

Against all odds: The status of Fanagalo in South Africa today

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Summary

Sub-cultural languages in South Africa – languages which do not enjoy official status amongst other qualities – have not received much attention academically. Existing theories of maintenance and shift accommodate mainstream languages in their role and function within dominant society. However the sub-cultural languages, in which Fanagalo will later be categorised, and their role and function in society are unclear. This may be the result of the inefficiency of current theories of maintenance and shift to explain the functionality of sub-cultural languages and the process they undergo leading to either maintenance or shift. Furthermore, failure to recognise the role and function of such sub-cultural languages may be attributed to their non-official status as they are not officially supported by language policies. The purpose of this study is therefore to understand the process of maintenance or shift a sub-cultural language undergoes. This process is accommodated by developing a theoretical model related to maintenance or shift for sub-cultural languages. This model, specifically based on Fanagalo, will expand on the boundaries set in existing theoretical models of maintenance and shift in order to accommodate sub-cultural language.

It is important to stress that the period during which the data was collected on site at Mine X in Rustenburg, is volatile in nature. The unrest in the social context concerning the mine workers themselves during the period in which this data was gathered alludes to the value of the data and provides a unique insight not achievable under non-adverse circumstances. The unrest began in 2012 during which a “strike over pay ha(d) escalated into alleged turf war between unions” (Smith & Macalister, 2012) in Marikana, Rustenburg where more than thirty people were killed on the 17th of August, 2012. A year later, an agreement between Amcu (Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union) and Lonmin was signed which, according to Mathunjwa, president of Amcu, was quoted as saying, “This shows that the victims did not die in vain and we pledge to continue with their fight for a living wage” (Mathunjwa, 2013, quoted by Steyn, 2013). This pledge was upheld as on 28 August, 2013, Amcu was, “asking for increases as high as 150%, and Solidarity are still engaging” (Nicolson, 2013). As the interviews as part of the data collection process for this study were conducted on 14 August 2013, the value of the data should not go unrecognised.

Key words

Fanagalo, sub-cultural language, language maintenance and language shift theories, domain of use, motivation, identity, crystallised pidgin.

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Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

The development of multilingualism in a global context has gained significant ground. Globalisation, as a result of the fast development of technology that facilitates global trade, manufacturing and travel, has facilitated increased contact of languages. As a result of increased contact and the need for a linking language in contexts where linguistic plurality occurs, people are adding languages to their repertoires. Some scholars claim that, as a result of these developments, the new linguistic dispensation in the world is multilingual. According to Aronin and Singleton (2008:12) “multilingualism and globalisation are so inextricably intertwined, all the major attributes of the globalisation phenomenon characterise multilingualism as well.”

One of the main effects of a globalising world is increased contact between diverse groups of people and languages. Language contact is an influential feature in the development of language variation often coupled with social structure and change. The researcher concurs with Labov (2010:185) when he states that, “The sociolinguistic work of the past half century has identified a wide variety of social structures that correlate with a particular linguistic structure.” At a global and local level, changes in the social structure will result in changes in linguistic structures. The South African social structure and the changes it has undergone in the past half century can therefore not be ignored in relation to linguistic change.

There is no general principle that can account for the motivation or driving forces that cause language variation and change because the external driving forces are not uniform. The reason for this non-uniformity is that the external factors that govern change differ in various cultural, historical, ethnic, and geographical contexts. Some social factors may influence a language more or influence change less, depending on the social context as a whole. Therefore, the researcher agrees with Meillet (1921:16 cited in Labov, 2010:185) that:

The only variable to which we can turn to account for linguistic change is social change, of which linguistic variation are only consequences [...] We must determine which social structure corresponds to a given linguistic structure, and how, in a general manner, changes in social structure are translated into changes in linguistic structure.

The social history of South Africa has been a unique external driving force for language variation and change; and factors like contact between a variety of ethnic groups, multilingualism, and colonial and apartheid struggles are contributors to these processes. The social structure has had a significant impact on the creation of varieties related to both mainstream and sub-cultural languages in this context.

For the purpose of contextualisation, it is necessary to discern between mainstream and sub-cultural language. The framework in which both expressions of culture exist in society is important so that their relation to each other is understood. The researcher concurs with Hall and Jefferson's (1976:10) definition of culture:

The word 'culture' refers to that level at which social groups develop distinct patterns of life, and give *expressive form* to their social and material life experience. Culture is the way, the forms, in which groups 'handle' the raw material of their social and material existence [...] Culture includes the 'maps of meaning' which make things intelligible to its members. These 'maps of meaning' are not simply carried around in the head: they are objectivated in the patterns of social organisation and relationship through which the individual becomes a 'social individual'.

These theorists thus emphasise that culture is a product or reflection of the situation in which society functions. Since Meillet (1921 cited in Labov, 2010) advocates that social change is a variable which exerts an influence on linguistic change as the dependent variable, it can be concluded that both culture and the language spoken is reflective of the social construct and status of a given society – a relationship reciprocal in nature. It is important to note that there is more than one set of cultural ideas that exist within one society. The dominant ideas within a society may assert its dominance over subordinate cultural ideas through recognition via legislature or social conventions. The 11 official languages of South Africa are representative of mainstream cultural language use as they are endorsed by legislature. As a result Fanagalo¹, and languages that fall in

¹ The word *Fanagalo* has been spelled differently throughout various studies, for example, *Fanakalo*. This study makes use of the former spelling which does not affect its meaning – it refers to the language in general.

the same sub-cultural category such as Flaaitaal and Tsotsitaal which are not protected by language policies and legislature, are more vulnerable to potential language shift than the 11 official mainstream languages. If sub-cultural languages such as Fanagalo are maintained, then the results determining and explaining its current status may elucidate the shortcomings of mainstream language theories and models of maintenance and shift in which policy is endorsed as a driving force for maintenance. The core elements of current models for mainstream language maintenance centre on language policy and the intergenerational transfer mechanism. Neither of these elements have relevance in the maintenance of sub-cultural languages as these languages are neither endorsed by policy nor traditionally – from the parent to the child – transferred in the home domain. The identification of such shortcomings calls for the development of a sub-cultural model of maintenance or shift.

1.2 Previous studies on Fanagalo

Previous research with a focus on Fanagalo mainly centres on its origin and the description of its linguistic features. Fanagalo came into existence in the early 1800's, although its origin is debatable. According to Mesthrie (2006:430) "Fanakalo does not seem to have been widespread in this period: It is but one of several communication strategies that appear in the archival and travel literature of the times, and judging from the sources, it was not used very frequently." It does however seem likely that Fanagalo was developed as a means of communication between people with different home languages. Afrikaans did not fulfil the communicative need between English, Afrikaans and Xhosa speaking individuals. An accommodative language was required to fill the communication gap. The notion of accommodative language (Giles, 1973) focusses on the pronunciation and features of speech that speakers change in order to either associate or disassociate with a certain group. This study extends the meaning of accommodation in which the selection or choice of speech variation is in the form of a code which can be used in a multilingual context to indicate closeness or distance between interlocutors. As a result of the then accommodative function and need, the early utterings of Fanagalo arose in the "earliest recorded sentence in the pidgin [Fanagalo] as *Wena tandaza O Taay* 'You (must) worship God' uttered by the missionary John Reid, Kat River 1816, who thought he was speaking Xhosa" (Mesthrie, 2006:430).

In 1843 the Natal colony was established and the contact between British settlers and indigenous Zulu people set the scene for the overhaul of Fanagalo. The renewal of Fanagalo – as it was originally a mix between Afrikaans and Xhosa – is described as follows:

Linguistically, Fanakalo is typical of pidgins in that it cannot be classified in terms of existing language groupings; it is not quite Germanic or Nguni in structure. Its lexis and inflectional morphology stem largely from Nguni. Its syntax, however, seems to lean in the direction of the Germanic (more specifically English, rather than Afrikaans). Fanakalo is SVO in structure in main and subordinate clauses. [...] However, Fanakalo is not rigidly SVO insofar as it permits topic-comment order as well. Phonetically, Fanakalo is subject to wide variation depending on the L1 of the speaker. The common core tends to use a five-vowel system (like Zulu) with two diphthongs, [ai] and [au], and to replace the clicks by velar /k/ (Mesthrie, 2006:431).

Fanagalo was clearly developed as a communicative instrument between speakers with varying first languages or L1s. Adendorff (1993:22) supports the original use of Fanagalo as an accommodative functional language when he states that Fanagalo is “a product of attitudinal and linguistic accommodation”. However, since the development of Fanagalo circa 1800, the spread of English as a linking language has changed the language repertoires of people to such an extent that the need for an accommodating language such as Fanagalo might have expired. Regardless of the expiration of the accommodative role Fanagalo once fulfilled, the language eventually stabilised as a crystallised pidgin, denoting maintenance. Therefore, it could be argued that Fanagalo was once an accommodative language whose role was reduced potentially because of the spread of English. Alternatively, should Fanagalo still retain its accommodative function, the context in which it does so may not have a functional role for English. However, Fanagalo adopted new linguistic features and ultimately shifted in its role. After this shift occurred, Fanagalo took on a new role which is represented by its accompanying linguistic change. This process sanctioned the stabilisation and potential maintenance of Fanagalo.

In order to properly categorise Fanagalo as either a case of language maintenance or language shift as described in previous research, a working definition for each is necessary. Such a definition is necessary since, “[o]ne of the characteristics of emerging disciplines is that terms and definitions undergo a process of specification, refinement and agreement resulting in a convergence of terms” (Kemp 2009:11). Thus, in terms of

language maintenance and language shift, the following definition serves as a reference throughout the dissertation:

One of the most common definitions of language shift is that it takes place when the younger members of a minority speech community no longer speak the language of their parents, but speak a dominant majority language instead. The language of the parents is therefore not passed on to the next generation. Conversely, language maintenance occurs when a language continues to be used across all generations despite the presence of other languages also being used by a community – the kind of stable diglossia defined by Fishman (1972) (Dyers 2008:6).

The shift that Fanagalo underwent, refers to its shift and maintenance as a crystallised pidgin – in its societal role – from an accommodative language to a marker of affective or domain specific use. In relation to the above definition, intergenerational transfer is a prerequisite for language maintenance. Even though Fanagalo has been described numerous times in previous research to be stable, proof of the perpetuation of stabilisation needs to be investigated. However, the theory which supports intergenerational transfer of mainstream cultural language may not apply to the transfer of sub-cultural languages. This is because a sub-cultural language does not fulfil the same function or purpose as that of, for example, a home language. Sub-cultural languages are acquired for purposes that are different from those that drive the acquisition of home languages. As a result of this difference in purposes of acquisition, the intergenerational transfer of sub-cultural languages may not reflect an identical influence. The main driver of mainstream cultural language maintenance is that the language remains functional across generations. In the case of sub-cultural language transfer, each generation may have a different purpose for the acquisition, or a basic understanding, of the sub-cultural language. Such purposes may be representative of a sub-cultural language's appropriate situational use. In addition, the situational use of a sub-cultural language may be indicative of its role and function in vulnerable groups. As the situation varies, so does the use of the sub-cultural language. Thus, each generation may have a different purpose for acquiring or having knowledge of a sub-cultural language. This purpose would then, in turn, dictate the acquisition patterns across generations of the sub-cultural language. The most important factor for the intergenerational transfer of sub-cultural language to be possible is that individuals need to be exposed to the sub-cultural language. The acquisition of such a language becomes achievable only if speakers are in contact with other speakers of the same sub-cultural language. The reason for this is that sub-cultural languages are mainly markers

of solidarity or in-group identity. Sub-cultural languages therefore remain useful within that specific group and it is unlikely that it will spread beyond that specific group. Therefore, the acquisition of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language by the younger generation via their parents may possibly be attributed to their situational social status. It is possible, therefore, that families who consist out of generations of mine workers could transfer Fanagalo in the home domain. If this is the case, then intergenerational transfer could extend beyond the affective work domain. The potential transfer of Fanagalo in this case would remain to be socio-economically motivated in contrast to the traditional motivations for the transfer of mainstream languages in the home domain. This study remains open to this possibility and will investigate if Fanagalo is indeed transferred via different patterns today. In summary, the intergenerational transfer process of a sub-cultural language does not seem to function in the same manner as mainstream cultural language transfer does. It is thus important that this process is explored as it contributes to the understanding of the maintenance of a sub-cultural language such as Fanagalo.

1.3 Review of literature

The aim of this literature review is to identify unresolved issues and to identify, from existing research, whether a pattern of language maintenance or language shift is representative of Fanagalo. The discussion will take place in order of recency of published research.

An indication of the evolution of Fanagalo with regard to its maintenance can be discerned from Mesthrie's (2007:14) reference to "present-day Fanakalo" where he states that:

The third sentence [*Lo khounika invoula: mina kosslieve*], which sounds rather like present-day Fanakalo, includes an incorrect form *kosslieve* whose meaning is 'to forget'. This shows a familiar interlanguage and pidgin strategy of replacing a grammatical element (an auxiliary verb equivalent to 'can') by a more salient lexical item.

It is illustrated in the quote how the *pidgin* of creating a salient lexical item becomes a form of language shift. The original linguistic feature has shifted in terms of its function to create a more responsive feature as opposed to traditional ideas of language shift.

