Marks phrase-final intonation (more to come)
- x. ? Yes/No question, rising intonation
- xi. (brackets) words in brackets are used for comments on quality of speech and context.
- xii. !Marks high pitch on word
- xiii. † Marks low pitch on word
- xiv. “ ”quotation opens and closes.

Appendix 6: Shop recording transcription

Key:

A: A Sesotho lady (the customer)

B: A shop attendant (an Igbo man)

C: The shop owner, who is also an Igbo

A: Hey! ...you don't have battery?

B: Yeah, ...is there any other thing you want?

A: Eh?

B: Is there any other thing you want?

A: Eh?

B: Is there any other thing you want?

A: Eh (yes), I want...

B: Charger or what?

A: Face face

B: Charger?

A: Face

B: For now we don't have it

(long silence)

A: Eh!

B: I don't have it now.

A: You have some [?]headphone?

B: Card?

A: Headphone

B: OK, Yeah, Yeah, Yeah.

A: (To shop owner) Ear free. (The shop owner went and brings the ear free and told the buyer that it is R70)

B: Ee.....

A: [?]

C: This is for chocolate,[?] you can see

A: Eh

C: 50...

A: Yeoh!
C: Is it too much?
A: When?
C: I don't sell 120 or 100
A: Too much! Too much!
C: Ah! Is not too much.
A: Eh, too much, too much! too much! ...R50 nta,mnh?
B: I just want make you customer so that next time you come.
A: Mmh?,Thank you
B: OK.
C: Have this pamphlet; in case a ... you have old money and jewelleries
A: What is this?
B: For old jewelleries; earring, necklace, anything; gold, ... we can, we change it
with money
A: OK.
B: Both old, old money, both coins, (she left).

Appendix 7: Hospital recording transcription

Key:

A: An Igbo woman (the patient)

B: A Sesotho woman (a nurse)

A: Morning mme

B: Eh, morning ... mme ... how are you?

A: Am fine and how are you mme?

A: Am fine ... [hei ...] but am not really fine.

B: [Mnh] I am sister Hat ... I am sister Hatane mme.

B: [OK.

A: [I work at mutual hour clinic mme

B: OK.

A: Is a standard clinic where we have our community

B: OK.

A: Hey! Where may I help you today ... what is your problem?

B: Ha! Hey mme you see ah! In this season I don't know really, I have pain all over me and eh you know, I used to have a peptic ulcer, they said right here, when I, is very painful ehm

A: Is between the ...the, the breast here?

B: Yes, ... exactly just right inside here, mm! Very painful, can [?], and I have taken mix mag⁵⁷

A: [Mm!

B: [Is not stopping

A: Mm!

B: I don't know whether there is any medication that will help me for this?

A: For how long have you have that pain?

B: Ah! You know, it is often and on. I started having this since ... eh ten years ago.

⁵⁷ This is a white liquid that helps to stop stomach pain.

A: Mm!

B: But ... for the past 3 years, it stops, is no longer disturbing me, but it started again.

A: Mm!

B: Eh! Middle of last year, 2008.

A: So, the pain is aggravated by what? Maybe, when you are doing what? When you are doing what or maybe sometimes you can eat something that is not ... good with you or what? What happened? ... What ... cause the pain?

B: Hei! Mme I don't really know because you know here eh, my eating habit or the type of food we eat is eh is the same eh. Although we are not used to the food here but we cook by ourselves, ... and still I know what really happened eh ... nya! (that is).

A: Maybe it comes better when, when you do what? When you sleep or rest or what?

B: Eh! Yes, yes because you know, I feel severe pains immediately after eating.

A: Mm

B: Yeah, then that pain will be ... for about 20 minutes or

A: Mm

B: 30 minutes, then the pain goes down ... but it really makes me uncomfortable.

A: It goes down by itself or maybe after you have taken medication?

B: Ah! At times, I use that, the same mix mag I was telling you.

A: Mm, mm

B: That white, white liquid.

A: It was prescribed by a doctor?

B: Eh, yes! ... Doctor asked me to ... use it whenever I feel pains ... and it will help me eh to, to

A: Mm

B: Stop .. but what I want now is if there is anything that will help me to stop it entirely not feeling pain after eating. It makes me really uncomfortable.

A: But how, how is your sleep ... during the night? You sleep the whole night. You sleep well or does it come to pain you or during the day maybe?

B: Ah! Because of that pain, I don't go to bed so early you know

A: Mm ... mm

B: Because I don't feel like sleeping, so, I started sleeping around

A: Mm!

B: 12 or 1 in the night.
(*Long silence*)

A: So, now the problem you are having is that pain between the chests

B: Yeah

A: Do you have any other pain?

B: eh! Not only that one, you know, ... the joints, my ... all my joints. To climb the stair-case ... is difficult for me. I struggle a lot to climb the stair .. steps.

A: Mm!

B: Yeah ... and ... I, I I've gone to the doctor previous years. He said is arthritis, is not something that go entirely, but they give me some ... tablet that makes the pains .. eh! .. reduce.

A: Mm!

B: Mm! Yeah! But this time now ... mme ah! I can't, I can't climb the stair-case, is too ... too painful.

A: So, as a nurse, what I'm going to tell you. I will ask you to maybe ... to eat as much as you can [little] you don't take lot of food once at times ... you

B: OK, OK.

A: Gonna take maybe 6 types, 6 times food mme ... but

B: early meal, early meal, OK.

A: And try to do just a little exercise, passive exercise.

B: OK!

A: And is winter now, don't use both cold water because it can cause or aggravate the problem mme?

B: OK.

A: And what I'm going to do, I will refer you to the doctor because now is a clinic here but I will just prescribe panado⁵⁸.

B: OK

⁵⁸ Panado is medicine that relieves pain and fever.

A: To prevent pain mme or to relieve pain. But the doctor is the one who is going to prescribe both schedule drugs because at the clinic here, we don't do the [?].

B: OK

A: Eh! So I will just prescribe you and ask you to come after two weeks at the clinic.

B: OK

A: To see how the things is.

B: Thank you very much!

A: So, I'll give you the referral letter; then you show them to the doctor.

B: OK, Oh!

A: Eh!

B: kea leboha mme (thank you, ma)

A: Eh!

B: Thank you mme. Oh!

A: Oh!

B: Ke lebohile!

Appendix 8: Church recording (church activity) transcription

Key:

A: The Igbo man (the Bible study co-ordinator)

B: The Sesotho lady (member and student)

C: The Igbo lady (member and sales girl)

D: The Sesotho lady (member and student)

A: Stand up ... stand up for ... begin now and praise and worship.

(This is individual opening prayers which lasted for one minutes and 15 seconds).

(Long silence (11 seconds) as the participants is getting seated)).

A: Ehm, today is 18 Thursday ... I read, Thursday June 18 ... Pastor Chris is ... writing ... is teaching. The theme is ... "The God nature". The scripture is from ... John 4 verse 4 ... and it reads: (he reads from *Rhapsody of Realities*) "Ye are of God little children and have overcome them, because greater is he that is in you than he that is in the world". Praise God!

All: Alleluia!

A: Continues, "when the Bible says 'ye are of God little children', it an equivocally declares your root, your origin, as a Christian. It means you hail from God, you are born of him. You need to be conscious of this truth today. Let the consciousness of your divine personality and the origin dominate your thinking". Praise God!

All: Alleluia!

A: (Lowered his voice) I will come to explain later. "That you are of God means you have God's nature. You don't have a substitute or inferior life from what God has. You have the superior life of God in you. Is the life of the words. Being born again not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible by the word of God which liveth and abideth forever, is taken from 1st Peter ehm Chapter 1 verse 23. In other words, being born again, you are of indestructible origin. You are born of God's indestructible seed. You are not born of blood nor of the will of the fresh, nor of the will of man, but of God".

All: Amen

A: Taken from John 1, the gospel of Saint John Chapter 1 verse 13. ... Praise God!

All: Alleluia!

A: "This is what makes your origin divine, dogs give birth to dogs, monkeys give birth to monkeys, cats give birth to cats, human beings give birth to human beings. In the same way, God gives birth to Gods. No wonder, he says we are Gods" ...

D: Amen!

A: We can also find it from Psalm Chapter 82 verse 6, as well as in ... John Chapter 10 verse .. 34" ... Praise the Almighty God!

All: Alleluia!

A: Continues, "you are a master over Satan, because your spirit, soul and body are now infused with divinity ... you are a product of God's words. Your life is the life of the word; for your origin is a word of God". Do you understand?

All: Amen!

A: I read it again; "you are a product of God's words. Your life is the life of the word; for your origin is a word of God". Praise God!

All: Amen!

A: "Your physical body was made from the dust of the ground, but you are not a physical body. Your body is your DOMICILE that is, your house where the REAL you dwells ...

D: Amen!

A: "You are a spirit being, born of the words. Your origin is in God (lowered his voice) you have the God's nature". Praise be to God!

All: Alleluia!

A: Awuse (young girl), you are used to this, before I ... begin to explain, is there anything you ... think understand or you don't understand?

D: Ye, I understand that mnh! ... the scripture which is taken from .. 1st John 4, 4 verse 4.

A: Mm

D: It say that we are ... we are the spirit being ...

A: Mm

D: We are not mm of the flesh,
A: Mm
D: We function by the spirit, and we are what the word of God says we are ...
A: Mm
D: Eh, what I understand.
A: OK, that is fine, (pointing to Ag.) what about you?
B: My understanding, ... we are ... Gods because we are from God ...
A: Because that is
what the word says
B: Yes,
A: The scripture, since you believe the scripture, that is the Bible, what it says,
you take it ... as such.
C: What touched my mind when you are reading,
A: Eh
C: I remember one, sometimes ago. So ... we are ... is like an argument that
came up,
A: Mm
C: That person attends this ... Jehovah's Witness!⁵⁹ ...
A: Mm
C: So, they don't believe that ... Jesus is God
A: Mm, quite alright, they don't
C: So when you are reading, now like ... if cat can give birth to cat,
A: Mm
C: dog to dog,
A: Mm
C: human being to human being,
A: Mm
C: Why not God to God. And if is like that, that means Jesus is God.
A: Mm
D: Amen!