Since the traditional concept of language shift is not supported here, it indicates that the maintenance of Fanagalo is more likely. Furthermore, the change in Fanagalo's grammatical use, rather than traditional language shift, indicates a form of language maintenance as the *norm* of Fanagalo's use becomes *crystallised*. Mesthrie's (2007:14) specific referral to "present-day Fanakalo" also indicates a process of language maintenance as it implies that earlier versions of Fanagalo developed into a stabilised and maintained code of communicative expression. Traditional language shift is thus not supported in the case of Fanagalo and as a result this study will focus on the maintenance of Fanagalo.

The contact situation concerning Fanagalo—at least in the context of communication – seems to indicate a case of language maintenance. It indicates language maintenance, not only because Fanagalo has stabilised in terms of its communicative present-day role but also as a result of its presence in the media or printed domain of use. The fact that a section of Adendorff's (1993:3) study includes the analysis of the "unmarked use of Fanagalo as presented in the form of a poem, an ostensibly humorous magazine article, a recorded song, a cartoon strip, a magazine report, and a praise poem", shows that Fanagalo has extended its original domain of use. The reality that Fanagalo appears in varying domains and is used in both spoken and written media (which are culturally related, such as poetry) may be indicative of language maintenance. In support of the potential indicator of language maintenance, Adendorff (1993:6) states that "there is clear evidence that the Fanagalo used has been crafted in order to satisfy the demands of writing." Thus Fanagalo shows stabilisation in the form of printed media as a domain of use and the linguistic evolution or shift described by Mesthrie (2007:14) from a basic accommodative communication domain to a stabilised "present-day Fanakalo". The stabilised domains of use serve as concrete evidence in determining the status of Fanagalo as a maintained sub-cultural language. A fairly substantial body of written text in Fanagalo is available which supports the notion of its status in more than just the verbal work domain. Dictionaries and phrase books in Fanagalo such as "Fanagalo: Phrase-book Grammar Dictionary 15th Edition" (Bold, 1990) establishes a written corpus which is a strong indicator of Fanagalo's maintenance in a stabilised domain.

Adendorff's (1993) findings are significant not only in terms of a more societal point of view of this phenomenon – as this aligns with my approach – but also for the discovery of Fanagalo's maintenance from this point of view. It would be interesting to compare the findings of a *formal linguistic features* approach versus a *social* approach in relation to Fanagalo's maintenance. In order to illustrate the position of Fanagalo then, the researcher will provide relevant extracts from Adendorff's (1993) article and interpret each instance in terms of a position of the language maintenance of Fanagalo.

In continuation of the social and cultural perspective taken in this study, support for classifying Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language emanates from Adendorff's (1993:3) article where he expresses his view on the ideological perspectives of Fanagalo:

What we will be doing is acknowledging the ideological basis for different perspectives on Fanagalo, but we will also go beyond them by trying to capture members' perspectives on Fanagalo, attempting a more holistic view of its social meaning.

Since it is viable to take an ideological approach to the cultural – and therefore sub-cultural – status of Fanagalo, the ideological features of the language will be taken into consideration when classifying it accordingly. Support for classifying Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language using Adendorff's (1993:4) findings is evident when he explains the “expression of solidarity” linked with Fanagalo. The concept of solidarity is representative of an in-group identity of which language is a carrier (Hebdidge, 1979). Sub-cultural ideology advocates its solidarity outside of mainstream culture and society. Based on this, Fanagalo may be viewed as an expression of a sub-culture because it is representative of solidarity in its ideology.

Summarising, it seems that Fanagalo has shifted linguistically from a basic communicative instrument made up as a mixture of Xhosa, English and Afrikaans to a dominantly Nguni based pidgin, which then stabilised as a crystallised pidgin (Mesthrie, 2006), indicating that a form of language maintenance is at work in the case of Fanagalo. It also seems that Fanagalo has shifted potentially in terms of its domain of use and function. It shifted from an unmarked to a marked domain of use and from a non-affective to an affective (related to the social implications of cartoons and literature

printed in the media) domain. Fanagalo's shift – concerning the changes in its roles and domains of use – from an accommodative and communicative medium to the printed media indicates its stabilisation and maintained use.

This study focusses on the social and cultural properties of Fanagalo which result in its language maintenance. The social and cultural properties which are investigated in order to create an interactional model explaining the maintenance of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language in South Africa today, consist out of the following elements:

1. Fanagalo and its relevance to specific domains of use,
2. Fanagalo and motivation for use,
3. The relationship of Fanagalo with social identity and
4. The relationship of Fanagalo and cultural identity.

Furthermore, my intention is to dispute claims of Fanagalo not being capable of language maintenance because in previous research, not all factors – especially social and cultural factors – have been taken into consideration. This study, therefore, will not only contribute to the refocus of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language and how it is maintained by means of cultural and social factors, but also serves as a response to potentially unfounded claims.

1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions reflect the unresolved issues identified in the literature review and serve as the basic research aims and objectives of this study:

1. Is Fanagalo maintained in selected contexts in South Africa today?
2. How is Fanagalo, as a sub-cultural language, maintained in selected South African contexts?
3. Why is Fanagalo, as a South African sub-cultural language, maintained?
4. What are the implications of the findings of this study for theories of language maintenance and shift and for language policy development?

1.5 Objectives

According to Professor Swanepoel, Fanagalo is used widely in mines in the North-West Province in South Africa today (personal communication 2013). In order to determine whether Fanagalo is maintained in these selected contexts, it is important to consider whether previous research indicates language maintenance or language shift when Fanagalo is the focus language of studies. Various indications of stabilisation and the presence of Fanagalo in various domains would indicate that the language is maintained today. Language shift would indicate the disintegration of Fanagalo as defined previously and there would be evidence of its replacement by another language or languages. As previously discussed, earlier research indicates the maintenance of Fanagalo rather than a case of language shift. The only indication of shift is the evidence of the changing roles and domains of use related to Fanagalo, which indicates stabilisation and language maintenance. Therefore, the focus of this study remains with the issue of Fanagalo's maintenance in selected contexts in South Africa today.

In order to explain the maintenance of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language in South Africa from a sociological rather than a linguistic or grammatical perspective, it is necessary to apply a cultural framework which will serve to categorise Fanagalo accordingly. Existing frameworks, such as the work of Hebdige (1979) as well as Hall and Jefferson (1976), will be applied in order to determine Fanagalo's sub-cultural status. From this standpoint, the maintenance of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language can be explored further by incorporating salient elements. These elements serve to explain the possible maintenance of Fanagalo in terms of motivation to learn and use the language, domain of use, and its relationship to forms of identity of its speakers. Each of the elements will be explored individually in order to determine not only the current status of Fanagalo, but also how Fanagalo is presently maintained in South Africa from a mainstream and sub-cultural point of view. The following conceptual model of elements illustrates the potential process as an explanation of the maintenance of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language in South Africa today.

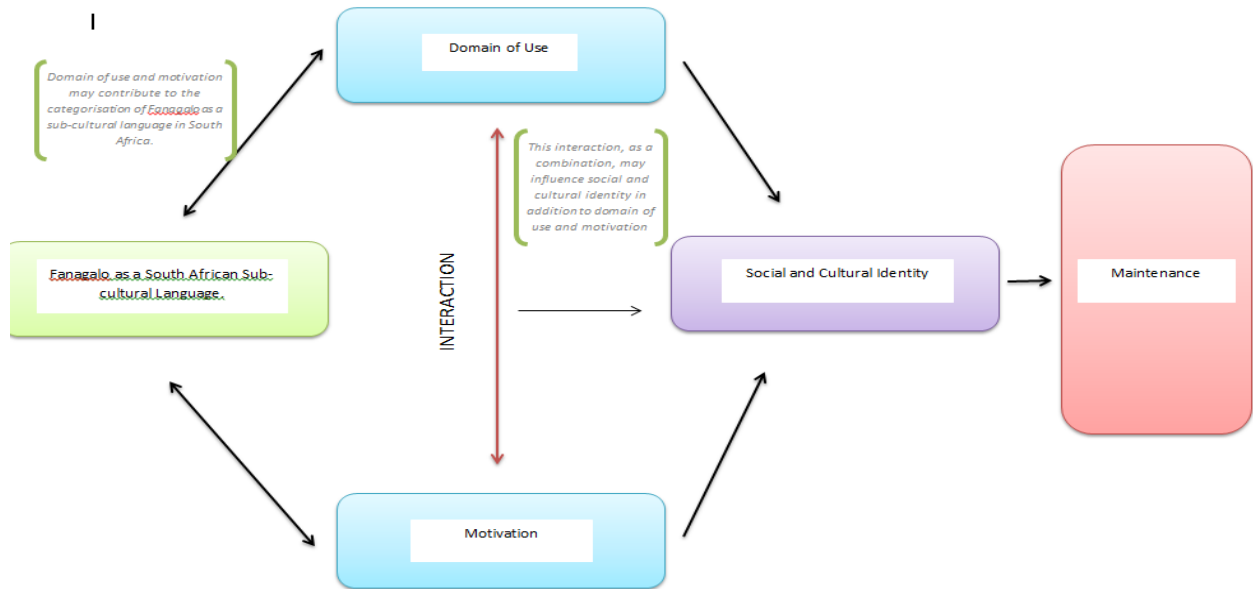


Figure 1 Conceptual sub-cultural language maintenance model

A brief description of the elements is listed as follows:

1. Domain of use: According to Fishman (1976) there are five domains of use in which speakers categorise their language use: family, friendship, religion, employment, and education.
2. Motivation for use: The speakers' motivation refers to intrinsic and/or extrinsic motivations for individuals to acquire and maintain a certain language as part of their repertoire.
3. Social identity: "Language choice, use and attitudes are intrinsically linked to language ideologies, relations of power, political arrangements and speakers' identities" (Blackledge & Creese, 2010:36). Thus, social identity in the context of the conceptual model refers to the social portrayal and attitude embodied by sub-cultural languages such as Fanagalo.
4. Cultural identity: Applies to what Blackledge and Creese (2010) refer to as an imposed identity which cannot be negotiated. The negative connotations associated with Fanagalo will be addressed and reviewed in order to determine the influence of this on the cultural identity of speakers in the context of mainstream cultural and sub-cultural frameworks.

The result of this exploration will materialise in the form of a functioning model of elements that serves as an explanation of the maintenance of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language in South Africa today. This explanatory model will additionally elucidate shortcomings of current mainstream language models of language maintenance and language shift.

1.6 Central theoretical statement

Language as a cultural carrier serves to represent the sociological status of its speakers. Language is a carrier for both dominant ideologies as well as subversive ideologies. If a language is not representative of mainstream cultural ideology, it may be categorised as sub-cultural. Since Fanagalo is essentially a vulnerable language – as it is not endorsed by legislature – it is not deemed as part of mainstream culture and society, which would then by implication mean that Fanagalo is an expression of a sub-cultural vulnerable society such as the mining community. The cultural and social approach this study stems from is important as the view of Fanagalo’s culturally sub-ordinate speakers is not included in existing research. Without the inclusion of the vulnerable speakers, a comprehensive account concerning the effect of all the elements in the proposed model for Fanagalo’s maintenance can neither be effectively explored nor their roles analysed. This study aims to explore the reasons for the maintenance of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language in present-day South Africa and the implications this may bear for current theories of language maintenance and language shift, epistemologically expressed in the form of the preceding conceptual model. Additional implications for language policy development endorsing mainstream cultural languages may surface as a result.

1.7 Methodology

Broad approach

The general approach for this study is empirical and qualitative, making use of the grounded-theory approach. The grounded-theory approach used in this dissertation as well as the data collection methods are explained fully in Chapter 4 of this dissertation. For the purpose of the introductory chapter, a broad outline of the data collection will suffice.

For this study, the data gathered will develop and consist of three different data sets. The first set of data is composed of demographic questionnaire data which will be analysed during the data analysis stage. The demographic questionnaire includes questions concerning age, gender, and occupation amongst other demographically related issues. The second and largest data set is comprised of the discursively oriented interviews in which participants from the in-group engage in an indirect discussion regarding the acquisition, motivation, domain of use, and identity issues surrounding Fanagalo as part of their language repertoire. This data is transcribed, coded, categorised and analysed. The third and final data set is developed using previous research on Fanagalo. The existing literature is evaluated and later related to the findings of this study which evolves into the elements of a conceptual sub-cultural language maintenance model specifically applied to Fanagalo. Triangulation of the three data collection methods – conducting a demographic questionnaire, interviews and reviewing existing literature – is conducted in order to answer all four research questions executed in a grounded-theory approach.

The relevance of the three data sets is enforced through their specific relation to each of the research questions and respective objectives. The first research question alludes to the status of Fanagalo in selected contexts and who the speakers of the language are. Thus demographic data, gathered in the first data set, is significant in terms of identifying the factors which will satisfy the first objective and research question. The second research question concentrates on the status of Fanagalo among its in-group users. In aid of achieving the second research question's objective, the data gathered via discursively oriented interviews with participants who speak Fanagalo is used to identify elements constituting the conceptual model for the maintenance of Fanagalo. The data from the interviews are used to validate the elements included in the model and to clarify the relationships between elements in the model. The third data set aims to answer the third research question which relates to the reason for the current status of Fanagalo in selected contexts. The content analysis based on previous research will satisfy the requirements in answering the third research question. The fourth research question aims to use the findings of the study to explore the implications for existing theories of language maintenance, language shift, and language policy development which only accommodates mainstream language contexts. The triangulation of all three

data sets along with their respective analyses will contribute to answering all research questions in varying ways and will furthermore result in a conceptual model which explains the maintenance process of sub-cultural language with a focus on Fanagalo.

1.8 Ethics

As stated in the methodology section above, discursively oriented interviews chiefly comprise the data collection sourcing process. It was therefore important that each interviewee, recruited by the Human Resources (HR) office of mine X in Rustenburg, was informed about the nature of the research process and gave their permission to be interviewed. This consent was confirmed and expressed in a signed document which explains the process and reasoning for the interview. The interviewees were offered the opportunity to remain anonymous when data are reported. In the event that certain voice clips may be played in the presentation of this research, the permission of individual participants will be requested. Under no circumstances were the interviewees coerced into partaking in the interview process. Therefore, no financial or other type of reward was offered in order to avoid ulterior motives of individuals which may produce false information. Furthermore, no particular trauma is foreseen that could be harmful to participants – neither physical nor psychological or emotional. The ethics checklist composed by the North-West University (NWU) Institutional Office was completed and the research conducted as part of this study was approved under the umbrella project directed by Professor A.S. Coetzee-Van Rooy (NWU Ethics clearance nr: NWU-00031-07-S1 [2012-2016]). Professor Coetzee-Van Rooy will report on the implementation of the ethics arrangements taken care of as part of this study in her annual report to the Language Matters Ethics Committee of the NWU.

1.9 Contribution of the study

The first contribution of this study is to provide current data about the status of Fanagalo in South Africa. Data from this study will provide information about the maintenance or shift of Fanagalo currently. Its current status is determined by the patterns of language shift or language maintenance interpreted from existing research and then adapting the same method in order to conclude its current status by comparing either similar or dissimilar patterns.

Secondly, the categorisation of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language employs an alternative paradigm in comparison to existing linguistic and social theories. The cultural paradigm adopted in this research expands the view of *unofficial* languages and investigates the potential inadequacies of existing language maintenance and language shift theories to accommodate an exploration of sub-cultural languages.

As a result of the second contribution, a third and fourth contribution arise. The third contribution is represented as a sub-cultural conceptual model of elements which demonstrate the most salient driving forces behind the language maintenance or language shift of sub-cultural languages such as Fanagalo. The fourth contribution directly addresses the implications for existing theories of language maintenance and language shift which are modelled conceptually. As a result, implications for language policy are explored. The conceptual model for the maintenance or shift of sub-cultural languages might illustrate the inadequacy of existing models and may be used to investigate the state of mainstream cultural languages from an alternate standpoint. This challenges the well-supported notion of language dominance as vulnerable, or sub-cultural, languages are able to survive regardless of the fact that they do not enjoy the protection of language policy.

In conclusion, the contribution of this study mainly consists of updating information about Fanagalo; providing an alternative paradigm to explore issues of language maintenance and language shift for sub-cultural languages; addressing the issue of inadequate mainstream cultural theories of language maintenance and language shift; revealing implications for language policy; and lastly, challenging existing language maintenance or language shift models for mainstream languages.

1.10 Chapter division

Chapter 1 introduced and contextualised this study in terms of re-examining the current status of Fanagalo partly because of the out-datedness and limitations of existing literature. This chapter also postulates that Fanagalo is still maintained within a selected context in South Africa today. As a result, the need for understanding why and how Fanagalo's maintenance operates become the foci throughout this study.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of pidgin and creole theory in order to examine the validity of Fanagalo being classified as either. This is an important consideration as the

current status of Fanagalo may not adhere to the principles of either pidginisation or creolisation. Therefore, the re-classification of Fanagalo is necessary so that its current status can be made clear. Since this study is inspired by a social and cultural perspective, the properties of Fanagalo need to be examined respectively to arrive at a current classification, aiding the explanation of its maintenance.

Chapter 3 examines mainstream language theories of maintenance and shift in order to evaluate the contributory factors in terms of sub-cultural language. The limitations of mainstream language theory are explained in order to expose their inability to accommodate Fanagalo specifically. The contributing factors of existing mainstream language maintenance and shift are discussed and the elements for the development of a sub-cultural language maintenance model based on Fanagalo are identified. These elements derived from existing literature and refinement are compared to the data gathered from the questionnaires and interviews, adhering to the constant comparison technique used in grounded theory.

Chapter 4 is the methodology chapter which explains the construction of the method of investigation for this study by utilising grounded theory as a main approach. Two out of the three main data sets, questionnaire results and interviews, were collected on-site. These two data sets are destined to be analysed and interpreted with the aim of achieving intersubjectivity. The results of the data analyses would also be discussed in terms of existing literature, the third data set, in order to obtain a holistic view. The aim of this methodological approach results in the trustworthy attainment of data that will allow the construction of a sub-cultural language maintenance model applied to Fanagalo.

Chapter 5 presents the data obtained from both the questionnaires and interviews. The data obtained from the questionnaires aim to broadly demonstrate 1) participants' biographical information, 2) language repertoires within specific domains, 3) to provide a report on the perceptions of the proficiency levels in Fanagalo, 4) present information about the attitudes towards Fanagalo, and 5) to add information about which factors contributed to the acquisition of Fanagalo. The findings related to the questionnaires

are integrated with the findings obtained from the interview analysis which are then combined to discuss in relation to existing literature.

Chapter 6 is the concluding chapter in which the findings are discussed in terms of developing the sub-cultural language maintenance model applied to Fanagalo. Implications and recommendations for further studies are also presented in this chapter, followed by a final conclusion.

Chapter 2 Pidgins, creoles and sub-cultural language

2.1 Introduction

“Creolists agree neither about the precise definition of the term pidgin and creole, nor about the status of a number of languages that have been claimed to be pidgins or creoles” (Muysken & Smith, 1995:3).

In previous research, Fanagalo has been described as a “crystallised pidgin” (Mesthrie 2007:15). This classification is based on the linguistic properties described by Mesthrie (2006) and more importantly, on the notion that it cannot be classified in existing language groupings as Fanagalo is in essence a mixed language. However, due to the disagreement concerning a precise definition for both pidgins and creoles, the potential for classifying Fanagalo as something other than a crystallised pidgin is sparked.

This study postulates that Fanagalo is a sub-cultural language. The case for Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language is strengthened not only by the lack of preciseness of definitions for pidgins and creoles, but also in the dissimilarity of principles concerning pidgins, creoles, and sub-cultural language. The dissimilarity in principles most appropriate for this study relate to the mechanisms involved in the maintenance of the respective language categorisations. Pidgins have been claimed to be unstable language codes that cannot maintain their function in society as it is a language born to accommodate societal contexts, which change over time. Should the pidgin be maintained it becomes an expanded pidgin evolving into a creole which is maintained by its native speakers. Sub-cultural languages are, just as pidgins, born from a certain societal context, however the maintenance mechanism may rely on the relevant functions created by specific and current domains of use. Since this may be the case for the maintenance of sub-cultural languages, this study aims to explain how Fanagalo, as a sub-cultural language, is maintained outside the realm of an expressed need in the broader societal context and in the absence of intergenerational transfer. In order to determine whether this premise is justifiable, this chapter examines pidgin and creole theory in its West-African context in comparison to sub-cultural language. It is important to consider the West-African context because it is geographically closer to the South African situation as

opposed to pidgins and creoles from the Far East. West-African pidgins and creoles may also be considered as an apex since more research is available on these pidgins, which facilitate a comparison between pidgin and creole theory and that of theories related to sub-cultural languages. The purpose of comparing pidgin and creole theory to that of sub-cultural language theory is to classify Fanagalo in its current status. Such re-classification superlatively demonstrates Fanagalo's shift or change in role which will in part describe the process and reason for the maintenance of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language. Ultimately, the comparison of principles leading to the re-classification of Fanagalo will expose certain implications for mainstream theories of language maintenance in the form of a model explaining the maintenance of Fanagalo in selected contexts. Further implications may address the limitations of mainstream language policy development.

2.2 Defining pidgins and creoles

2.2.1 Pidgins and creoles: An overview

Notwithstanding that there is little agreement on the definitions of pidgin and creole languages, there are still generally accepted principles which allow certain languages to be classified as such. In the instance of pidgin languages, it is customarily agreed, according to Muysken and Smith (1995), that pidgins refer to spoken languages that do not have native speakers and are used as a communicative medium among people who do not share a common language. Salem (2013:105) adheres to this generally accepted definition when he states:

Pidgin can be viewed as a language that results from contact between people who are not able to speak a common language but [...] need to talk with and understand each other.

He expands on this definition as follows:

This may be done in certain cases rather say in extreme situations such as war, colonization, slavery and international trade. In colonization, people from different origins and races need to establish a mutual basis for communication with each other which leads to developing pidgin languages (Salem, 2013:105).

The fact that a pidgin's genesis may be the result of extreme circumstances, such as colonisation, is not disputed. Another contributory factor in the creation of pidgin languages is the emergence of trade colonies:

Pidgins typically emerged in trade colonies which developed around trade forts or along trade routes, such as on the coast of West Africa [and South Africa]. They are reduced in structure and specialized in functions (typically trade), and initially served as non-native lingua francas to users who preserved their native vernaculars for their day-to-day interactions (Mufwene, 2008:544).

Studies related to pidgins and creoles often focus on their origins and recently, according to Mufwene (2001a:11440), “some creolists have also addressed the question of whether [...] Creoles can be singled out as a structural type of language.” This may be because previous studies accept the genesis of pidgin and creole languages but the structural attributes of such languages is still a point of contention. As a result, since structural and lexical theories concerning these languages differ, so do their definitions. Therefore, the disagreement concerning precise definitions for pidgins and creoles allows for the re-evaluation and re-classification of certain languages which are currently maintained. Since the discrepancy in definitions is sourced from a structural and lexical perspective, this study attempts to re-evaluate this perspective by adopting an alternative approach. This study adopts a cultural framework in an attempt to determine and explain the maintenance mechanisms surrounding Fanagalo – which may no longer be classified as a crystallised pidgin but rather as a sub-cultural language. Therefore, it is necessary to further explore the characteristics of pidgin and creole languages in order to determine if Fanagalo adheres to the accepted principles of pidgin languages, or if an alternative classification is necessitated.

2.2.2 Definitions of pidgins

As discussed in the previous section, a point of agreement among academics is the origin of pidgins. Pidgins, as stated by Mufwene (2001a:11440), are;

new language varieties, which developed out of contacts between colonial nonstandard varieties of a European language and several non-European languages around the Atlantic and in the Indian and Pacific Oceans during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

This agreement of the origin of pidgins is overshadowed by the divergence in determining a single agreeable definition. Definitions of pidgins, as varying as they are, do in fact have identifiable elements such as the focus on their structural and lexical makeup:

The marginal languages [pidgins, creoles, jargons, mixed languages] arise in areas of pronounced culture contacts, in situations where, broadly speaking, it is impossible

or impracticable for the peoples concerned to learn each other's language well. Their structure (...) is greatly broken down and simplified (Reinecke, 1938:108);

A pidgin is a contact vernacular, normally not the native language of its speakers. It is used in trading or in any situation requiring communication between persons who do not speak each other's native languages. It is characterized by a limited vocabulary, an elimination of many grammatical devices such as number and gender, and a basic reduction of redundant features (De Camp, 1971:15);

Pidgins are languages lexically derived from other languages, but which are structurally simplified, especially in their morphology. They come into being where people need to communicate but do not have a language in common. Pidgins have no (or few) first language speakers, they are the subject of language learning, they have structural norms, they are used by two or more groups, and they are usually unintelligible for speakers of the language from which the lexicon derives (Bakker, 1995:25);

(...) a language with reduced structures and lexicon, used for a limited number of functions by speakers who dispose of, and also speak, (an)other language(s) for full-fledged communication, and who belong in social groups which are largely autonomous (Chaudenson, 2001:22).

The point of contention concerning the definitions of pidgins arises when Mühlhäusler (1986) opposes the structural and lexical premise classifying pidgins as simple languages. Mühlhäusler (1986) advocates the complexity of a single definition for the term pidgin by comparing an assortment of existing definitions. The existing definitions all highlight a common theme concerning pidgins; which is that pidgins are simple, unstable, and makeshift languages. Such a view is encapsulated by Arends *et al.* (1995:7):

Pidgins by their very nature, tend towards instability, both in terms of linguistic system, and in terms of their function. If they do not belong to the small group of pidgins that become standardized, or nativized, or both, they may well disappear completely when the social need that caused them to come into existence passes.