⁵⁹ Jehovah's witness is one of Christian's denomination.

A: And since we are his children, ... we are of the same nature ...

C: we because he made us in his own image

A: We are Gods. You see.

C: And likeness

A: That is what the Bible says, because Jehovah Witness' people want to belittle Jesus. They say Jesus is only a prophet like ... ok the, the Mohamedalism ... people, you know the Muslims.

C: Muslim

A: They also say Jesus is only, they must put only there. Jesus is only a prophet like Mohammed is a prophet. They want to compare Jesus Christ with a Mohammed.

C: Mohammed

A: That is their argument.

B: What did they say?

A: Eh?

B: What did they say about God?

C: God the father

A: No, they ... God

C: No, they believe now

A: They believe in God, but what they call is Allah ...

B: Oh, Yeah!

A: Allah, that Allah is God. They don't dis they ... their their their argument is Jesus Christ, nothing more.

B: OK.

C: Or they don't believe in Jesus Christ

A: Yeah, yes

C: They don't believe. They know Jesus but they don't believe that Jesus is the son of God, that Jesus is God.

B: OK

A: Mm. Like one book here, is a Christian book, but ... is ... eh ... is writing what people say ... about Jesus Christ, that you know non-believers they would say Jesus is ... is, is an imposter ... he poses a lot. He allogates to himself a big, big name, ... you see ... so ... that is it. The only thing Pastor

Christ is saying here is that, we as children of God have God's nature, so, ... we can be called Gods, that is what the Bible says we are. We are Gods ... if God says we are perfect, we are perfect. All these things ... my ... my argument with people is ... when you are really ... born again genuinely born again, maybe when we mention born again, people argue. They don't want to ... eh eh ... hear the word born again. But it is in the Bible ... if ... eh how is it said? 1st Corinthians 5:17. I want us to go to that (everybody start opening the Bible).

(Reads from the Bible) "You are a new creature ... 1st Corinthians 5:17. (Long silence) mmh, no, I mean 2nd Corinthians 5:17, please. (Everybody continue to open to the new verse). How can an evangelist make a such mistake.

All: (Laugh)

(Long silence)

C: 5:17 said, "therefore, if anyone is in Christ, is a new creature, the old has gone, the new has come. Ah ... but ...

A: You hear it? When the, you read it with, I, I like the simplicity of the this Bible (pointing to G's Bible)

C: This one is not simplified enough? Read your own.

D: OK.

A: Is, but is understandable, yeah

D: (Reads) "anyone who joined in

B: (Coughs)

D: Christ is a new being, the old is gone, the new has come, Amen!

All: Amen!

C: But God like Jesus

D: Ah?

C: Like Jesus when he was in the world. He stayed throughout the world without sin, but we human being ... fall! ... and ...what do you have to say to that?

A: Eh?

C: As Being God, if you are God. I know we have that! ... God nature

A: Mm

C: But, ... we have! ... yeah

B: Up and

C: Yeah

B: Up and downs

C: We Fall! ... into sins temptations, sin every time and ... so ... what will you say about having that nature of God and ... falling? ...now and then .. because every small sin counts, every small lie. Do we even have small lies?

A: We have lies, lies, lies

C: Lies is lie.

A: You know one thing about lies?

C: They must breed lies.

A: eh?

C: They gave pregnant ... lie. When you tell one lie, it can lead to another one, it can lead to cover up (laughs)

A: It is ... very easy to tell a lie ... eh! Mm (no) it is not very ... ok it is very easy to tell a lie. But, it is very, very hard not to tell more lies when you tell one.

C: It is very, you said it is very easy?

A: To tell a lie.

B: What then

A: But, tell mm! Just ... tactically understand it. It is very easy to tell a lie, but it is ... very ...very hard not to tell another lie on top.

C: Yes, that is what I was saying, that is what I was saying that lies multiply

A: Mm. Mm! ... yes that is what I was saying, mm.

C: And, once you tell one lie you try to tell another one to cover.

A: mm! To cover that one

B: And, and another one to cover the former one.

A: So, ee ... when you want to tell a second lie, it is ... easier, it is easier because you, you want to cover that, you can now, you now say

C: It happens and

A: So, we have God ... nature as such

D: And also to add on that one .. on past Rhapsody ..

A: eh eh

D: There was a scripture saying that the Christians are not, are not the sinners, meaning that if a Christian maybe is telling a lie,

A: Mm!

- D: She can ask God for forgiveness ... and then she will be ... forgiven. Meaning that, if you know that you have sinned, you better ask God to forgive you, not like just to ignore that and just to repeat, repeat and then you say that you are a Christian, knowing that you are repeating the sin, you are doing the sin without even asking forgiveness to God.
- A: Yeah, we have not been guaranteed that there would be no temptation for us.
- C: And?
- A: Eh?
- C: For us not to even fall because having temptation is one thing, falling
- A: eh
- C: Into that temptation is
- A: Yeah, the argument I always put forward is ... will one ... which is ... one may say is difficult but when you are ... I don't say ... I'm ... in that category, we, we have levels. When you are really a genuinely Christian, it becomes, ... that is not to fall in sin becomes bleeding to you. It becomes bleeding.
- C: I just take it that 'takes grace of God to ...
- A: that is the, the ... even the holiest of eh ... holy men, it is by his grace.
- C: It is his grace because,
- A: By his grace,
- C: If you say that God that I'll not tell a lie again, before you know it,
- D: You have started.
- C: Yes, when you start assessing yourself, real assessing yourself, you will start seeing that, I told lie here and it ... it may not be ... necessary when you even tell that lie, but, you don't want that person to really know what happened. You just, what will I,
- A: My own understanding is that ... it is not easy not to tell a lie because even when you have not opened your mouth ... to tell a lie, you are even telling a lie. ... why did I say so? ... if you now say you have God nature, you know God can never fall sick ... You know, he can never fall sick. Are you thinking about it? God can never fall sick, he can never tell lies. He, he, he can never hate, ... all these are qualities of God. When we say God, it is still Jesus Christ, you know there are one.

C: I know, I, that things now made me think, it now come to my mind that ...
 [Jesus came, Jesus Christ came to the world and take the nature

A: [Eh

C: Of man in everything except sin

A: Mnh (no)

C: Everything except that sin because [of

A: [He was a man while on earth

C: He's man as [fully man

A: [Total ... mm full ... it's just like ... but is never fall into any sin

C: But is just like me, you in everything except [sin ...

A: [Mm

C: Because if you talk of thirst, he..feel that thirst, if you talk of hunger, he felt it.

A: Mm

C: If you talk of temptation, he passes through it only that he didn't fall because he is God.

A: And he didn't tell any lies.

C: Yeah! Bible didn't record.

B: It didn't say anything about it.

A: Bible records it only, maybe I can't [put because.

C: [no

A: God can never tell a lie.

C: John says that ... some, as when he was talking about Jesus resurrection and ascension.

A: Mm

C: That ... all the ... miracle ... all the things that Jesus done in this world was not recorded, that these things are record for us to belief.

A: You can never record [everything.

C: [Everything! That is what I'm saying

A: Is John that went [even further

C: [Yeah ... You cannot record everything not how he breath, how he slept, how he woke up, how he ate.

D: Yeah.

C: You know, play with friends, because definitely he must have friends.

A: A lot of them.

C: Ehm ... no apart from disciples [before he start making ... he has friends

A: Eh ... [earthly] friends

B: [His] friends

A: Mm

C: You see how

B: When he was growing up

C: No, when we are discussing [about

A: [What of John

C: Mary, no Mary and Martha (laughs)

A: Family friends

C: No, they were very intimate; [they were friends but not in worldly aspect.

A: [Yes.

C: Because, when we were discussing about it, some people were talking as ... as in ... negative.

A: Yes, that what Basotho told me

C: So,

A: When I was teaching in Lesotho,

B: Eh

A: I'd invited a lady ... the ministry, ministry naturally ... eh resources. I invited her to come to our church ... not Christ Embassy that time, Adonnai.

B: OK

A: Eh ... she said ... what ... I don't want to see, is when I come there, they will eh tell me not to have a boyfriend.

B: She said so?

A: Yes, I said yes you will hear that, just know it now that the ... Pastor may preach ... that eh ... all those things ... [not that [?]

C: [You know our ways we are living like

A: What she said is ... this, that ... but Jesus Christ was the boyfriend of Mary Magdalene

B: [?]

A: That is what she said, that Jesus Christ was the BOYFRIEND of Mary Magdalene. Eh I said how do you know, she said when eh Mary Magdalene ... eh fornicated, they caught her and brought her to Jesus because Jesus know,

knew that Mary Magdalene was ... his girlfriend, he, he refused ... to ...
(laughs)

B: I, I

A: You see

B: I have a question

A: And she meant it, what she was saying, I think now is OK, eh?

B: When I was young

A: Mm

C: And still young

B: I'm old now, I learn that [...

A: [When you are younger

B: I learn that, I hear that ... in the olden days, people were praying things like
God, I mean animals, like cow.

A: Mm?

B: And bad people brought

A: Mm?

B: For example if my mother died,

A: Mm?

B: And they call all those things god, ... gods

C: Yee! [People worship different things

A: [Are you asking the question or ...?

B: Yes

C: People worship different things before Christianity ... penetrate ... even now

D: Eh

A: Even in the Bible ... you know Aaron?

C: Even now

A: The golden calf

C: Yeah, mm

A: Ehe ... those things were done in those days, but they were fetishes, they
were sins

B: OK. I want to know the relationship or it begins in God because we are
children of God therefore we are ... [?]

A: Mm

B: We are born from God, and those people, which people were praying and called gods

C: That is small, small gods

B: Oh, Yeah, I want to know

All: (Laugh)

A: OK, those ones are called ... called man made gods.