Mühlhäusler (1986:4) opposes views, such as the ones quoted above, which claim that pidgins are expedient and states, "pidgins can develop to a considerable degree of stability and complexity." In other words, Mühlhäusler (1986) argues that pidgins can be complex in structure and reach a form of stability rather than a simplified structure of which maintenance is individualised which he further explains as follows:

Pidgins are examples of partially targeted or non-targeted second-language learning, developing from a simpler to more complex systems as communicative requirements become more demanding. Pidgin languages by definition have no native speakers, they are social rather than individual solutions, and hence are characterised by the norms of acceptability (Mühlhäusler, 1986:5).

Mühlhäusler (1986) also disagrees with the belief that pidgin languages are mixed languages. Knapik (2009:2) explains that a mixed language constitutes of a significant contribution by one language providing content words, while the second contributory language provides the grammar in order to create a new language. Mühlhäusler (1986:5) disputes this characteristic of a pidgin language by claiming that no significant contribution is made by either of the contributory languages as “the most mixed component of grammar is the lexicon, where syncretism of various types is common, and not the syntax.” This statement is a response to Reinecke’s (1938) clumping together of mixed languages and pidgins, which Mühlhäusler (1986) disagrees with showing that they are marginally different concerning the structure of their grammar and syntax. This is an important distinction made by Mühlhäusler (1986), in which the mixed languages and pidgins are argued to be two separate categories of language classification. A clear discrepancy exists in defining pidgin languages.

In my view, the disagreement surrounding the structural components in defining a pidgin is problematic in terms of language classification. Mühlhäusler (1986) highlights two main issues concerning the definition and defining pidgins: a) Pidgins are complex and can achieve sustainability regardless of the individual as pidgins are a social solution, and b) Pidgins are not mixed languages. Thus the exact classification of languages which do not adhere to the principles – contested or not – becomes an issue. One such instance in the context of sub-cultural language is that the maintenance mechanism may not be societal and may be the result of individualistic motivation which then becomes the accepted norm within a sub-culture. As a result, this study aims to re-evaluate the points of contention postulating the re-classification of Fanagalo from a social rather than structural perspective.

2.2.3 Definitions of creoles

Even though Fanagalo has not been claimed to be a creole, the provision of the accepted definition for a creole language is important. It is important because one of the objectives of this research is to consider the possible classification of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language. In addition to pidgin languages, describing creole languages provides

a comprehensive platform from which Fanagalo can be discussed. Should Fanagalo, as theorised, not adhere to the principles classifying pidgin and creole languages, an alternative classification – such as sub-cultural language – is justified.

Originally, the study of creole languages was marginalised which developed as a result of “the political and cultural emancipation of certain parts of the Caribbean” (Muysken & Smith, 1995:8). Schuchardt’s (1979) interest in the regularity of sound change sparked a series of influential articles related to the field of creoles. Predating this, the term creole was first applied in 1739 “in the Virgin Islands, when the very youthful Dutch-lexifier creole Negerhollands was referred to as *carriolsche*” (Stein, 1987 cited in Muysken & Smith, 1995:8). From this, according to Knapick (2009), the earliest definition of a creole reads as follows:

Creole languages result from the adaptation of a language, especially some Indo-European language, to the (so to speak) phonetic and grammatical genius of a race that is linguistically inferior. The resulting language is composite, truly mixed in its vocabulary, but its grammar is essentially Indo-European, extremely simplified (Vinson, 1889:345).

A number of definitions, all generated from varying schools of thought, differ in terms of their attempt to incorporate the function, role, and structural characteristics of creoles. The theoretical schools of thought, according to Muysken and Smith (1995), consist of: The European input (restricted monogenesis hypothesis and European dialect origin hypothesis); the non-European input (Afrogenesis model); Developmental approaches (common social context theory); and Universalist approaches (semantic transparency theory, bioprogram theory). Such varying theoretical perspectives contribute to theoretical implications in which a singular definition of creoles, just as pidgins, is problematic. Mufwene (2008:560) elucidates the effect of such variation:

There are few comprehensive descriptions of creoles’ structures, which makes it difficult to determine globally how the competing influences interacted among them and how the features selected from diverse sources became integrated into new systems. Few structural facts have been correlated with the conclusions suggested by the sociohistorical backgrounds of individual Creoles. Other issues remain up in the air, for instance, regarding the markedness model that is the most adequate to account for the selection of features into Creoles’ systems.

These unresolved issues result in an incomprehensive definition of creoles as the situational contexts dictating variability of creolisation. Interestingly, the point of contention concerning definitions of creoles is similar to that of pidgins in that the

structural perspectives seem to be the source of disagreement. This fundamental contestation coupled with the variability of creolisation contexts directly effects the classification of certain languages not marked as official – such may be the case for Fanagalo. However, some creolistic theories remain universal in principle and these principles will be used in this study. One such principle is that creoles are the Africanisation of European languages and the Whinnom (1971) theory. These two principles are discussed as follows.

It is important to recognise that African pidgin and creole languages are “derived from the Africanization of European languages” (McLaren, 2009:97). In agreement, Mufwene’s (2008:544) theory on the genesis of pidgin and creole languages developed from contact situations between “colonial non-standard varieties of a European language and several non-European languages.” The classification of languages as either pidgin or creole thus also depends on their linguistic features. Even though this research does not adopt a linguistic approach to the classification of Fanagalo in its entirety, it is important to examine the linguistic structure as it provides an “alternate scenario” (Siegel, 1987:22 cited in Mesthrie, 1989:231) for understanding the nature of languages as pidgins or creoles. This alternative scenario is illustrated using the Whinnom (1971) formula:

$$\text{Fanagalo} = \frac{\text{Zulu}}{\text{Dutch/Afrikaans \& English}}$$

(Mesthrie, 1989:231)

This formula demonstrates an inversion described as follows:

As an “indigenous” pidgin, F[anagalo] does not conform to the classical pattern of pidginization, in which a labourer tries to learn a European language, but usually acquires an imperfect version of it much influenced by his own language. Instead, it shows [...] an indigenous language is the target that Europeans try to learn (Mesthrie, 1989:231).

The notion of inversion concerning the alternate scenario communicates an unusual route in the creation of a pidgin. Usually, a pidgin is developed by the socially inferior

members of society who try to learn the language of the superior members. In this case, the superior members of society created a pidgin with the language of the inferior members of that society as the target language. This is an inversion of traditional pidgin development which may explain why Fanagalo may not be traditionally accepted as a pidgin or creole. It is thus necessary to explore the frameworks which govern pidgin and creole languages in order to determine the extent of their relevance in potentially re-classifying Fanagalo.

2.2.4 Frameworks for understanding pidgins and creoles

In continuation of pidgin language theory, it is important to note that Mühlhäusler (1986) makes three basic distinctions between pidgins concerning their stages of development. These three distinctions are: jargons, stable pidgins, and expanded pidgins. According to Mühlhäusler (1986) and Romaine (1988) these three distinctions govern – in a cyclic fashion – the complexity of a pidgin or creole language depending which stage of the pidgin-creole cycle it has reached. Mufwene (2001a:11442) expands on the pidgin-creole cycle as thus:

Pidgins are more stable and jargons are an earlier stage in the 'life-cycle' that putatively progresses from Jargon, to Pidgin, to Creole, to Post-Creole by progressive structural expansion, stabilization, and closer approximations of the lexifier – the language which contributed the largest part of a Creole's lexicon.

The pidgin-creole life cycle basically denotes that creoles developed from jargons which then developed into pidgins and eventually evolved into stabilised pidgins to extended pidgins and finally into creoles. Bloomfield (1933:474) possibly initiated this theory of pidgin to creole evolution when he states that, "when the jargon [pidgin] has become the only language of the subject group, it is a creolized language." In other words, the cycle and its evolution in categories are governed by the use of the language as a primary language which is transferred between the generations. An extension of this cyclic process was provided by Hall (1962) in which he introduced the concept of a post-creole stage in which he associates the vernacular function of creoles coupled with nativisation and their structures and functions stabilise. However, this stabilisation may not be the maintenance mechanism of certain languages as Mufwene (2001a) and Chaudenson (1992) argue that high infant mortality and short life expectancy destabilises the language and the decrease of colonial varieties occurs. It is obvious that even the pidgin-creole cycle is debatable in terms of its reliability and definition.

Therefore, the development of pidgin to creole is questionable from a structural point of view. There are – just as with the definitions of pidgins and creoles – however, principles which studies seem to agree upon concerning the distinction between the two.

The basic distinction between a pidgin and creole language is that creoles have native speakers who learn the language from earliest childhood, while pidgins do not. However, this distinction, just as the definitions for pidgin and creole languages, is not universal as it is maintained by some scholars that:

One aspect of the worldwide increase in linguistic conformity, and the economical reduction of linguistic diversity, is that extended pidgins are beginning to acquire native speakers (Muysken & Smith, 1995:3).

Considering the definition for creoles then, extended pidgins with native speakers should essentially be classified as a creole language. Yet, this is not the case due to the existence and use of the term *extended pidgin*. As a consequence, the classification of certain languages – such as Fanagalo – is subject to debate concerning their status. In order for such a debate to be comprehensive, it is significant to explore the process a language undergoes when it graduates into a new classification. This process is reviewed using a practical example:

This has happened for instance with Tok Pisin, Nigerian Pidgin English, and Sango (Central African Republic), to name but three cases. In particular this has tended to occur in urban environments, where speakers from different ethnic groups have daily contact with each other. The pidgin then becomes the town language. The children of mixed marriages frequently grow up speaking the same home language – the pidgin – as their native language (Muysken & Smith, 1995:3).

Following the example, it can be deduced that extended pidgins acquire native speakers through extensive language contact which then develops in its domain of use from urban environment into the home as a result of mixed cultural origin. According to existing language maintenance theory, it logically follows that the children who grow up with the extended pidgin as a native language, will transfer the language to their own children and so the language is maintained through intergenerational transfer. Fundamentally, the maintenance of extended pidgin and creole languages adheres to the process of mainstream language maintenance. In contrast, as discussed in Chapter 1, it is theorised that Fanagalo does not undergo intergenerational transfer as explained by current theories of language maintenance and shift.

This section has exposed the disagreeability between academics concerning the development of pidgins into creoles. The disagreeability seems to stem from the points of contention concerning the definitions for pidgins and creoles previously discussed. It can therefore be deduced that the theories of pidgins and creoles may not be a conclusive account of unofficial language classification. This fundamentally inconclusive platform carries implications concerning the varieties of possible interpretation and processes involved in pidgin and creole theory and classifying languages as such. Moreover, the points of contention are spawned from the structural and linguistic perspective. The instability posed from these perspectives thus validates an alternative perspective in classifying unofficial languages; more specifically Fanagalo. The alternative perspective adopted in this study will constitute a cultural framework in an attempt to explain the maintenance of sub-cultural languages one of which is potentially Fanagalo. The re-classification of Fanagalo is discussed in the next section.

2.3 Conceptualising Fanagalo

2.3.1 Fanagalo as a pidgin

In previous research, Fanagalo has been described as a “crystallised pidgin” (Mesthrie, 2007:15). This classification is based on the linguistic properties described by Mesthrie (2006) and more importantly, on the notion that it cannot be classified in existing language groupings as Fanagalo is in essence a mixed language. In relation to this study, this is an important argument to take into consideration. Considering the argument Mühlhäusler (1986) makes concerning the distinction between a mixed language and pidgin, it seems that the statements made by Mesthrie (2007) that Fanagalo is a crystallised pidgin and a mixed language is contradictory. This contradiction problematises the classification of Fanagalo and requires the re-evaluation of the classification of Fanagalo.

The source of classifying pidgins, as previously discussed, relies mainly on the structural and linguistic properties of the language and this is problematic. Thus the classification of Fanagalo should be reconsidered. In the following section, Fanagalo is discussed as a creole language in order to determine whether this category may be suitable or not.

In response to Arends *et al.* (1995) who state that pidgins disappear completely when the social need passes and the pidgin has not become standardised or nativised, the

classification of Fanagalo as a pidgin is clearly questionable. Fanagalo is still maintained (Swanepoel, personal communication, 2013) and the mechanisms of standardisation and nativisation cannot be the reason as Fanagalo has not achieved either. Fanagalo is not standardised and it is not protected by policy nor made compulsory in its domain of use. Fanagalo also does not have native speakers and there is no evidence to date that it is transferred via intergenerational transmission in the home domain. Thus it is problematic to perceive of Fanagalo as a pidgin because the principles of pidgin maintenance are seemingly not adhered to in the case of Fanagalo and this study aims to investigate this further.

Stabilisation has been argued to be another principle of pidgin maintenance. However, it is not a maintenance mechanism according to Mufwene (2001a) and Chaudenson (1992) as a high infant mortality rate decreases the amount of speakers of a pidgin or creole rather than its stability. Even though the stabilisation aspect is contested, it seems reasonable to postulate a relationship between infant mortality rates and the maintenance of a language. This leads back to the improbability of Fanagalo being regarded as a stabilised pidgin as traditional nativisation may not be the maintenance mechanism as suggested in the literature review. This once again calls for the reconsideration of Fanagalo as a pidgin. Fanagalo has been described as a stabilised or crystallised pidgin which indirectly communicates that it is maintained because of its stable status. However, since Mufwene (2001a) and Chaudenson (1992) disprove the notion that stabilisation equals maintenance, the explanation for Fanagalo's maintenance cannot rely on its *stable pidgin* status. The classification needs to be more current and one which does not rely on stability as the primary maintenance mechanism.