C: Small, small god

A: Man made god

C: They have ears but cannot hear, they have mouth but cannot talk ...

A: Yeah, you see

C: Can ... not walk

A: You see, this thing now

B: So, the ... you name them small, small gods

C: Small gods (laughs), ...that is, I normally call them when I was small.

All: (Laugh)

D: Ha, yes.

B: Yes.

C: Then, when you [?]

A: If you

C: And if you want to write them, you use small "g" to write it.

B: OK.

D: OK. Small, small god.

A: If you have this and you worship it (shown them a book), it becomes god to you.

C: It becomes your god

A: Eh

B: Mm

C: But the only thing is that, you can be given it food, it cannot eat..

B: Yeah

C: It cannot talk, you understand? But, ...

B: OK ... Thank you

A: That is idol worshipping

C: Idol

B: Eh?

A: Idol worshipping

C: And is men that made it. You can make it in any form that you want, but the God, that is ... the supreme God that we worship.

A: You know why she is asking? Such a thing is too much in Lesotho

C: Mm

A: They are always talk about their ancestors, even here in South Africa, will I say Southern Africa.

B: Or

C: [?]

A: No, I mean they worship, I was preaching education department; the woman said I should not preach to her that ... that is nonsense. I said, why? God, your father, he said is not my father. My father is my father.

C: No, one thing I observed about this South Africa, I know South Africans are here, please you people shouldn't kill me but that is what I observed, because of this apartheid stuff, they, anything religious that it comes with white people ... they have that stereotype that treatment [even God] stuff

A: Mm

D: Even if is not the, the white people, they ...

C: Anything that comes with this Westernisation [while

D: Modernisation

C: Yeah, yes, so, they have that their sentiment, ... and looking at their history and what they passed through, it can be justified, as in ... because I've discussed with some people, I [was ... getting to

A: That justification is fleshly ...

C: No, I understand, I said that, no! I ... whether is Godly I'm just saying that from human nature we are human being, and when you are looking at some things from human eyes. That is how I'm looking and I think because some people that we discuss at length, that is how they see it. Some, I'm not saying all

D: Yeah

C: That they will see that ... this white people didn't bring anything to them, is pains, is ... intimidation, is ... taking away their rights and stuff and telling them too to worship their God

A: Mm

C: You understand?

D: Alleluia!

C: I don't know.

A: Yeah ... I know of ... all those things but the, you see when we discuss ... eh scripturally, that is the Bible, we take everything from the scriptures.

C: Scripture

A: Because there are many things people wouldn't, you know, accept, because it has been there. Eh ... you see the mm ... eh piece of wood, no matter how many years it stays in water can never be called ... a crocodile. Yes, can never. Even ... no matter how many years, thousands of years ... a lie has been, it can never turn into anything ... truth.

C: Of course.

A: Just like that (coughs), you know we have ... eh ... ehm the, the ... what, what, how do I put it now? ... erring majority, you know that? Erring majority, that is default majority. You, we may be hundred people here and 90 are saying there is no Almighty God and 10 are saying there is Almighty God, for the fact that scripturally ... biblically, there is an Almighty God. For the fact that these people are 90 doesn't ... eh cancel

C: the fact that,
No, when you come to spirituality it doesn't count with number,

A: Mnh

C: No, doesnt count, even if is one person

A: Mnh

B: [?]

C: Yes, even if one person.

A: Yeah ... so, at least we know that ... dogs can only give birth to dogs

C: Not Gods

A: eh?

C: Not Gods

A: And Gods give birth to ... Gods. We are Gods

D: Amen!

C: That

A: means..
That in our scripture, John 10: 34 (everybody opens the Bible) explains it or tell us so, we agree, we accept. Can we ... say the confession? This

devotional *Rhapsody of Realities* always has a confessional at the end, prayer or confession, that is how it is written, though you repeat after me.

A: (He reads while "All" repeats after him)

"I'm born of the word [other repeat]

As spirit of the Lord

Therefore I'm impregnable

To everything

That hurts or burns

Because I hail from God

I have overcome the devil

And the cohorts of darkness

Because the greater one indwells me

I'm superior to Satan

I have the nature of God" Alleluia!

All: Amen/praise God!

A: So, here ... when ... I know ... at home when I was teaching English ... when I mentioned this word "impregnable", you know I also taught in ... girls' secondary school. They were thinking of pregnant. You know as it concerns ... eh the ... female, human beings. No, this is, we have two words, we have two meanings to this. But what we mean here is not that one. I'm born of the world as the spirit of the Lord. Therefore, I'm ... ehm ... impregnable to everything. That is, I'm what? What other word can we use to replace it? What other word, what other synonym? Synonym to this,

C: You know, you tell us, we are not in English class.

A: Mm

C: We are in Bible class.

A: Though, ehm

C: Sometimes,

A: Let me put it in a way of explanation, I cannot be attacked.

C: Something like resist – resistant.

A: Yeah, I'm resistant, that is the word. I'm resistant to everything that hurts or bites ... because I hail, that is, I come from God. I have overcome the devil and the co-host, the co-host; that is the colleagues, the companions in, in a

- negative form of darkness. Because the greater one indwells me, the greater one indwells me, what does that mean? The great
- C: [One dwells in me
Dwells in me
- A: Or lives in me. I'm superior to Satan. I have the nature of God. ... Praise God!
- All: Alleluia!
- A: You got a questions (Do you have questions)? You know, this can be explained ... even three hours, quoting and you know, even one can ask you "What is a Christian?" A Christian,
- C: It means different things to different people.
- A: I mean biblically.
- C: Who is a Christian? A Christian [is ... like Christ. ... A person who is like Christ
- D: [who
- C: An English class eh ... teacher would ask you "Who is like Christ?" In what aspect?
- C: Who behaves, who does what Christ wants, who ... Yeah who knows the ways.
- D: [?]
- A: OK.
- C: And there is no way we can act exactly the he wants, but at least ... who..
- D: Who has that..
- C: Who portrays that image of who Christ is.
- B: Or listens and do exactly what Bible teaches?
- C: What Bible says; resist that devil in all ... ramification.
(Long silence)
- A: An English ... class
- C: We are not in an English class,
- A: I know,
- C: We are in a Bible class
- A: Will also ask you eh ... in what manner? Who – who does what Christ wants? It says in what manner? Maybe, he wants to know "Is it conditionally or unconditionally?"
- C: A Christian, a Christian is the person, accepts, accepts Jesus deep inside him or her not deceiving, somebody that I'm born again, I'm

A: Wholeheartedly without reservation

C: A Christian, deep inside him without reservation ... you accept Christ

A: Because some people may behave ... eh ... you know like we say eye service.

C: Yeah, some people go to church,

A: You must do whatever your leader says you ... should do, but it is only when he is watching you or when he has sent somebody to watch you

C: Some people go to church seriously maybe because of the minister not because

D: /They want/

C: Yeah, and they don't want to miss the church not because of God, oh but because of that Minister. What they will say not what Jesus will take ... do you understand?

D: Mm

B: Mm

C: That ... in and that one is indirectly what worshipping

A: I buy what you are saying

C: And that one is indirectly worshipping

A: If you say some, even 80% of Christians in quote go to church because of people

B: [?]

A: I mean what you know ... what they ... Pastor ... whichever

B: Says

C: They will ask you to go to church

A: whereas what, what Colossians ... [reads it]

C: I take it too that these people, they are worshipping people. They respect people more than God.

D: More than God

C: Yeah, because if you can fear human being ordinarily like you and me like that, what of God supreme...

D: Mm

C: That keeps you alive. That makes you to pass the ... road without accident, that makes you to lie down, wake up. If we can fear a human being

A: That eh you know that ... that is one of the most eh ... eh ... serious problems in the world. That people fear

C: Human beings more than God

A: Human beings more than God thereby relegating God to the background. Don't you see?

B: What do you think is the cause?

A: Eh?

B: Why do they fear people other than God?

C: Eye service

A: Because they are not genuine Christians

B: OK

A: If, if really one is..

C: If you love God, you take God as who he is

A: Yes, mm

C: You respect him. He comes first before any other person.

A: If you fear human beings, it means ... you are not taken God seriously

C: That is what I'm saying that put God as ... (laughs) ... you put God as bench.

A: That is failing the commandment of ... eh ... Matthew 6:33 ... failing that commandment.

C: 6:33

A: Matthew 6:33 you check (everybody opens the Bible) and I check ... sometimes when you want to be fast you go to ...

C: (Reads) "but seek first his kingdom and righteousness and all these things will be given to you as well".

A: Alright, Awuse (young girl) what did I quote?

B: [?]

C: You said Matthew 6:33

A: Yeah, you have done that one Colossians 5:22 ... let me see, ... let me see what I have quoted if I'm right ... (long silence)

C: [?]

A: Is not that one. I said Colossians ... eh ... 3 ... OK Colossians 3:23, Colossians 3:23, Colossians 3:23, have you found it?

D: No

C: (Laughs) she is not even looking, you said 3:33?

A: 3:23, Colossians ... 3:23 ... (coughs)

C: 23 said, (reads) "whatever you do"

A: Mm

C: "Work at peace with all your heart"

A: Mm

C: "As working for the Lord not for the men"

B: OK

C: "Whatever you do"

A: [?]

C: Work at it ... with [all your heart ... as working for the Lord

A: [You understand it?

D: Amen!

A: You understand it?

D: [Yeah

B: [Yeah

A: Read it from that Bible of yours.

D: (Reads) "Whatever you do, work it with all your heart, as though you are working for the Lord and not for human beings." Amen!

C: But, many people are working for human beings not for God

A: Many, many [?] to say the Pastor

C: Many people give respect [?] that if they don't go to church they will send someone to come and ... ask them why I didn't come. Ah!

D: Even [the

A: [Even somebody may absent him or herself from church and when somebody catches ... (lowers his voice) "Did Pastor ask of me?"

All: (Laugh)

C: And that will ...

A: Is fearing the Pastor

All: Not God

C: And that thing will lead to telling lies

A: Ee

C: Maybe the Pastor just decides not to go ... ee I was sick

All: (Laugh)

D: [?]

C: Telling lies

D: Telling lies, and others ended up in not going to church if maybe they see that they are no longer be ... giving that attention

A: Mm

D: Ee, some of them, they will just decide to not going to church for if they have the ... the difficulties among

A: You see, all what we are discussing you may think we ... are doing it this way, this way, this way. It boils down to ... eh ... this ... the God nature. That is why I said initially that ... he's talking about this, this, this characteristic, when you are genuinely born again. And I said you should not quarrel about ... the phrase "born again" because it is in the Bible, second Corinthians 5:17

D: 5:17

A: One lady was asking ... please I'm not joking, one lady was asking ... eh ... no she said, she preached this to a certain person and that person said ... eh ... OK, if you are saying this now, 2 Corinthians 5:17, does it mean that ... eh ... my grandmother if she is born again now she can start bearing children again now (laughs). If everything has become new, does it mean my grandmother if she is born again now

D: Oh!

A: She will start bearing children (laughs)

B: OK [?]

A: She did not understand it

C: No, the grandmother will still be ...

B: Yeah

A: Eh, ready to ... be pregnant

C: And start getting married again.

A: Mm

D: Ee

A: Is

C: What I know that the word ... that, that phrase

A: People don't understand

C: Born again is ... it means different things to different people

A: Mm

C: Even many people don't even know the meaning of that word, that born again

D: Mm

A: The thing is that when it is not well explained to such a person

C: Some people that know the meaning of born again

A: Mm

C: You know, I ... I was once telling somebody, long time ago that I believe ... somebody that is my own view, that is my own perception of ... the whole issue

A: Mm

C: I believe somebody to behave

A: Mm

C: Do you understand? Behave well for somebody to say that this person is a born again. For you to be saying that I'm born again and if somebody ... start like putting you in a scale to weigh you

A: Mm

C: You didn't worth like ...

A: Mm

C: The smallest [stop] as a born again

A: Mm

C: I was now like, if somebody, if somebody really want to be born again and look at you

A: Mm

C: The person will be put off

A: Mm

C: I'm sorry I was leaving with that person (laughs) is long time ago, during my undergraduate.

D: OK.

C: So, I was telling her that, is not every time you would be telling somebody that you are a born again, you are born again, born, if somebody look at you, not just looking at you ... look at ...

B: Whatever you do

D: What you are doing

C: The feature of born again in you

B: Mm

A: Mm

C: Like ... what, what, which word should I even use to ... is like insulting the ... I didn't know the, how to put.

A: Almighty God

C: Yeah, to, to abuse the ... that expression "born again", that ... I believe even Christ himself didn't say that I'm a Christian.

D: Mm

C: Is people that abi (that is), abi disciples, is the ... people [that saw them,

A: [The people the, at Antioch.

C: That see them, the way they were believed, they say that these people are Christians. They didn't claim they are ... because ... if you really, if you are really a born again, you don't even need to tell people that you are a born again. Your actions,

G: [?]

C: Yeah! Everything about you will tell people that ... because they say that action speaks louder than [words

D: [words

C: Yeah!

B: Is true

A: Yeah, yes ... you are telling the truth anyway, but when somebody confronts you, you have to identify yourself.

C: You answer genuinely

A: Yes.

C: Not to please people.

A: Yeah, yes, not to please people. But then, one has to ... in fact, one has to ... be [] before ... the person leading you reads the Bible. ... You see God in somebody. I mean, you can ... the, the, this is personal evangelism ... let people lead you and know that you are really a Christian ... even before you tell them that ... you are ... one ... I don't know if you understand what I mean? I said ... OK, let me put it this way, many, you know many people, hundreds of people don't read the ... Holy Bible. But they can read the people

D: Mm

A: They can watch people

D: Mm

A: So, ... let your action here and behaviour or ...

D: Speak

A: Tell that you are this person.

D: Mm

A: Rather than eh ... you know preaching it

D: Yeah

C: No! Sometimes people need ... you to preach ... but what I don't like ... maybe personal stuff now

A: Mm

C: As I was telling that my friend that, what I don't really like is instead of him to be preaching Christ to me

A: Mm

C: Preaching the word to me, be preaching ... born again, that you are born again and you want me to be born again. You understand?

B: Yes

C: What I want is, open Bible, let's read and discuss, you understand? Or let me even get your goodness as your Christ-like in your action ... than ... preach what you don't keep.

B: In addition

C: Like ... I'm

A: You can say what

C: OK, you

A: That person doesn't ... but that scripture is a pre-linguistite as well

C: To ...?

A: Ehm ... I mean ... that 2 Corinthians 5:17. Is something that has to be told people and then before you ... Can start watching

C: Once you are a born again, be born again.

B: What?

A: No! ... Yes ... yes, yes. I mean that scripture has to be mentioned.

C: I'm not saying that you don't suppose to, but when you men, when somebody mention it out of contexts or when I know. Is like, you come to, you're preaching to me.

A: Mm

Am: That, Amara on Sunday, please, go to church, is good. This is why you should go to church.

A: Mm

C: And I don't see you going to church.

A: Mm ... is, is wrong.

C: No, that is my, the only place I'm, is not that I have any problem with being born again.

A: Mm

C: I do tell people ... too ... But, my own problem is ... if you're preaching something to somebody, you know that somebody will hold you with what you've said.

A: Mm

C: You won't tell me that,

B: for example

C: Yeah, you won't tell me don't eat ... bread and you're eating bread

A: Mm

D: Mm

C: Go to church, you said that you must go to church, you must do this, you must not ... abuse, you must not curse, you must not do this and you are doing all those things,

D: Yeah.

C: So, how would the person you are talking, preaches.

A: That is, that is the problem of the church.

C: Yeah

A: And let me tell you ... to

C: This one is follow my

A: That is the problem I'm having. You're in the church, that is, I have to say it, that is the problem I'm having.

C: (Laughs)

A: There is ... no love, it is not only here in Christ Embassy.

D: Ee

A: It is in almost ... all the churches.

C: It is in the world, not just in the

A: I can't tell you now that ... eh ... eh ... Christ Embassy is perfect

C: self-centred

A: I know Christ ... eh ... Pastor Chris is a genuine man of God, but who are under him? Who are in the ministry?

C: We are human

D: Mm

C: That is what ... let me tell you

A: But human, Pastor Chris will also tell you, don't look at negative ... eh ... points ... in people

C: I was telling somebody, I was telling somebody

A: That is true, but when you ... we are, that is what we use to console ourselves even myself, we are human being, we are human being, especially when I was in Lesotho.

D: Mm

A: You tell them, don't do this, don't do this, eh ... akiri we are human being, akiri we are human beings. You know what I'm saying.

B: I see you learn more in Lesotho (laughs).

A: Akiri we are human being, always you ... you ... maybe I'm the only man here.

B: Mm

A: Always, you go out with men ... mm ... fornicating everytime. One man of God says, fornicating here and there (laughs) and he said that they said, Oh! Akiri we are human beings

All: (Laugh)

A: Why should that be? A pastor, our pastor, did you know ntate ... ehm ...

B: Ntate?

A: He is in "Agape" that time. The short man ...

B: Agape?

A: OK, ... he preached it in the church one day, everywhere ... ahsh (7 times). Hei! Ntate ahsh ahsh ahsh (laughs). I said, what is wrong with these people. He said you should, he only mentioned, you should not have boyfriends, you should not have girlfriends. They started making a noise.

C: The only thing is, what I know is even Jesus Christ had girlfriend. Yeah, it depends on the angle we look at, we look at it but our mind has made that once somebody talk of boyfriend and girlfriend, is negativity. I know

A: Our mind tried

C: Yeah, because that Mary and Martha, if you see how close they were with Jesus, and when Lazarus died, their action, you see that affection was there. But not in sex.

A: But why people talk like that. Why didn't they ... regard Lazarus himself, a man, who is also a friend of Jesus.

C: You know

A: You see, his friend died.

C: Because he was died, because he is dead, he was, yeah, he was

A: Yeah, mm

C: So, this is the people that are mourning him and even before then, there is ... one section in the Bible like that, that talk that when Jesus was preaching to them, Mary was sitting, listening, Martha was like running ... helter skelter.

A: Trying to prepare food.

C: You understand? So, that means he has been close to them.

A: Mm

C: Very, very close. But our worldly eyes to look at it, is that, once a man is close to a woman,

B: is on love

C: Is on bed, yes. That is just the [?] is not that

A: That is when one has,

C: It can be genuinely

A: That worldly eye

C: We can be genuinely be close to opposite sex but not in that ...

A: And

C: Yeah, but

A: You talk about,

C: What?

A: Jesus

C: This is a man, eh! (laughs)

All: (Laugh)

A: And it is everywhere in the world, not

C: No, I am, that is what I am saying that is common because that our ... eh ...
sinful nature in us not in God. That our sinful nature [and our

A: [The sinful nature and the
nature of man eh ... You studied Physics in secondary school?

C: Ah ... I didn't go to science [class

A: [You know the positive and negative poles? [I'm

C: Yeah [hei! I

read one book, it said opposite attracts, is a title of a book, opposite attracts

A: Ah, that is it. It attracts but when you have that ... eh ... God like nature

D: Eh

A: You ... always think of God, God's own type of love

D: Mm

B: I, I have a question. Most of people say that, it will be a born again you have
to attend certain church. That if I'm Roman Catholic, according to them

A: Mm

B: I cannot be born a again, I have first

C: Let me ask you a question

A: Where is it in the Bible?

C: No, let me ask you a question.

B: They use to say it

A: There is not ...thing like that in the Bible

C: Let me ask you a question

B: Mm

C: What is the meaning of born again?