It is logical to assume since Fanagalo has, in the past, been classified as a crystallised or stabilised pidgin language that it has progressed since – according to the pidgin-creole cycle – and may now be considered to have evolved into a creole language. However, even though logical, it would be incorrect to assume this as the principles of creolisation in reference to Fanagalo needs to be investigated. This is necessary because Fanagalo has been either misconceptualised as a pidgin or the classification of its current status is outdated. The next section discusses the principles of creolisation in relation to Fanagalo.

2.3.2 Fanagalo as a creole

The earliest definition of a creole (Vinson, 1889:345), which is generally accepted, makes reference to the fact that it is spawned by the *linguistically inferior* race. In the case of Fanagalo, however, individuals in a socially superior position were responsible for its creation. Fundamentally then, Fanagalo cannot be classified as a creole because of the inversion of its genesis. Further evidence of Fanagalo's inversion is provided by the Whinnom formula (1971) demonstrating the process of pidginisation and creolisation in section 2.2.3. Such an inversion demonstrates the necessity for the reconsideration for Fanagalo because it does not reflect conventional processes for pidginisation and creolisation.

Furthermore, this early definition of a creole describing the language as mixed creates an additional point of contention as, according to the cycle, creoles are the advanced stage of pidginisation and as Mühlhäusler (1986) has already argued, pidgins are not mixed languages and thus neither can creole languages be mixed either. Therefore, the idea of Fanagalo's natural progression from stabilised pidgin to creole is problematic from a structural perspective as neither pidgins nor creoles are mixed and cannot be both.

Bloomfield (1933) expanded on the pidgin-creole cycle by arguing that when pidgins become the only language of a certain group, it is creolised. Fanagalo's link to a specific domain of use – the work domain – and its function as an accommodative language because of the presence of varying L1's can thus not be classified as a creole as the speakers of Fanagalo may have other primary languages as part of their repertoires.

Even though previous literature does not explicitly classify Fanagalo as a creole, it was necessary to examine the possibility. This is because the status of Fanagalo as a stabilised pidgin may have progressed. However, based on the literature review this far, it seems that Fanagalo has not progressed along the suggested pidgin-creole cycle so far. As a result, an alternative classification needs to be considered from a different perspective as the structural and linguistic perspectives present too many points of contention. The proposed alternative which this study emphasises is a cultural perspective in which sub-cultural language frameworks are adopted. This alternative perspective not only provides a potentially more current solution to the classification of Fanagalo but also contributes to the perspectives already described in existing research.

2.3.3 Postulating Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language

2.3.3.1 Brief introduction of the history of studies of sub-cultural languages

This section discerns between mainstream and sub-cultural languages in order to clarify the context in which a sub-cultural language is discussed in this study. The framework in which both expressions of culture exist in society is important so that their relation to each other is understood. The researcher concurs with Hall and Jefferson's (1992:10) definition of culture:

The word 'culture' refers to that level at which social groups develop distinct patterns of life, and give *expressive form* to their social and material life experience. Culture is the way, the forms, in which groups 'handle' the raw material of their social and material existence [...] Culture includes the 'maps of meaning' which make things intelligible to its members. These 'maps of meaning' are not simply carried around in the head: they are objectivated in the patterns of social organisation and relationship through which the individual becomes a 'social individual'.

These theorists thus emphasise that culture is a product or reflection of the situation in which society functions. Meillet (1921:16 cited in Labov, 2010:185) advocates that social change is a variable of linguistic change:

The only variable to which we can turn to account for linguistic change is social change, of which linguistic variation are only consequences [...] We must determine which social structure corresponds to a given linguistic structure, and how, in a general manner, changes in social structure are translated into changes in linguistic structure.

In relation to the definition of culture and the variables of linguistic change, it must be noted that there is no general principle that can account for the motivation or driving forces that cause language variation and change because the external driving forces are not uniform. The reason for this non-uniformity is that the external factors that govern change differ in various cultural, historical, ethnic, and geographical contexts. Some social factors may influence a language more or influence change less, depending on the social context as a whole. Internal factors are small, gradual changes – which are rule governed – as a result of long-term use and are reflected in the structure of a language. The external factors influence internal change as the social context requires specific changes to take place in the language. Since external factors are sporadic, so are the internal changes and thus the social element of language and culture is coupled and should not be separated. This is shown by the comparison between the definition of sub-cultural language by Hall and Jefferson (1992) and Meillet (1921 cited in Labov,

2010) which demonstrate that both culture and the language spoken within a given society is reflective of its social construct and status. Social change is a variable which exerts an influence on linguistic change as the dependent variable and thus the spoken language is reflective of the social construct – a relationship reciprocal in nature. It is important to note that there is more than one set of cultural ideas that exist within one society. The dominant ideas within a society may assert its dominance over subordinate cultural ideas through recognition via legislature or social conventions. The eleven official languages of South Africa are representative of mainstream cultural language use as they are endorsed by legislature. Sub-ordinate cultural ideas originate from the dominant society often as a reaction to mainstream culture and thus the respective ideologies are linked, albeit often as cases that are juxtaposed.

In order to fully understand how sub-culture functions within mainstream culture, sub-cultures “must first be related to the ‘parent cultures’ of which they are a sub-set” (Hall & Jefferson, 1992:13). Sub-cultures are distinct from the mainstream parent cultures. An example of a parent culture is the working class culture. Sub-cultures, which are often related to youth-cultures, are derivations from the parent mainstream culture and they vary in terms of values. These values reflect the situation in which a society functions. As a result, the dominant language represents mainstream culture, whereas the sub-ordinate languages will logically represent the sub-culture. The difference between the mainstream culture and the sub-culture is often articulated through signs such as fashion, music, and language use which do not reflect mainstream culture because sub-cultural expression differs in values and morals, and proponents of the sub-culture want to expressly articulate differences. Hebdige (1979:91) provides evidence for language being a carrier of culture when he explains that, “Notions concerning the sanctity of language are intimately bound up with the ideas of social order.” This statement is supported – in the context of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language – in Adendorff’s (1993:15) work when he refers to a poem written in Fanagalo:

What we see in this poem, therefore, is that code choice in itself is a significant carrier of meaning. Neither English nor Fanagalo nor Zulu are neutral communication media. Rather, they are codes which are imbued with different social meanings. They symbolize different value systems and have different emotional overtones.

The fact that the elements of a culture are not fixed, gives rise to the possibility of sub-sets of the dominant culture to surface. This is why sub-cultures may be thought of as independent social groups operating outside mainstream culture.

In this study the selected context, in which a sub-culture and its expression are discussed, is the mine industry. The current status of Fanagalo is therefore not investigated in the society as a whole, but specifically as a potential sub-cultural language that functions in one context; that of the mine as a/the workplace. The reason for this selected context is that it is widely accepted by researchers such as Mesthrie (2006) and Adendorff (1993), that Fanagalo is associated with, and in part representative of, the speech used by mine labourers. However, further exploration will include the notion by Adendorff (2002) that Fanagalo is spoken in a wider context and will be discussed where applicable.

2.3.3.2 Definition of sub-cultural languages

As discussed in the previous section, the elements of culture are not fixed. As sub-cultures are sub-sets of the mainstream culture, it can be deduced that the elements of a sub-culture are not fixed either. The identity issue related to sub-cultures defining them and their members as such has been a point of contention in existing research. Research has mainly focussed on the commonalities – norms, values, and beliefs – which are said to be universal of all cultures and sub-cultures. Such latent assumptions gave rise to the claims, such as the one made by Suall and Lowe (1998), that individuals comprising a certain sub-culture represent the broad cultural parameters in a single or similar identity inspiring homogeneity. Sub-cultural homogeneity has since been contested and a focus on the individuals whom comprise a certain sub-culture has been taken into consideration. This is an important approach as this study focusses on the individual perspective within the sub-cultural context in the mining industry. The focus on individuals has dismissed overarching norms dictating a sub-cultural identity which shows that, “identities of sub-cultural members are, in important ways, qualitatively different as well as differently salient” (Wood, 2003:38). Therefore, specific elements pertaining to sub-culture are not readily available and thus need to be investigated in the selected context through the interaction with individuals who possess expressions specific to that of the sub-culture – such as language.

The individualisation of members of a sub-cultural group is important because it exposes the individuality of different sub-cultures. No sub-culture is the same and it is created in response to unique contexts. Such unique contexts as the mining industry will then reflect unique expressions of their status. Such expressions may take the form of language as John Mepham (1972 cited in Hebdige, 1979:90) has written:

Distinctions and identities may be so deeply embedded in our discourse and thought about the world whether this be because of their role in our practical lives, or because they are cognitively powerful and are an important aspect of the way in which we appear to make sense of our experience, that the theoretical challenge to them can be quite startling.

Discourse, and the language in which it is communicated thus reflects (at least partly) the identity of its speakers. The uniqueness of the sub-culture is further articulated by means of the language representative of the sub-culture. Therefore, a sub-cultural language can be understood to be the linguistic representation of the status of the sub-culture expressed through its members. To further the discussion on sub-cultural language, important factors such as ideology, economic issues and the dynamics and variations that exist between the mainstream culture and the sub-culture are important.

In accordance with the cultural framework that Hebdige (1979) provides, the exposition of the concept of a sub-culture is related to the work of Cohen (1972). Hebdige (1979) comments on Cohen's explanation for sub-culture as, "a reading which took into account the full interplay of ideological, economic and cultural factors which bear upon subculture" (Hebdige, 1979:78). Furthermore, Hebdige (1979) continues his view of Cohen's (1972) work relating closely to the social and cultural context which Fanagalo may currently find itself in:

By grounding [Cohen's] theory in ethnographic detail, Cohen was able to insert class into his analysis at a far more sophisticated level than had previously possible. Rather than presenting class as an abstract set of external determinations, he showed it working out in practice as a material force, dressed up, as it were, in experience and exhibited in style (Hebdige, 1979:78).

In relation to the ethnographic approach, Adendorff (1993) uses the same method in his analysis of the social meaning of Fanagalo. The issue of class, then, becomes noteworthy and should it be applicable to the mining sector specifically; this study will consider it as such. The concept of class as a potential element for sub-cultural language maintenance presents itself as a possible affinity between social and cultural identity. In order to

determine the potential for class as part of the conceptual model, it is necessary to understand the fundamentals of class:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling *material* force of society is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling class, therefore the ideas of its dominance (Marx & Engels, 1970:64).

The dominant ideologies expressed by material relationships reflect a dominant ideology which is representative of mainstream, or parent, culture and society. The sub-culture – also referred to as the youth-culture – in its relation to the parent culture, is representative of the subversion of the mainstream culture of which language serves as an expression respectively. To further the relevance of class in the context of cultural ideology in relation to social and cultural identity, is that “the most fundamental groups in society are social classes, the primary cultural configurations are class cultures” (Eriksen, 1980:36). Just as mainstream culture and sub-culture are related, so are the class cultures. Mainstream cultures and sub-cultures are unequally ranked, so are the class cultures as they stand “in opposition to one another, in relations of domination and subordination, along the scale of cultural power” (Clarke, 1976:11). Eriksen (1980:37) explains this similarity in ranking as follows:

Similar to the complexity of the dominant culture in relation to other class cultures, each class culture is highly complex, containing within it various relatively autonomous “regions” and sub-cultures or countercultures [...] These variations relate to the fact that the subordinate groups within the class find meaning and expression in different relations, ideas and object (or different meanings in the same relations and objects) from the broader class culture.

The variations of class cultures Eriksen (1980) speaks of are complex because of the different contexts in which social and class cultures function. Even though contexts may vary – which justifies the exploration of Fanagalo in the context of the mining community as a culture on its own – both social classes and cultural classes are intertwined with the social and cultural identity and the expression of that identity. In the context of this study, the focus falls on the expression through language and specifically the use of Fanagalo as an expression of a subordinate social and class structure reflective of a sub-culture within the mining community. Therefore, class may

act as an influential affinity in social and cultural identity and as a mechanism partly contributing to the maintenance of Fanagalo as an expression of the social and cultural position and identity of a specific group within the mining community.

The definition for sub-culture which is applicable to this study stems from the work of Cohen (1971 cited in Hedbidge, 1979:77), as he describes sub-culture to be a:

Compromise solution between two contradictory needs: the need to create and express autonomy and difference from parents...and the need to maintain the parental identifications.

In the context of the mining community in which Fanagalo is explored, a useful analogy may explain that the entire work domain in South Africa could be viewed as the parent or mainstream culture and a specific youth or sub-culture could be represented by the mining industry. The mining industry is affiliated with the mainstream working culture, however, still expresses autonomy in their actions and expressions. It is the actions and expressions of the mining sector which develops Fanagalo as a marker of that identity in the selected contexts. Therefore, there is ample reason to investigate the maintenance of Fanagalo from a sub-cultural perspective.

2.3.3.2 Re-defining Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language

Support for the re-classification of Fanagalo is evidenced in Adendorff (2002:179):

First, [Fanagalo's] origins are uncertain, even though a number of explanations have been proposed to account for them. Second, from a structural point of view, the Fanakalo variety spoken on the mines in South Africa is atypical: for instance, it exhibits a number of features that pidgins do not typically possess. A third reason is the assumption by many that it is used only in the mining industry. Closer examination shows that it is an interactional resource which is employed for a range of purposes and in a range of settings.