B: Born again, you ... are a real child of God

C: If you are a born again, that is what you ask yourself that, is there any church
that God says

B: That is what I'm asking, have you ever

A: Even, there is nothing like Pentecostal church

B: Mm

A: There is nothing like that

- C: What I know that
- B: But some people use to say it is important to them
- C: What I know, is not that I'm not but what I'm saying is I do, you know sometimes we talk. What I normally tell people is ... God can never, if is the God I worship can never ask you that which church do you attend in the world.
- B: Eh
- A: Mm
- C: Just to look at you, because they will first open one big book, where your action and behaviour, everything goes in. That is where they will see [?], for look at the church, church can never save, you can be a Reverend Father you may end in hell, you can be one Pastor in one of these ... Pentecostal churches
- B: [?]
- C: It can happen and any lay person like this can ... make it.
- A: Let me, let me summarise it for you ... with ...
- C: With ...
- A: Five ... words. Five words only. I will only say "God looks at the heart", that is all.
- B: God looks at the heart
- A: Mm, he looks at the heart. This heart, he knows, you know that the heart is deceitful. Man's heart is deceitful. You can say every good thing that very well ... eh ... that socialise with people, eh ... sympathise with people, donate things to the people, pay their school fees, do everything for them. But this heart ... has ... is rotten, is rotten ...
- D: In because again God is the one who knows
- A: Eh
- D: How, how, how, how
- A: Yes
- D: Deeply are keeping
- A: Yes
- D: Ee
- A: Whether if I give you something now ... eh ... in time to come or tomorrow [?] ... the same self ... can she even ... eh ... appreciate it. Can she, if I were her,

can she do this for me, ... or you begin to think of ... when she will ... also do something for you

B: Is of no use [?]

A: Or you now choose give somebody ...

B: Something

A: Who is handy⁶⁰ hoping that ... I know he will also do for me. Let me not do for this one when will he be

B: [Yeah, handy to ... to give me something in particular, eh? His people are poor, what can they do to me, or what can I gain?

A: You are doing something for somebody, you are hoping ...

B: Expecting some thing

A: [Something back

D: Or want to impress other people

A: Eh yeah, being something now, you go and tell thousands of people

D: Ee

A: I gave him this, I gave him that

D: Mm

A: I just to make him ... you know he's sick, he's poor, he's this. You know something like that.

B: Yeah, is true

A: That heart is not good ... towards God. God wants you to give not expecting back

D: Ee

B: Mm

A: That's it. It is the same thing like when you are offering, you are giving to God. You are giving, you're only hoping on what God will do for you. Not that you are giving it because he's God.

C: Mm ... but he's Almighty

A: The motive

C: Of giving

⁶⁰ Here, the speaker uses the word *handy* to mean a person who is rich.

A: Yes

C: Yes, God knows. He's the one that owns us

A: I always pay my tithe

C: He's the one who owns everything

All: (Laugh)

A: Is there anything you can give God that ... that is too big?

C: [?] I was listening to one music like that, it was saying that what did, what did God want from us? Nothing, but thanks,

A: Praise

B: Mm

D: Ee

C: Just to say that you, God ... Just to say thank you God

A: Praise Praise

C: Some people will say that, why will I thank God? That my [?] this your breathing is even enough say God, thank you.

B: Mm

A: You said that God, God doesn't love you ... the evidence is there that he loves you, because you are talking ... eh?

C: What the people that are talking

A: The air one second ... he takes away this ... this air, you are gone.

C: Life we are living as I see it is just like a mystery, you can never understand everything. You can never understand everything. You can never understand how God operates. You see hard working people, this people they are really hard.

A: Mm

C: But they don't get much. You see people that ... they don't really struggle. They don't really even put their ... half strength

A: Even, Pastor Christ have preached it ... if ... if

C: half strength

A: If people who should be rich, are people struggle, no continent should be ... ah ... richer than Africa. OK, what of you, now you drive your car, you bring out your key, you open the ... no, you go to the shop ...

D: Mm

A: The people [taking] the wheelbarrow or whatever are those people with muscles.

All: (Laugh)

A: They bring it, you just bring R5 and ... just, is not, the R5 is not heavy. He's just bring it out and give, and how you got it is just [silence]. People who are working are not earning.

D: Mm

A: Don't you see labourers? People ... sweeping in UFS

D: Trouble

A: Everyday that, when you go for holidays, they're there working

B: Working hard

A: But, what is the Rector doing? The ... [the Rector

B: in [the office ... signing,

A: That is all ... ordinary newspaper, people will read for him.

C: No, he has worked

A: [To tell

C: [During his time

A: That is what I'm telling you. That time he worked, he was not earning ... big money, but when he is not working, he starts earning big money.

C: Hei

A: What does your president, Yar'Adua ...

C: God, I pray that my time will come when I will do less and get more

All: (Laugh)

A: You [talk

C: [That is prayer point, that is prayer point

All: Mm

A: Ee, ee, my wife has gone to ... Joburg. Maybe she will carry big, big thing ... what is the profit there? No, profit where is it? Eh?

C: This world is ...

B: Is better than none, even if is [small

A: [Ee we are just illustrating ...

B: [?]

A: You see. Ee, that is it.

C: If life is something,

A: We don't do to impress people, that is what this ...
D: Ee
A: Colossians 3 ... 3 ... what?
D: [?]
A: 3:23, is saying, if you don't get any scripture today, ... get that one. Colossians Chapter 3 verse 23. Let it done on you that, if you are doing anything in the church, or you are doing something for anybody, take it that you are doing it for God because,
D: But not to impress people.
A: Not to impress anybody, ... to impress anybody. We can take all these things ... eh ... seriously and by the grace of God. You attend that [?]

Appendix 9: Recording among friends transcription

Key:

A: A Sesotho lady (she is married to an Igbo man)

B: An Igbo man (a friend to A's husband)

B: [?]

A: I don't know. Somebody just took him. I thought he went to buy a statute with my sister

B: OK

A: Mm

B: To see your sister?

A: Yes!

B: Wow! Wow! You must allow him to [?]

A: Aah?

B: You must allow Ugoo to be in

A: Now, is gonna give me problem. I don't want problem here!

B: Bring him is a problem? No, [problem

A: [No, is a big problem. When he comes here, he will want this and that. Then, I don't like that.

B: You'll give it to him...

A: No!

B: After all, he is the owner of everything.

A: (Laughs) No, is not working like that

B: Aah, Aah!

A: No, this is a business.

B: You know when your, when your child ask you for a fish, you must give him fish [?]

A: Not everyday. I don't want to spoil him. He's gonna be a spoilt child.

B: Nomusa is good

A: No

B: Nomusa is good

A: You want him to be spoilt?

B: No, no, no! I don't want that.

A: Then, why?

B: You must

A: [everything he want, I must give it to him?

B: [?] is good to train him very well so that when he grows

A: He know what is good and bad, nè?⁶¹

B: Yeah

A: [?] start directing them and something like that. But when you treat them from the beginning

B: Ee

A: That when they know, ehm, is good to treat them nice.

B: You have to make one.

A: Direct them

B: When are you making one?

A: Let them know what is good and what is bad. You must make one.

B: Aah!

A: You must make one.

B: Aah! Yeah! I need, I need also, if you can ... give me one.

A: (Laughs) No

B: [From, from anywhere

A: Look for somebody who gonna give you one.

B: No, no, no! I don't do like that because I don't know any of them.

A: You don't have a girlfriend?

B: [?] I don't have.

A: Speak to that one there.

B: Aah?

A: (Points to a lady in the shop)

B: It doesn't work like that now.

A: OK.

⁶¹ "Nè" is an Afrikaans wording meaning "isn't it?"

B: It doesn't work like that. So, you must look for NICE one, at least you have
many

A: My sister

B: Your sister, which one?

A: Palesa

B: Which one is that, the one that's taking care of Ugoo?

A: Ee, you don't like her? Or just hear story stories.

B: Ee?

A: You don't like her?

B: ... You must look for someone not your sister.

A: Why not my sister?

B: Mmh (no)

A: You don't like her?

B: Not that I don't like her, I like everybody.

A: That white one

B: Which white one?

A: That one working in other shop

B: Which other shop?

A: The one I was working with

B: Before? But she is no more here.

A: She is gonna come back.

B: Yeah, I saw her with one man there the other day.

A: Because you saw her with one man you think that ... maybe ... they're
boyfriend and girlfriend?

B: Mm

A: (Laughs)

B: By main looking at them, you know that there is something between them.

A: No, is her brother.

B: Mm?

A: Is her brother

B: Is her brother?

A: Mm

B: (Laughs) Mama Ugoo, you want me to believe you?

A: Why? I'm looking like am lying? Serious, brother and sister, they are brother ... and sister.

B: Sure?

A: Sure

B: OK, You know what I will do?

A: Yes

B: Any other time that guy will come; I will go there direct and say one or two things, to know if there is close; if there is anything.

A: Who are you going to ask?

B: No, I can go there, say, baby, how are you, long ... time, you know. Something like that, see how the guy will just react.

A: Is gonna go say anything.

B: Are you sure?

A: One hundred percent

B: Because, I don't want anybody to hit me.

A: (Laughs), nobody is gonna hit you

B: Sure? OK.

A: Mm

Appendix 10: Home recording transcription

Key:

A: An Igbo man (who is married to a Sesotho woman)

B: A Sesotho lady (a wife to the Igbo man)

C: A girl (their daughter: 6 years old)

D: A boy (their son: 4 years old).

A: Let us pray, Chinedu pray for us in Afrikaans.

D: (Prays in Afrikaans)

A: OK, let us eat. Chinedu

D: Eeh

A: No, Ekene

D: She don't know.

A: Did you cry at, at school today?

D: Yeah!

A: You cried?

D: (Laughs)

A: Why did you cry?

D: Mm

A: Aah?

C: /I came back with book/

D: They push you, mmh

A: Who push you? ... Aah?

D: Nana (baby)

A: But I told you ... if you cry at school

B: Mm mmh, they will not answer

A: I won't give you ... money for /snoopy/ on Fridays again.

C: Come and see, come and see them .. Oh!

A: No

D: O maka⁶²

C: O maka

A: Chinedu, did you cry?

D: No

A: You don't cry?

D: Yes!

A: Good people don't cry at school (...) after a long silence

D: Let's pray

A: Sweetie, how was your studies today?

D: ... Wow! Studies?

A: The thing ... I ask for the ... that part I didn't understand [?]

D: [?]
is keeper?

A: For me, it was good. The people that sponsor us came ...

D: They did?

A: Yes, the people that sponsor us, the people that pay your daddy.

D: [Daddy!

A: [They came, look at our work, and they were very happy.

D: Daddy

A: And congratulated me. So I thank God.

B: Mmh [?]

A: Yeah, it was in the ..., I thank God for that.

D: (Laughs)

A: The lady that came with the eh /rose seed last Sunday/
B: [] /in the night/
A: In the night, mm! I saw her, ... she sent her greetings, say I should greet you
and thank you for the other day ... (to D) you want water?
D: No
B: [?]
A: You know the one that I'm talking of?
B: Mm

⁶² O *maka* is Sesotho expression meaning "you are lying".

A ... OK. This programme

D: [?]

A: So we have to sleep early today

D: We need to pray

A: I know you will pray, you will pray but no making of noise. Daddy has to be busy somehow. So you go to your [beds wait

D: [wait for daddy [?]

A: Mm, then, when I come, I pray for you

D: (speaks in Sesotho)

A: What is sokola, mm?

D: [Speaks in Sesotho again]

A: Aah, I don't know it.

D: [?]

A: God?

All: (Laughs)

A: (To his wife) what is it?

D: Sokola!

B: Sokola is to struggle

A: To struggle

B: Yes

D: O tla rapela jooj?⁶³

B: You want your father to /know/ Sesotho by fire by force.

A: I don't know Sesotho

D: O tla rapela jooj?

A: Mmh

B: No, pray before you sleep. I have to do something.

A: Mm

D: Jwang?⁶⁴

B: As you are sleeping, before you sleep, that is what you will do.

D: Eeh

⁶³ *O tla rapela jooj* is Sesotho expression meaning "how will you pray"?

⁶⁴ *Jwang* is a Sesotho word meaning "how"?

C: Eeh

A: That is, you promise that you won't make noise

B: Ekene, are you going to make noise?

A: But first of all, you guys are going to wash up, OK, you have washed up your own, we have to

D&C: (Laughs)

A: Or maybe

D: I like it, I will wash it now (repeats it in Sesotho)

A: You are speaking Sesotho to me

D: (Speaks Sesotho again)

B: I don't make it

D: Yeah!

B: [?] with that person

A: What is it?

B: [?]

A: This [is

B: [Eh

A: Design something

B: [?]

A: What you should have done is ...

D: Oh!

A ... by the time they come back, you would have ... because I don't know what, what solvent they use in ... to dissolve it

D: I forgot to wash it [in the school

A: OK [in the water ... for the allowing it [?]

D: [?]

B: You are not feeling sleepy today?

D: [?] Yes we need sleep

B: And you are feeling fine [?]

D: Wait I want to tell you ... Ke batla ho o bolelia⁶⁵

⁶⁵ *Ke batla ho o bolelia* is Sesotho expression meaning "wait, I want to tell you".

B: What is it?
 D: Eh!
 C: Chinedu! Ke batle bohobe⁶⁶
 B: OK
 D: [?] I don't want /Jumping castle there/
 B: You want /Jumping castle/?
 C: Yes
 D: Yes [?]
 A: Where is /jumping castle/?
 D: Eeh, eh they go
 C: Kea koloing! Kea koloing!⁶⁷
 A: OK, they visit the school?
 D: Yes
 C: [?]
 D: [?] (talk for long)
 B: [?]
 C: [?]
 D: [Talks for long]
 C: Daddy! Daddy!
 D [Talk for long]
 A: OK
 D: The floor
 A: Mm, Ekene, what did you do?
 C: [?] Akere, I jumped [?]
 A: You were jumping only, OK.
 C: I later
 D: /Haholo⁶⁸ [?]/
 A: OK, /you jumped Haholo [?]/
 B [?]

⁶⁶ *Ke batle bohobe* is Sesotho expression meaning "I want bread".

⁶⁷ *Kea koloing! Kea koloing* is Sesotho expression meaning "I am going to the car!".

⁶⁸ *Haholo* is Sesotho word meaning "too much".

D: Me, I jumped [?]
A: You slept [?]
B: [?]
A: So, that is what we pay for every month; going to play ...
B: Ee
A: That's great ... OK ... that's good.
D: Daddy, and me, and if she finish to play, she go to the [?], if they [talk for long]
and ate outside
C: Daddy, I gave [?]
A: You go there
C: Yes
A: OK
B: Sweetheart, /what come to do/
A: But,
D: We should fly them away
A: You're drinking bottle or what?
D: No, no drinking bottle
B: Oh!
A: So, bottle
D: You [don't
C: I [did
D: [?]
B: It was
A: OK. You didn't allow it to enter your mouth, akere?
C&D: Yeah!
D: And you say all the kids they coming, and they don't want to do, they fought.
She say, if they finish [?]
B: (Interrupts) [?] take you pictures?
D: Yes
C: And [?]
B: Did you do it? Show me. How did you do it?
C: KISS
B: Ee [Laughs)
A: [Laughs)

A: (Repeats) Kiss. That's good!
D: And me too, I did cheese [?]
A: OK, that's great. You enjoyed today, eh?
D: Yeah [?]
A: Let's pray
D: [?]
C: [?]
A: Thank you father

Appendix 11a Afrikaans use in different contexts

Table 5.33a The frequency of Afrikaans use in different contexts

RESPONSES									
	ALWAYS			OFTEN			RARELY		
D/C	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)
S/A	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7 (35)	7 (35)
F/C	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7 (35)	7 (35)
C/L	—	2 (10)	2 (10)	—	4 (20)	4 (20)	—	5 (25)	5 (25)
FCM	—	1 (5)	1 (5)	—	3 (15)	3 (15)	—	4 (20)	4 (20)
C/A	—	—	—	—	1 (5)	1 (5)	—	2 (10)	2 (10)
M/L	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
FMM	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
M/A	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
R	—	—	—	—	3 (15)	3 (15)	—	8 (40)	8 (40)
N	—	—	—	—	3 (15)	3 (15)	—	8 (40)	8 (40)
Dr	—	4 (20)	4 (20)	—	3 (15)	3 (15)	—	8 (40)	8 (40)
O/P	—	—	—	—	2 (10)	2 (10)	—	4 (20)	4 (20)
F	—	—	—	—	10 (50)	10 (50)	—	5 (25)	5 (25)
S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8 (40)	8 (40)
O/S	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 (5)	1 (5)
O/C	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 (5)	1 (5)
F/S	—	—	—	—	3 (15)	3 (15)	—	2 (10)	2 (10)
LE	—	—	—	—	2 (10)	2 (10)	—	3 (15)	3 (15)
LI	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4 (20)	4 (20)
Drv	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
F/P	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 (5)	1 (5)

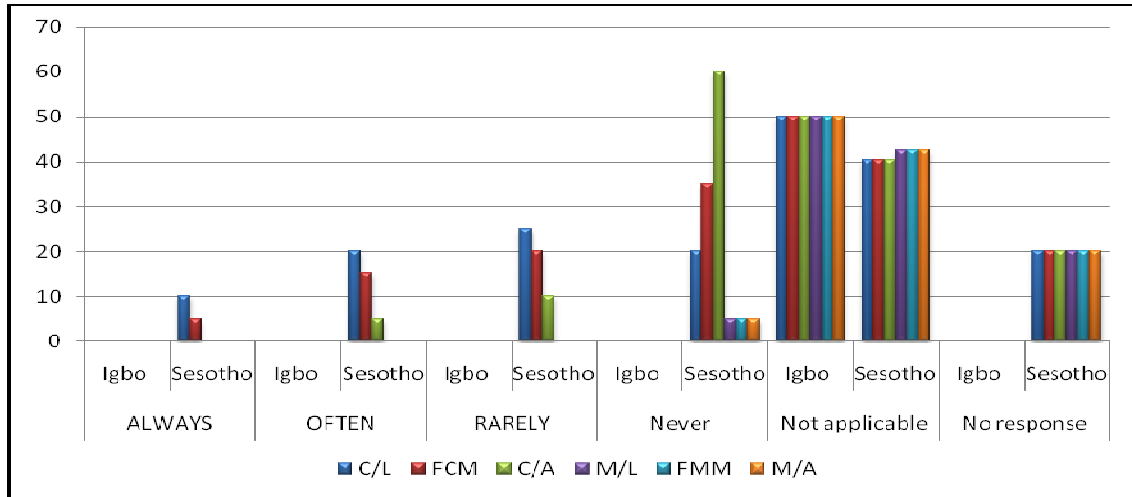
Appendix 11b Afrikaans use in different contexts continued