Such uncertainty reinforces justification to reconsider Fanagalo in terms of its classification and by default, its role and process in a current context. To further the argument that Fanagalo has developed or even shifted in its classification as crystallised pidgin to a sub-cultural language, Adendorff (2002:179) provides two social meanings of Fanagalo:

Fanakalo conveys at least two social meanings, one pejorative, the other positive in its associations. Because of its pejorative connotations Fanakalo is being replaced on certain gold mines because of what it connotes, yet it is relied on in other settings because it enables some people to express solidarity with one another and reinforce their interpersonal relationships.

Given the current situation of the mining industry, it is important to adapt to the context in which Fanagalo is spoken currently. It is thus necessary to discern which groups view Fanagalo as pejorative and positive respectively. Such an inquiry may elucidate the role of social and cultural identity perceptions within the mining community relating to Fanagalo as a marker of identity in close working relation with group solidarity. The dynamic between the two social meanings conveyed by Fanagalo may reflect the dynamic of mainstream culture and sub-culture and since language is an expression of culture as stated by Hebdige (1979), Fanagalo has great potential for expressing a mine sub-culture.

Furthering the discussion of social meanings coupled with Fanagalo, Mesthrie (1989:213) briefly states a negative connotation in connection with the disparagement of the language:

On account of F's associations with colonial racism and cheap labor, its denial to employees of access to the economic power of English, and because of exaggerated claims [...].

The English language, in this statement, is associated with economic power which is indicative of its mainstream representation. It is interesting to note that Fanagalo has suggestively, however, not collapsed under such a negative connotation – or perhaps even linguistic imperialism – but rather, has maintained a number of speakers in the mining community as communicated by contracted employees of certain mines (Swanepoel, 2013; Nell, 2013). Since Fanagalo is still spoken, it may indicate that this negative connotation has evolved into a subversive representation in reaction to the mainstream accepted languages. Therefore, this study aims to explore if and how, currently, Fanagalo holds the key to sub-cultural expression in direct subversion of mainstream cultural language.

2.4 Summary

Sub-cultural language, as an expression of sub-culture, is viewed as the reaction to mainstream culture and its expression. The expression of identity is found in language. Examination of the languages spoken in the mining community may lead to the discovery of the social and cultural identity of which Fanagalo is a marker. As explained, Fanagalo may well be a subversion to mainstream cultural expression connoting mainstream approval or acceptability. Therefore, the re-classification of

Fanagalo points to it being a sub-cultural expression rather than a pidgin, any extension thereof, or a creole language.

The multiplicity of definitions of pidgin and creole languages has revealed an incongruity in which the classification of Fanagalo is left uncertain. Fanagalo is in essence a mixed language; a problematic categorisation as it does not reflect pidgin principles according to Mühlhäusler (1986). Furthermore, the traditional definitions of pidgin and creole language do not accommodate Fanagalo in its entirety as Fanagalo does not reflect the conventional process of pidginisation.

Originally, pidgin languages are the result of the colonised population's attempted acquisition of the colonisers' language. It is not denied that colonisation spawned Fanagalo, but in a unique case of inversion Fanagalo defies traditional and mainstream convention as the colonisers developed the language in an attempt to communicate with the sub-ordinate population, connoting a sub-cultural nature. Even though South Africa gained its independence from Britain on 31 May 1910 and many language policies were developed since 1994 as a democratic tribute protecting the official languages, Fanagalo – as a colonist “contact” or pidgin language – still retains a number of speakers. This may be the result of a changed context in which Fanagalo is spoken which alludes to its maintenance. This new context, specifically referring to the mining community, when explored in detail will reveal in part the endurance of the language classified in its current status as sub-cultural expression.

Furthermore, the fundamental maintenance of extended pidgin and creole languages adhere to mainstream theories of intergenerational transfer as a maintenance mechanism. Fanagalo once again exhibits subversion since its maintenance is not typical in its reliance on intergenerational transfer in the home domain as with mainstream language maintenance. The domain of use in the case of Fanagalo may be influenced by the motivation for acquiring and maintaining Fanagalo in a specific domain in a sub-cultural context, as the conceptual model suggests. The interaction between domain of use and motivation may further manifest a potential element of class relating to the social and cultural context in which Fanagalo is spoken in terms of class differentiation and identity. These suppositions need to be investigated further and can only be shaped after the data has been analysed.

In previous research (Mesthrie, 1989), Fanagalo has been classified as a crystallised pidgin on the basis of its linguistic properties which have been widely accepted. Although Adendorff (2002), who also refers to Fanagalo as a pidgin language, does take into consideration the social meaning of Fanagalo, the social and linguistic properties are not integrated into classifying Fanagalo. The social aspect has been separated from the linguistic aspect in Fanagalo's classification as the social and cultural aspects have been underrepresented in current studies. The linguistic and social aspects should be integrated in studies in order to determine a comprehensive current cultural status of the language in the context in which it is spoken today rather than accepting a one-sided premise. This social and cultural consideration reveals a similar shortcoming in previous research stemming from the same partisan premise. Originally, research based on Fanagalo only took into consideration the perspectives of the coloniser as opposed to the culturally sub-ordinate speakers of the colonised population. The missionaries, as part of the colonist society, have been credited extensively for their work in the development of African languages by capturing its written form. However, this is problematic because:

A closer examination of the materials produced by the missionaries themselves, especially their reflections on their own linguistic progress, show that the accounts of the later historiographers must be read as romanticised and sanitised versions of language history (Mesthrie, 1998:7).

The reliance on colonist accounts as data is evidently inaccurate because the source from which it came is culturally biased. Previous studies still focus on the tainted missionary accounts as a data source in order to examine structural and lexical properties of Fanagalo, as illustrated in the following reference: "Written sources (a first-hand account by an English settler from about 1905, and two published accounts by an English missionary) suggest that the use of Fanagalo..." (Mesthrie, 1989:211). Since the accounts of the missionaries or the individuals in a stronger social position have proven to provide questionable data, an alternative source is required. As this study partly aims to discover the current status of Fanagalo, the current speakers' accounts should be the focus rather than the perspectives of the individuals who may be in a stronger position. Thus, the perspectives of the vulnerable population, who are not in power, coupled with the integration of their social and cultural perspective, provide an alternative and more encompassing source for the interpretation of Fanagalo in its current status.

Support for classifying Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language emanates from Adendorff's (1993:3) article when he expresses his view on the ideology Fanagalo encodes:

What we will be doing is acknowledging the ideological basis for different perspectives on Fanagalo, but we will also go beyond them by trying to capture members' perspectives on Fanagalo, attempting a more holistic view of its social meaning.

Since it is viable to take an ideological approach to the (sub)cultural status of Fanagalo, the ideological features of the language will be taken into consideration when classifying it accordingly. Support for classifying Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language using Adendorff's (1993:4) findings is evident when he explains the "expression of solidarity" linked with Fanagalo. The concept of solidarity is representative of an in-group identity of which language is a carrier (Hebdige, 1979). Sub-cultural ideology advocates its solitary existence outside of mainstream culture and society. Therefore, because Fanagalo is described as an expression of solidarity and sub-culture – of which language is a carrier – it is representative of solidarity in its ideology, and therefore Fanagalo may be viewed as a sub-cultural language.

The re-classification of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language is consolidated as a result of indefinite definitions of terminology, dissimilarity in principles concerning pidgin and creole languages, and the shortcomings of previous research to comprehensively explore Fanagalo in terms of both its linguistic and social and cultural properties. Since no alternative is offered to accommodate the current status of Fanagalo, its re-classification as a sub-cultural language is justified. Fanagalo exhibits 1) sub-cultural features of expression in terms of its inverted genesis, connoting a sub-cultural nature, 2) the sub-cultural context concerning the unions within the mining community, and 3) defiance to mainstream theories of language maintenance related to intergenerational transfer not adhering to the conventional process of pidginisation. Nyambura-Mwaura (2012) reports that when the Lonmin Marikana mine workers reported for work after the devastating strike in early August 2012, they shouted "[w]e are reporting for work" in Fanagalo. It is an opportune moment to investigate the status of Fanagalo as a marker of potential union and sector identity. However, it is not denied that Fanagalo has its roots as a pidgin. The point is that Fanagalo has shifted in context – since South Africa is no longer colonised – and since the variables of linguistic change are influenced by social

change, it is necessary to re-examine Fanagalo in its current social situation which potentially may reflect a sub-cultural nature.

Chapter 3 Theories of language maintenance and language shift

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to explore the various theories centred on language maintenance and language shift. Stoessel (2002) explains that language maintenance and language shift, although defined separately, should not be viewed as isolated language phenomena, but rather as two elements that form part of a continuum. Even though language maintenance and language shift have different definitions, there are no clearly defined borders and the movement across the continuum should range, according to Stoessel (2002) and Veltman (1991), from language maintenance to language death. The status of a language in terms of this continuum is largely dependent on the social environment in which it exists and is linked to speakers' attitudes (Van Aswegen, 2008). However, environment and attitudes are not fixed variables and are subject to change as a result of multifarious influential factors. Fluctuations within the physical environment influence the factors contributing to either language maintenance or language shift. Since no two environments are identical in their social, cultural, economic or political composition, it is difficult to apply a single theory of language maintenance and language shift. Such diversity may account for the existence of variations and extensions of theories that focus on language maintenance and language shift. Consequently, the variations and extensions of existing language maintenance and language shift theories present limitations as they cannot be generalised and thus, not be applied to all languages in all contexts. As a result, the development of tailored theories is given an opportunity to explain language specific statuses. This opportunity largely motivates this study's aim to explain the current status of Fanagalo in South Africa today.

Theories in the context of language maintenance and language shift have numerous contributory notions. The foremost themes that emerge from each of these theories can be identified and grouped into specific areas of interest. Areas such as 1) language planning, language and ethnic or national identity, 2) language maintenance in the field of immigration or minority languages, 3) socio-psychological theories in the context of language learning, 4) bilingualism and multilingualism, and finally 5) contact linguistics, are arguably principal domains in which issues related to language maintenance and

language shift are studied. Even though these theories are equally important and have contributed significantly to the field in general, the scope and topic of this particular study does not allow the inclusion of a discussion of all the existing theories. This study takes a sub-cultural approach in explaining the maintenance of Fanagalo in a selected context in South Africa today. Thus the discussion of language maintenance and language shift theory is limited to applicable theories which may contribute to understanding the maintenance of sub-cultural languages. The topic of this study dictates which theories are appropriate for the discussion and will include an overview of the work of Fishman (1965; 1967; 1986; 1991), Giles (1973), Giles *et al.* (1977), Tajfel (1974), Stoessel (2002), and Paulston (1985; 1987; 1992a; 1994c; 1994e; 1994f).

Fishman (1965) provided the initial framework for theories to be developed, making his work necessary to include in the discussion. Giles *et al.* (1977) focus on ethnolinguistic vitality which centres on various statuses attainable in a given society through language maintenance. This is important in relation to the expression of identity within mainstream culture and by default, sub-culture, under which Fanagalo as a language is argued to be a representation. Giles (1973 in Giles *et al.*, 1977) also developed a theory of speech accommodation combining ethnicity and social identity. Identity is an important aspect as it contributes to the recognition of sub-cultural identity. Tajfel's (1974) theory of intergroup relations is applicable to this topic because it discusses elements such as language choice, alluding to the motivation for the acquisition of a certain language. It is necessary to determine why speakers of Fanagalo have acquired the language so that one can understand why it continues to be spoken. Stoessel (2002) explains how the social environment determines the language attitude of speakers of a certain language. Fanagalo, in this study, is explored in a specific context and thus grasping the influence of the specific environment in which it is spoken is essential in explaining the maintenance of Fanagalo. Fanagalo originated from a contact situation and therefore, the work of contact linguists is noteworthy in order to determine certain mechanisms contributing to the maintenance of Fanagalo in South Africa today. Fanagalo's genesis through contact linguistics has been discussed in Chapter 1 and will not be discussed further in this chapter.

Theories concerned with language planning, bilingualism, and multilingualism are not applicable to this study because the contributory factors do not apply to Fanagalo

significantly. Language planning would include the promotion of official languages. Fanagalo is not an official language and is currently not planned for in the traditional sense. It is true, that in the past, Fanagalo was taught formally with the intent of teaching mine workers specific terminology which alludes to the three main elements of language planning: acquisition, corpus, and status (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2000:22-35) and will be discussed where applicable. However, findings from this study may provide information that can influence language planning policy as Fanagalo is still maintained despite the lack of formal language policy and planning. Such a phenomenon may be attributable to the idea that policy is not solely responsible for language maintenance and should consider other factors:

This does not mean that advocates of linguistic diversity should abandon the struggle to obtain legal measures at all levels supporting languages. On the contrary, we must redouble our efforts. However, we must do so in the knowledge that without well-focused action on a variety of other fronts, these will not guarantee maintenance. It is political, geographical and economic factors that support the maintenance of linguistic and cultural diversity. [...]Because the preservation of a language in its fullest sense ultimately entails the maintenance of the group that speaks it, the arguments in favour of doing something to reverse language death are ultimately about preserving cultures and habitats (Romaine, 2002a: 22).