Table 5.33b The frequency of Afrikaans use in different contexts continued

RESPONSES									
	NEVER			Not Applicable			No Response		
D/C	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)	Igbo (%)	Sesotho (%)	Total (%)
S/A	—	9 (45)	9 (45)	100 (50)	80 (40)	180 (90)	—	4 (20)	4 (20)
F/C	—	9 (45)	9 (45)	100 (50)	80 (40)	180 (90)	—	4 (20)	4 (20)
C/L	—	4 (20)	4 (20)	100 (50)	81 (40.5)	181 (90.5)	—	4 (20)	4 (20)
FCM	—	7 (35)	7 (35)	100 (50)	81 (40.5)	181 (90.5)	—	4 (20)	4 (20)
C/A	—	12 (60)	12 (60)	100 (50)	81 (40.5)	181 (90.5)	—	4 (20)	4 (20)
M/L	—	1 (5)	1 (5)	100 (50)	95 (42.5)	195 (97.5)	—	4 (20)	4 (20)
FMM	—	1 (5)	1 (5)	100 (50)	95 (42.5)	195 (97.5)	—	4 (20)	4 (20)
M/A	—	1 (5)	1 (5)	100 (50)	95 (42.5)	195 (97.5)	—	4 (20)	4 (20)
R	—	4 (20)	4 (20)	100 (50)	80 (40)	180 (90)	—	5 (25)	5 (25)
N	—	4 (20)	4 (20)	100 (50)	80 (40)	180 (90)	—	5 (25)	5 (25)
Dr	—	4 (20)	4 (20)	100 (50)	80 (40)	180 (90)	—	5 (25)	5 (25)
O/P	—	8 (40)	8 (40)	100 (50)	80 (40)	180 (90)	—	6 (30)	6 (30)
F	—	1 (5)	1 (5)	100 (50)	80 (40)	180 (90)	—	4 (20)	4 (20)
S	—	7 (35)	7 (35)	100 (50)	80 (40)	180 (90)	—	5 (25)	5 (25)
O/S	—	3 (15)	3 (15)	100 (50)	91 (45.5)	191 (95.5)	—	5 (25)	5 (25)
O/C	—	4 (20)	4 (20)	100 (50)	91 (45.5)	191 (95.5)	—	4 (20)	4 (20)
F/S	—	—	—	100 (50)	94 (47)	194 (97)	—	1 (5)	1 (5)
L1	—	—	—	100 (50)	94 (47)	194 (97)	—	1 (5)	1 (5)
L2	—	1 (5)	1 (5)	100 (50)	94 (47)	194 (97)	—	1 (5)	1 (5)
Drv	—	15 (75)	15 (75)	100 (50)	80 (40)	180 (90)	—	5 (25)	5 (25)
F/P	—	15 (75)	15 (75)	100 (50)	80 (40)	180 (90)	—	4 (20)	4 (20)

Appendix 12a Afrikaans use in the religious contexts

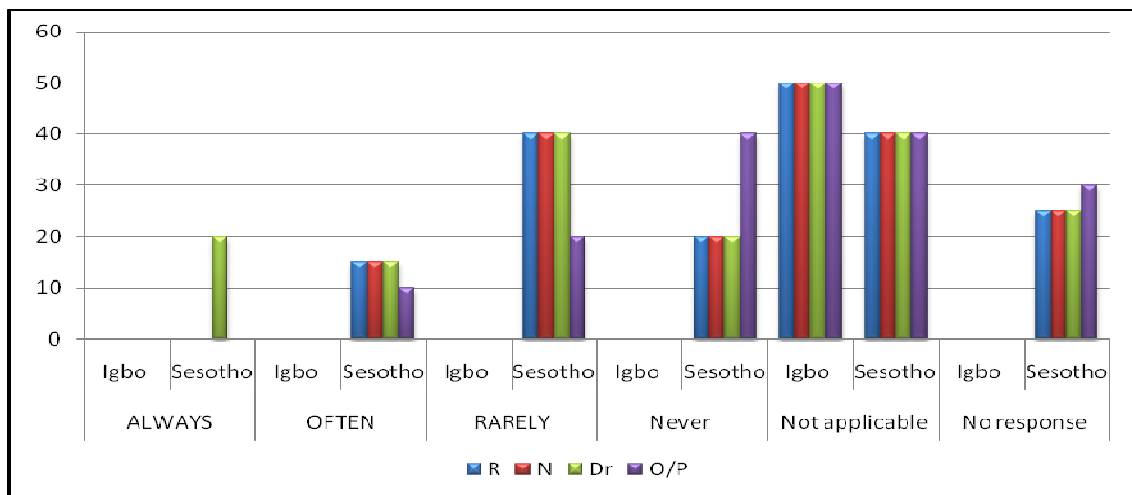
Figure 5.33 The frequency of Afrikaans use in the religious contexts



Key: C/L: with church leaders; FCM: with fellow church members; C/A: at church activities; M/L: with mosque leaders; FMM: with fellow mosque members; M/A: at mosque activities.

Appendix 12b Afrikaans use in the hospital context

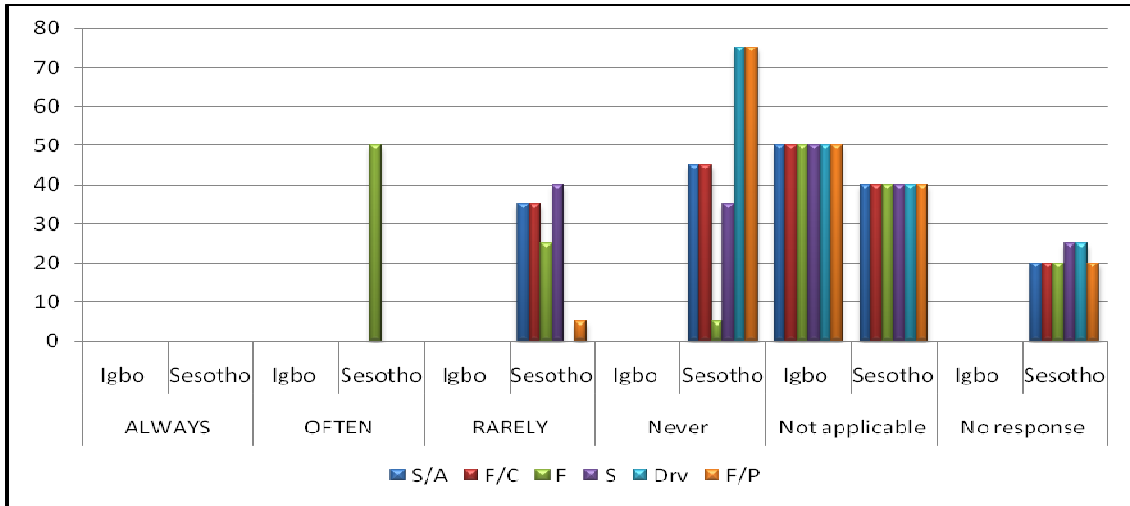
Figure 5.34 The frequency of Afrikaans use in the hospital context



Key: R: with hospital receptionists; N: with nurses; Dr: with doctors; O/P: with other patients.

Appendix 12c Afrikaans use in the social contexts

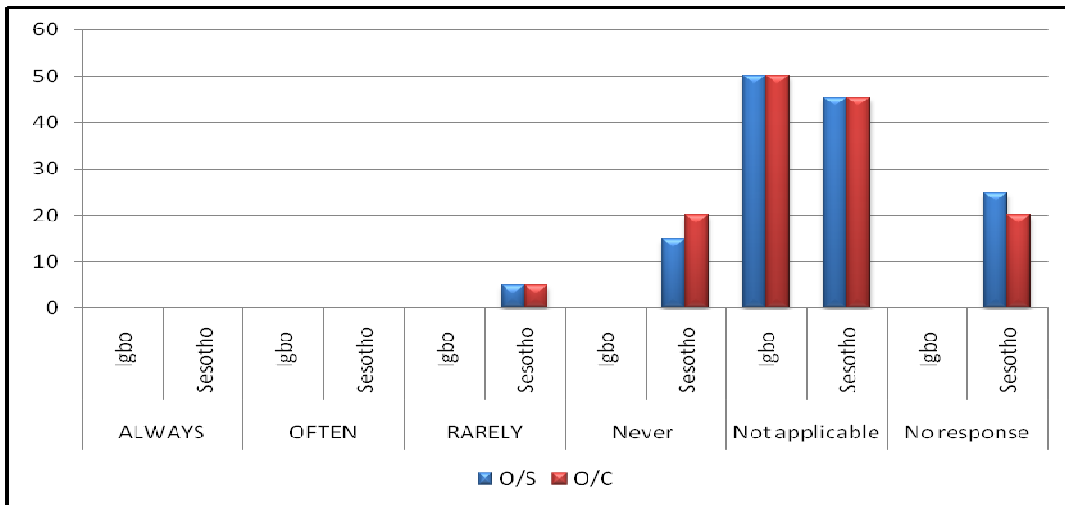
Figure 5.35 The frequency of Afrikaans use in the social contexts



Key: S/A: with shop attendants; F/C: with fellow customers; F: with friends; S: with strangers; Drv: with taxi drivers; F/P: with your fellow passengers.

Appendix 12d Afrikaans use in the home context

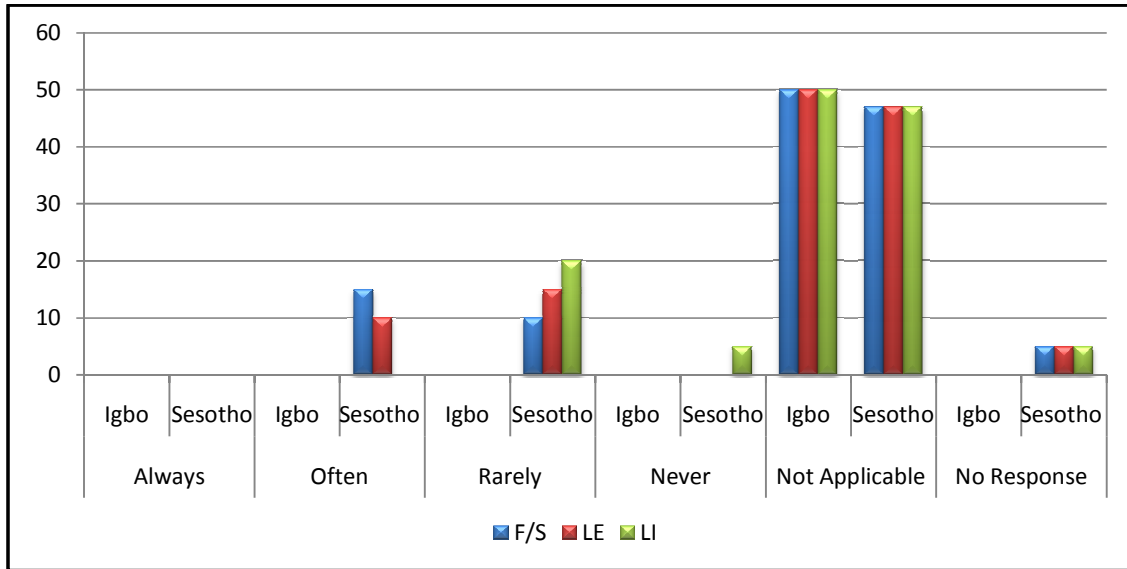
Figure 5.36 The frequency of Afrikaans use in the home context



Key: O/S: with one's spouse; O/C: with one's children.

Appendix 12e Afrikaans use in the educational context

Figure 5.37 The frequency of Afrikaans use in the educational context



Key: F/S: with your fellow students; LE: with lecturers; LI: with librarians.

Source: STAR

Date: 25-Jun-2008

Topic: 15

Ref No: 9103



1

ID: 03602245-01 Source Page: 13

FOREIGNERS ON XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS

Many Africans fled the atrocities in their countries years ago to live in South Africa ... hoping for a better life, one free of violence and with more job opportunities. Last month, in an embarrassing and unprecedented episode of xenophobic violence, foreigners – most of them black – found themselves displaced and living in hastily established centres



JAE GATEHI (23) – NAIROBI, KENYA

My parents and I came to South Africa because the economic situation back home 10 years ago was really dodgy. South Africa has raised me in many ways. Here I have learnt to love and learnt to hate, but this doesn't feel like home to me. In high school the Zulu girls would speak to me and when I couldn't respond, they made me feel like I wasn't one of them. How can you be not good enough just because you can't say "elbow" in isZulu? I study at UJ now and my two best friends are Ugandan and Swati, not South Africans.



JORDAN KANDA (21) – LUBUMBASHI, CONGO

It is not the first time that I am seeing this kind of fighting. I have seen my own grandmother being burnt alive back in the Congo when I was a boy, so it's sad when I see what is happening in South Africa. It is also not safe here; in just a year of being here, I've been mugged three times. At my place of work there are people of Zulu, Xhosa and Pedi origin and when they speak their language, I don't understand, but they're okay to me. If South Africans want to chase us away, let them do it, but they can't kill or hurt people.



CHIDI UGWU (28) – LAGOS, NIGERIA

We Nigerians love travelling and we say a man must see the world to learn. I think there are many business opportunities. That is the reason why I am here. I have a small shop and I have receipts for everything that I have bought, so how can some people say we are stealing their jobs and their wives? I was here for only three weeks when the fighting started. I was scared so I came to sleep inside my shop. If you treat people well, they will reciprocate. The fighting is not good. We are the same after all, as Bob Marley and Lucky Dube say.



ANNA PEDRO COSSA (30) – MAPUTO, MOZAMBIQUE

We are not happy with the way they (South Africans) are treating us. They call us *kwerekwere* and it makes me feel bad. When the attacks happened last month, I was so scared I couldn't go outside my house. I have been here with my husband and my two kids for six years, and we work very hard. There are no jobs in Maputo so we can't go back home. I want South Africans to treat us like they treat everybody else. In the salon where I work, there are some nice people, the South Africans here are my sisters.

Appendix 13b: Caption 2

Source: DAILY NEWS

Date: 21-May-2008

Topic: 05

Ref No: 1124



1

ID: 03590449-01 Source Page: 1

Durban attacks are 'copycat crimes'

CENTRAL Durban was the latest setting for attacks on foreigners yesterday and some foreigners in the city now fear for their safety.

Nigerian patrons of a bar in Umbilo Road were ambushed by a group of attackers who wielded sticks, rocks and axes. Other media reports suggested at least six people were injured in the attacks.

"They wanted to chop me with an axe but I moved away. They took all my belongings," said Edwin Chukwudi, a regular customer at Ultimate Fast Food and Bar. Chukwudi said he and other patrons were beaten by "about 20 or 30" men and forced to hand over their belongings before the bar was ransacked.

Christopher Ihekumene, owner of the bar, said he now feared for his life because things are getting worse. "Things like this are happening in Jo'burg. I believe what happened here is related to that," he said, referring to the xenophobic attacks in Gauteng.

When the *Daily News* arrived at the scene soon after the incident occurred, locals crowded the streets outside the Dalton Men's Hostel and hurled racial slurs at the reporter. ANC ward councillor, Vusi Khoza, said that he felt the Durban attacks were "copycat crimes".

"I think this attack was more criminally motivated than xenophobic in nature because these guys looted the place," Khoza said.

He urged police to "act brutally" when dealing with those responsible for violence against foreigners and felt that the perpetrators should be made examples of.

Yesterday police were called out to Pine Street where a group of local vendors and salon owners had gathered, ordering foreign nationals to vacate their shops.

The locals accused the foreign businessmen of putting them out of business and said tensions had risen in recent weeks.

In the Warwick Triangle area taxi drivers apparently gathered and started beating street vendors and those who have small businesses near the Claremont taxi rank. Witnesses said while the foreigners were being beaten, those in support of the attackers were shouting out that the foreigners must leave the country as they were not welcome here.

"We are doing this to support our brothers in Johannesburg - we do not want these people here. They must go back to their countries," a man said. - *Daily News Reporters*

Source: SUNDAY TRIBUNE

Date: 25-May-2008

Topic: 05

Ref No: 1307



1

ID: 03592944-01 Source Page: 5

Living in fear amid loathing

Foreign nationals this week told harrowing tales of attacks by marauding mobs in the Durban area as violence spread to KwaZulu-Natal. **Chris Makhaye** and photographer **Sandile Ndlovu** documented their stories

THE first recorded attack occurred when Dalton hostel dwellers allegedly descended on a Nigerian-owned bar and fast food outlet in Sydney Road.

Owner Christopher Iheukwumere said the mob took R25 000, beer and spirits, robbed patrons of their cellphones and wallets and smashed four cars.

Iheukwumere was visited by KwaZulu-Natal Premier Sibusiso Ndebele and Safety and Security MEC Bheki Cele.

Ndebele and Cele reassured the businessman the culprits would be hunted down and prosecuted.

However, Iheukwumere does not know whether the attackers will strike again.

"It is very painful because it is my own African brothers who did this," said

TERROR on the streets

Iheukwumere, who is married to a South African and has citizenship.

Other foreign business owners were worried about their safety.

The Senegalese owner of a clothing shop in West Street (who gave his name as Mohammed) said, "I am very scared. I don't know whether I am going to see a mob come to burn and steal my stock."

He said foreigners who lived or did business in or near Point Road were being accused of crimes such as drug dealing, prostitution, cellphone theft and money laundering.

"It is sad because they paint us all with the same brush of crime. You can see I only sell clothes. I have nothing to do

with crime."

Other business owners in the CBD expressed similar sentiments. A Tanzanian barber who operates from a small shop in Beatrice Street said he and his compatriots were staying indoors after work.

In Malukazi informal settlement, near Isipingo, 28 Malawians took shelter at a house and waited for transport to get them to safety on Thursday.

Foreigners in the area were being attacked and their cellphones, wallets and wares were being stolen.

Among them was 15-year-old Said Samson, who has been in South Africa only four months.

"I saw some people get attacked after we had

jumped off a train in Isipingo. But our group managed to outrun them," said Samson.

Malawian Msusa Felemu said some of his countrymen

Source: CITY PRESS

Date: 25-May-2008

Topic: 05

Ref No: 2442



1



ID: 03608780-01 Source Page: 12

African migrants do not steal our jobs

*Deputy president says in fact most of them
generally create their own employment*

WALDIMAR PELSNER
in Abuja

AFRICAN migrants who have been the targets of xenophobic violence cannot be blamed for unemployment in South Africa and often create jobs themselves, Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka told City Press on Friday.

Mlambo-Ngcuka had earlier officially apologised to Nigerians for the pain they and other immigrants had endured since hate attacks

broke out across South Africa. Mlambo-Ngcuka also renewed the government's condemnation of the violence.

In a speech at the seventh South Africa Nigeria binational commission, she blamed criminals for "destabilising the country".

"We are very concerned and apologise for the inconvenience and hurt that this has caused."

In the interview, Mlambo-Ngcuka rejected the notion that foreigners were taking jobs from South Africans.

"It is not acceptable that we say foreigners are taking our jobs. We recruit people from other countries to come and help us in our skills shortage. On that high level, people come and fill positions that by and large we cannot fill ourselves.

"At the grassroots level in townships, most of these people are traders who create jobs. We can't punish

people for their own creativity and ingenuity. They are prepared to walk the extra mile to start that

spaza shop."

She said the decision to call in the army was "not taken lightly" and was the first such action since the end of apartheid.

Tony Nnachetta, a Nigerian businessman who has been travelling to South Africa for several years, said he was now afraid to undertake another trip and so had not renewed his visa.

"People are scared to hear foreigners are beaten up," he said.

The Vanguard newspaper in an

editorial said: "South Africans have forgotten the role that Nigeria played, at great expense, to see to the cessation of apartheid."

"The Nigerian support came in various forms, including provision of refuge for top officials of the present South African government.

"South Africans are beneficiaries of business openings in Nigeria," Vanguard said. "Nigerians are fair-minded enough to accept them, though their country cannot make the same claims about contributing

to Nigerian society as Nigerians did in fighting apartheid."

Mlambo-Ngcuka said, however, South Africa's relationship with Nigeria was still healthy and strong, pointing to a state visit to South Africa by Nigerian President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua next month.

Mlambo-Ngcuka also told City Press she had no plans to vacate her position before the end of her term in about 10 months' time.

Rumours have been rife that there is pressure on her to step down to

make way for ANC deputy president Kgalema Motlanthe.

"Of course I will complete my term. I'm sorry, you are not going to get rid of me," she said.