Preserving the speakers of Fanagalo is an applicable notion as policy does not influence its maintenance. However, it must be noted that Fanagalo is not an indigenous language representative of a specific ethnic group and this study will explore instances in which the maintenance function deviates from traditional theory. Additionally, theories surrounding bilingualism and multilingualism focus mainly on the displacement or maintenance of the home language and the dominant language, neither of which can be used to describe Fanagalo directly.

Hence, the theories and their contributory factors which will be discussed are selected in terms of their relevance to the maintenance of Fanagalo from a sub-cultural perspective. An overview of each of the selected theories is presented in the sections that follow.

3.2 Overview of language maintenance and shift theories

This section provides an account of the existing theories of language maintenance and language shift. The factors influencing language maintenance or shift proposed in each of the theories are presented in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of

how the theories are applied to mainstream languages. The purpose of creating such an overview is to examine the limitations that these theories may hold for a discussion of the maintenance of a sub-cultural language and will lead to the identification of an alternative approach.

3.2.1 Fishman's theory of language maintenance and shift

According to Fase *et al.* (1992), Joshua Fishman was the first to develop and make use of the terms language maintenance and language shift. According to Fishman (1965), variance in language choice in a multilingual setting can be organised according to the socio-cultural context in which the domains of language choice play an influential role. The domain of use can be described as the setting in which certain languages are spoken – the language spoken in that setting is a choice. Face-to-face verbal communication within certain domains leads to the widespread use of the chosen language which ultimately results in language maintenance or language shift. Fishman (1965:73) explains this language maintenance mechanism as follows:

Language choices, cumulated over many individuals and many choice instances, become transformed into the process of language maintenance or language shift.

Fishman (1965) further elaborates on this process when he introduces other sources of variance, in addition to language choice, that include: media variance (writing, reading and speaking), role variance (inner speech, comprehension and production), situational variance (more formal, less formal and intimate communication), and domain variance (context of language behaviour). The allowance of variance in each of the influential factors listed seems to offer a flexible explanation for the maintenance and shift of languages along its continuum. However, the variances are constrained by specific dominance configurations in order to establish patterns of language maintenance or language shift.

In cases where languages approach language death, Fishman (1991) argues for the reversal of language shift (RSL), so that a stable diglossia can be achieved. He explains the importance of diglossia in the field of sociolinguistics as follows:

In the few years that have elapsed since Ferguson (1959) first advanced it, the term diglossia has not only become widely accepted by sociolinguists and sociologists of language, but it has been further extended and refined. Initially it was used in connection with a society that used two (or more) languages for internal (intra-society) communication. The use of several separate codes within a single society

(and their stable maintenance rather than the displacement of one by the other over time) was found to depend on each code's serving functions distinct from those considered appropriate for the other (Fishman, 1967:29).

Fasold (1984:37) agrees with Fishman (1991) that the achievement of a stable diglossia results in language maintenance when he says, "it can be argued that diglossia is required in order for more than one language variety to be maintained in one community". Fishman (1991) advocates that languages can be restored by transmitting the desired language within the home domain which is further supported through his reasoning that language maintenance is achieved using the bottom-up approach and that intergenerational transfer is a key element in language maintenance.

3.2.1.1 Fishman: A critical review

The compartmentalisation of domain use and variables that combine to constrain language choices indicate that Fishman's (1965) theory of language maintenance and language shift may be limited to specific conditions. Such rigidity is problematic since the conditions may not be applicable to all domains and language choice settings as the distinctiveness of speakers' social and cultural identity do not form a part of Fishman's domain configurations. Furthermore, Fishman (1986) firmly posits that the maintenance of a language relies heavily on its use in the home domain. If the continuum as proposed by Fishman is as flexible as it claims to be, then a single domain should not dominate the language maintenance mechanism. The same could be said for Fishman's (1986:80) dominance configuration discussed in Chapter 1 where even he admits that, "the dominance configuration still requires much further refinement". Romaine (2002b) comments on the dissatisfaction of other sociolinguists concerning the notion of a stable diglossia and home domain transference:

Williams (1992:122), for instance, argues that diglossia and the related concept of domain have been more a hindrance than a help in analyzing language contact. He criticizes both Fishman and Ferguson, and indeed most of the contemporary sociolinguistic theory, for stressing the consensual nature of such arrangements rather than the dimensions of power and conflict underlying them. In so far as the domain segregation found in diglossia is nothing more than a manifestation of the power differential between H and L, the term should be dispensed with altogether (Romaine, 2002b:140).

Despite the support for the dispensation of considering diglossia and domain as influential factors, Romaine (2002b:140) does express her reservations as, "This is perhaps to throw out the baby with the bath water." This is an agreeable sentiment as

domain cannot be disregarded entirely in examining language contact as a contributor to language maintenance. The issue for this study is the inability of Fishman's language maintenance and language shift theory to be responsive to alternate domains and context. These concerns are demonstrated by applying his theories to Fanagalo in the next section.

3.2.1.2 Fishman applied to Fanagalo

The role that the socio-cultural context plays cannot be ignored in terms of the status of a language on the maintenance or shift continuum. Fishman's (1965) notion of the domain being determinant of language choice is agreeable, but his reliance on language transference in the home domain is debatable. Fanagalo is not an official language and could even be viewed as a non-language – as it is an assimilated or mixed code language – which is reason enough for it not to be a home language. For Fanagalo to be maintained, it needs to be transferred, but the domain in which it is transferred is not the home domain. By implication, should Fanagalo not be taught in the home domain, the traditional transference from mother, or parent, to child is not applicable. Fishman does allow for variance in role, situation and media which are specified by dominance configurations in order to achieve a stable diglossia in a multilingual setting. In this way he argues that the reversal of language shift could take place, but on the condition that a language is transmitted within the home domain. This may not be the case with Fanagalo and needs to be examined.

3.2.1.3 Ethnolinguistic vitality

Ethnolinguistic vitality is a theory developed by Giles *et al.* (1977), in which three variables are attributed to the endurance of ethnolinguistic minority or vulnerable groups and the maintenance of their language. Status (economic status, social status, sociohistorical status, and language prestige), demographic variables (group members and population distribution), and institutional support (formal and informal representations of community, region or national institutions) combine in order to develop a maintenance mechanism for minority or vulnerable languages. Giles *et al.* (1977) further explain that a context for understanding the vitality of minority or vulnerable ethnolinguistic groups is reliant on the three variables, arguing that the more vitality a group displays, the more likely it is that their language will survive. Should the group display little vitality, then the group has less chance of maintaining its

distinctiveness and will eventually be absorbed into the dominant group which includes loss of the ethnic language. As specific as the variables are in nature, Giles *et al.* (1977) perpetuate an integration of theories in order to account for the socio-psychological processes that act upon structural variables of vitality. The two theories integrated are: Tajfel's theory of intergroup relations (1974) and Giles' theory of speech accommodation (1973), which are briefly discussed in sections 3.2.2.1 and 3.2.2.2.

3.2.2.1 Tajfel's theory of intergroup relations

Tajfel (1974) developed a theory which explains an individual's motivation to seek a positive social identity as a result of their dissatisfaction with their present social identity. Social categorisation, identity, comparison and psychological distinctiveness are factors structured to formulate a chain which individuals undergo in an effort to re-identify themselves within society. Language choice has a substantial impact on the re-identification process as language is an expression of an individual's social status. These factors relate to the socio-psychological processes that contribute to the structural variables underpinning the ethnolinguistic vitality theory, thus creating a complex web in determining the status of a language – and more specifically, a vulnerable language – on the maintenance or shift continuum.

3.2.2.2 Giles' theory of speech accommodation

Giles (1973) combines ethnicity and the search for a positive social identity to explain how these two elements develop language as a tactic to achieve favourable status. Speech accommodation theory suggests that motivation and social implications affect a speaker's language choice and style of expression which revolve around approval or disapproval. Van Aswegen (2008:33) makes clear the aim of accommodation theory by stating that it “postulates that people are constantly adjusting their speech with others to reduce or emphasize the linguistic (and therefore social) differences between them.” The concepts of convergence (a shift towards the dominant language), divergence (a shift away from the dominant language), and non-convergence (no attempt to shift) are added to the theory of speech accommodation to explain language choice. As with Tajfel's (1974) theory of intergroup relations, the variables explaining language maintenance or language shift have become even more complex by combining all the theories and thus all their contributory factors.

3.2.2.3 Socio-psychological theories: A critical review

The socio-psychological theories discussed above all introduce features of language maintenance and language shift based on the reason or motivation for acquiring a certain language. Although such a contribution to the understanding of language maintenance and language shift is noteworthy, the socio-psychological theories have received criticism that the features considered are too general and “too simplistic [an] analysis of group situations” (Edwards, 1992:47). The three variables – status, demographic, and institutional support – are questionable because, “it is not clear how Giles *et al.* decided what the variables are” (Van Aswegen, 2008:34). Further issues stemming from the three variables are exposed by Husband and Saifullah Khan (1982 cited in Edwards, 1992:47), when they state that the variables are not autonomous. This is because, as stated before, every ethnolinguistic context is different and not every variable may be suited to the specific context. Evidence of this is presented in Bornman and Appelgryn (1987) who identified five variables instead of three in the measurement of ethnolinguistic vitality, and Prujiner (1984 cited in Van Aswegen, 2008:34) who proposes four variables in a related study. As a result, Van Aswegen (2008:34) recommends researchers to conduct, “comparative studies in other societies [...] to find out whether the variables identified in these studies are universal variables of ethnolinguistic vitality or whether they were only products of the circumstances at the time of the study.”

3.2.2.4 Socio-psychological theories applied to Fanagalo

The three variables upon which ethnolinguistic vitality relies to explain language maintenance and language shift may not be applicable to Fanagalo for two reasons. The first reason is that Fanagalo is not viewed as a heritage language and has not been described as a language representative of a certain ethnic identity. The vitality of language refers to the maintenance of ancestral languages under threat of a dominant language. Fanagalo is indeed under threat by dominant languages but it is not used in intimate domains like the home or formal domains such as education. Therefore, explaining Fanagalo’s maintenance is problematic using this theory because ethnolinguistic vitality as a whole cannot be postulated as motivation for language maintenance.

The second reason refers specifically to the applicability of the three variables proposed by the ethnolinguistic vitality theory. Vitality, according to this theory, is dictated by the variables and categorised according to the level of vitality. If a language or group of speakers has a sufficient amount of vitality, language maintenance is likely. Conversely, should a group display minimal vitality, then language shift, divergence or non-convergence may result. If we conceptualise Fanagalo in the broader constellation of official and other indigenous languages then Fanagalo is not recognised as a prestigious language or a language that is supportive of social mobility and thus it will not enhance a speaker's status when he or she acquires Fanagalo. Status as a variable then, is not appropriate in the case of Fanagalo in the broader context. Consequently, it is possible that Fanagalo carries clout within the specific context in which it is spoken in order for speakers to be identified as part of an in-group. Fanagalo does hold some social currency within the specific context of the mine. Furthermore, Fanagalo does not receive institutional or formal support and is actually opposed by mass media and mainstream culture because of the negative stigma associated with it. Furthermore, as a non-official language, no current mainstream institution makes use of Fanagalo. Once more, an ethnolinguistic variable is inappropriate in explaining the maintenance of Fanagalo. The only variable which may be useful is the demographic which allows the consideration of population distribution, alluding to the context in which the speakers of Fanagalo exist. It is problematic to measure the vitality of Fanagalo if in total, only one of the three variables included in the measurement is present in the context under investigation. Fanagalo then does not have a high vitality count and should not be maintained according to the ethnolinguistic vitality theory, but on the contrary it is still used in the mines.

The theory of intergroup relations (Tajfel, 1974) is dependent on but not limited to speakers' motivation for language choice pursuing a positive social identity. Fanagalo had been deemed an oppressor's language; although this is not the case today. Mainstream culture has stigmatised the language making it an undesirable language to acquire. However, Fanagalo is still maintained opposing mainstream cultural opinions. The theory of intergroup relations cannot account for the maintenance of Fanagalo because motivation for its acquisition is not reflective of a favourable social identity. Perhaps, from a sub-cultural perspective, the maintenance of Fanagalo is better

explained. Motivation for the acquisition of Fanagalo may be suited to the theory of speech accommodation postulated by Giles *et al.* (1977). Although this theory bears similarity to Tajfel's (1974) intergroup relations theory in that it also makes use of positive social identity as motivation, the accommodative aspect adds a variable. According to Giles *et al.* (1977) individuals adjust their speech in order to attain favourable standing within a certain context and emphasise or reduce social differences. Fanagalo originated from an accommodative purpose, in other words, it originated as a means to communicate in the form of a mixed code. It is possible that this is still the case. The context has changed from the colonial times to the modern mine sector, but the continued multilingual setting may promote language accommodation. Still, Giles *et al.* (1977) only refer to speech changes within the same language and not using an entirely new language to facilitate the accommodative function. The social emphasis or reduction in association is heightened as a whole new language, such as Fanagalo, may create an entirely different culture all together. It is therefore necessary to explore Fanagalo's motivation for acquisition from a sub-cultural context.

3.2.3.1 Social network theory

A social network may be defined as an "informal social relationship contracted by an individual" (Milroy, 1980 cited in Stoessel, 2002:95). The social network theory contends that the social environment in which an individual exists is determinant of their attitude and behaviour concerning a specific language. As other sociolinguists, Stoessel (2002) underlines the necessity of viewing language maintenance and language shift as a continuum rather than opposite states. This is partly because of the influence that social networks have on language usage, and the volatility involved with individuals' attitudes related to the power of the social environment to facilitate the need for flexibility rather than rigidity in terms of language maintenance and language shift. This theory basically argues that language serves as means to socialise and the specific language of expression is determined by the interaction of individuals with their social and cultural environment. According to Stoessel (2002), social roles are the result of socialisation of which language is a tool, and these roles – ranging from gender, religion, professional, and institutional – are accepted by members of the same social and cultural environment. It seems that language then, according to this theory, is an expression of social identity or marks members as part of a certain group. It is this acquired social identity that allows individuals to maintain a language, as the language

is the expression representing the group to which they belong. Motivation for acquiring a language either revolves around the desire to belong to a group and to a certain class of people or the desire to distance themselves from an existing social network. Furthermore, a salient feature in networks is, according to Van Aswegen (2008:45), “the degree to which a network is closed or open to new members.” This is an important factor with regard to unity or social cohesion experienced by the speakers, which could result in the maintenance of the language associated with the in-group. Conversely, if members of the group do not experience feelings of unity or social cohesion and the group is submitted to outside pressure, a possible result could be a shift in language.

3.2.3.2 Social network theory: A critical review

The central notion that social forces relate to the choice of a language (or code) in processes where identification with a certain group are important, has been criticised by O Raigain (1994) for its lack of consideration for how the individual choices of network interaction are made and how local social forces interact with the choice of language. The social organisations of communities vary contextually, relating to local and national integration of communities. Such integration is propelled by differing social forces, none of which combined will be identical to specific contexts. The only way in which language maintenance or language shift can be explained, according to Cole (1977), is to take into account all the various social forces. The scope of such an undertaking may be too substantial and it would be near impossible to account for all individual decisions based on the numerous social forces. Flexibility of theory may be an aim in describing the position of a language along the maintenance and shift continuum, but if the scope is too broad, determining its position may not be possible as too many factors need to be considered. Alternatively, should the social forces be determined by a study conducted in one context, the same social forces identified may not be applicable to another context. The unsuitability of forces investigated in some contexts then becomes a problem and therefore cannot be generalised.

3.2.3.3 Social network theory applied to Fanagalo

The main argument in the application of the social network theory to Fanagalo is that the social network theory focusses on mainstream social theories. Fanagalo has been postulated as a sub-cultural expression, alluding to the premise that it is not spoken within mainstream social networks. The social forces determined by the social network

theory may not be suitable for a sub-cultural context. The social network theory explains that the environment affects an individual's language choice and attitude but simultaneously expresses that individual's application of this attitude determines language choice in order to achieve desirable social status. Fanagalo has been stigmatised as a language of the oppressor or the language of the illiterate, and both of these social perceptions will not stimulate the speaker's desire to attain a favourable social status. Regardless, Fanagalo is still maintained. Its maintenance could be explained by arguing that it is not the individual's attitude that dictates the use of Fanagalo, but rather the context in which it is spoken. According to Van Aswegen (2008:45), "A salient feature in networks is the degree to which a network is closed or open to new members." Fanagalo is mainly spoken within the mining industry and miners acquire Fanagalo because they become part of the mining culture. Fanagalo is an expression thereof and thus only accessible to a closed community or a very specific in-group. In such a closed community or in-group it is possible that a language, in this case Fanagalo, becomes representative of the unity of the group and therefore it continues to be spoken despite out-group pressure – from the mining industry management, the media and mainstream population – to replace it with English. By determining the social forces driving Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language, refining the broad and numerous forces of mainstream cultural language maintenance and language shift may be possible.

3.2.4.1 Paulston's theory of social mobilisation

Paulston (1985; 1987; 1992a; 1994c) conceptualises the fine line between language maintenance and language shift by identifying certain social determinants that contribute to different positions. Paulston explains that sociocultural forces such as the origin of the contact situation, social factors in language shift, social factors in language maintenance, and social mobilisation, should not be opposed by language policies as they will not be successful. The maintenance or shift of ancestral languages forms an important part of Paulston's work in which she attempts to provide a description of factors that contribute to either language maintenance or language shift as a phenomenon. Paulston believes that prolonged contact will result in language shift from the minority group to the dominant group. Bilingualism is another important factor to consider contributing to language shift where parents, specifically the mother, will speak the mother tongue language to their parents and speak the dominant

language to their children (Paulston 1994f:13). Should language shift not take place, it can be attributed to two reasons: lack of incentive and a lack of access to the dominant language. The factors contributing to language maintenance, according to Paulston (1994f), has to do with social mobilisation and access to the dominant language. Access to goods and services is an important factor as it acts as motivation for the acquisition and maintenance of a language which is referred to as the creation of language loyalty (Paulston 1994f:21). If both factors are present in a given context, then language maintenance is the result.

3.2.4.2 Mobilisation theory: A critical review

The chosen identities, reflected in language use, that individuals pursue with incentives and social mobility as motivation is, according to Paulston (1994c), done as pre-existing ethnic or national groups. Based on this premise, the four types of social mobilisation are supposedly sufficient. This may be true in the case of mainstream cultural languages and nation states. Unfortunately, the extent of applying this theory to vulnerable or unofficial languages may be limited, as the theory does not consider languages spoken in vulnerable contexts. Her reliance on ancestral language as forming the basis of ethnicity as a social mobilisation tactic is also questionable because sub-cultural languages, for example, are neither ancestral languages nor usually linked to ethnicity – with exceptions such as right-wing white prison gangs like the Aryan Brotherhood – and yet are still maintained. This shows that some of the forces identified do not relate to sub-cultural languages, demonstrating the need for further study.

3.2.4.3 Mobilisation theory applied to Fanagalo

Lack of incentive and lack of access to a dominant language are two factors Paulston (1994c) attributes to language maintenance. Fanagalo has been negatively stigmatised as previously discussed, which should according to the social mobility theory, act as incentive to shift to another language and yet it is still spoken. The dominant official languages surrounding the mines are not inaccessible as the mine workers that participated in this study do not reside on site. Therefore, speakers of Fanagalo have incentive and access to dominant languages and yet have not shifted to another language as maintenance has been confirmed (Chapter 1). In continuation, if there is neither a lack of incentive nor a lack of access to the dominant language, then ethnic groups would see the learning a dominant language as beneficial. It is necessary to

explore this apparent theoretical conflict. Another issue surrounding the theory applied to Fanagalo is that women are seen as responsible for transferring language. Fanagalo is well-known to be a language of the male-dominated mining industries and in this case the men would mainly be responsible for the language transfer. The reason for the incompatibility of this theory may be that, just like all the other theories, it focusses on languages from a mainstream cultural perspective. An adjustment in the approach may explain the language maintenance phenomenon of sub-cultural languages such as Fanagalo.

3.3 The maintenance elements for Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language

The influential factors or elements that drive language maintenance and language shift in each of the theories are fundamental in developing a sub-cultural language model. The fact that the elements are aimed at explaining mainstream language maintenance and language shift does not render them entirely irrelevant. The mainstream language maintenance and language shift elements are shown to be mostly context specific and the mechanism involved is largely influenced by the environment in which a language occurs. Even though the social and cultural interaction differs between the mainstream and the sub-cultural context, sub-culture is an extension of the mainstream culture in which it exists. Therefore, it is possible to utilise mainstream language maintenance and language shift elements in explaining the maintenance of sub-cultural languages. For this to be possible, an adjustment of the conceptual elements is necessary in order to suit the context in which a sub-cultural language, such as Fanagalo, is explained.

The elements used to construct the sub-cultural language model based on Fanagalo in a selected context are based on the elements used in existing theories. Each of the elements proposed for the model are presented, in a non-specific order, in terms of their application in a sub-cultural setting. Since Fanagalo is postulated as a sub-cultural expression in Chapter 2, it becomes the introductory element in the conceptual model. Domain of use, as theorised by Fishman (1965), is an important element to consider as it aids the explanation of language maintenance through transference. The one consideration that needs to be taken into account is that unlike mainstream languages, sub-cultural languages are not transferred in the home domain and is reliant on a different domain of transference. In continuation of the transference mechanism, Paulston (1994f) believes that transference is carried out mainly by the mothers who

speak the target language. In the case of Fanagalo specifically, this is not possible as the context in which Fanagalo is spoken, on the mining sites, is not a traditional transference domain in which mothers and children are present. Furthermore, children do not work and are not present in the mining domain and are thus not the individuals to whom the language is transferred. The domain and transference are important elements to consider in the maintenance of Fanagalo in a sub-cultural context and the elements will have to be adjusted accordingly.

The socio-psychological theories also provide fundamental elements concerning the language maintenance and shift continuum, but are also limited to mainstream language application. Identity is a central component in describing the language maintenance and language shift process. The first contributory factor concerning identity is ethnically centred in terms of preserving ancestral or heritage languages. Sub-cultural languages are neither ancestral nor heritage languages as these are coupled with mainstream identities. Furthermore, there is no evidence which suggests otherwise as the origin of Fanagalo was not based on ethnic identification, but rather as a neutrally linguistic accommodative language.

Identity is further coupled with the attainment of favourable social status as motivation for acquiring and maintaining a language. As previously explained, Fanagalo cannot accommodate this social mobilisation as it is, in comparison to other languages of official status, unlikely to achieve an upwardly mobile status goal. Identity, in the case of Fanagalo, may be domain specific as the broader social context does not support the maintenance of the language. The motivation for acquiring Fanagalo has to be different as the attainment of a positive social identity supported by Fanagalo as a marker is not ethnically or socially linked. As a result, motivation for acquisition and identity are important elements in considering the maintenance of a sub-cultural language such as Fanagalo.

A possible motivational sub-element may be accommodation. As Paulston (1994e) explains, the origin of the contact situation is important when considering language maintenance and language shift. Fanagalo may still possess its accommodative quality in that it allows for effective communication through the choice of code, and therefore linguistic accommodation needs to be considered within the selected context.

Code switching is an example of such accommodation. In some cases, an entire language switch (or choice of a different code) may occur. Usually though, the language that is switched is a mainstream language, but if the context is influential enough, an entirely *new* language not used outside of the context may be spawned. This is because the domain or context is so closed, that the language is only appropriate for an accommodative function, in that context which creates an identity of which the language is an expression. Accommodation is directly linked to communication and depending on the domain of use and motivation for acquisition, communication may act as an interdependent element. The attitude of speakers may contribute a great deal in terms of language maintenance or language shift in any context. This is because the attitude of a speaker may determine the worthiness of acquiring a given language in the first place. In a sub-cultural context, the attitude resulting in a decision to acquire a language may be important too.

Based on the above discussion, the elements which need to be included in the model for sub-cultural language maintenance are: domain of use, transference, identity, acquisition, motivation, accommodation, communication, and attitude. Empirical data related to all these elements will be used in this study to determine how Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language is related to these elements and how the elements contribute to the maintenance of the language.

3.4 Conclusion

All of the theories discussed above contribute greatly to a better understanding of the processes underlying the status of a given language on the maintenance and shift continuum. Although none of the discussed theories claim to be all-inclusive, there are still limitations present in each proposal particularly as applied to the case of Fanagalo. Fishman's (1965) compartmentalisation of constrained variables presents rigidity in his theory which makes it difficult to apply in a broader context. However, this does not mean that a theory should be too general either since Giles *et al.* (1997) and Tajfel (1974) have both been criticised for their generalisations and complexity of their theories. The social network theory has also been accused of being too general as it does not take into consideration local social forces and the individual accounts concerning network interaction are not taken into consideration. The social mobilisation theory is incompatible with vulnerable and sub-cultural languages. In all

fairness, it must be noted that no social environment is identical and therefore it seems that either being too general or too specific are the only two alternatives. The important issue to take into consideration is the variation of the factors postulated by each theory, which contribute to a better understanding in general of language maintenance and language shift. Both Paulston (1994) and Pandharipande (1992) agree that there is still a lot to learn about language maintenance and language shift in selected areas. Consequently, current theories of language maintenance and language shift all revolve around, or are based, on mainstream cultural language, whether they are dominant or vulnerable languages. The focus on mainstream cultural language concerning maintenance and shift is the one general critique that the researcher can offer of all the theories. Since numerous factors and influences have been offered in order to gain a better understanding of language maintenance and language shift, another contribution can be made by examining the maintenance of sub-cultural languages.

The maintenance of sub-cultural languages will be examined and explained by developing a model that encompasses the elements gained from an analysis of existing theories. Empirical data gathered via questionnaires and interviews with miners at a selected mine in the North-West Province will be interpreted to refine the relationships between these elements in the conceptual model. The difference is that the elements will be adjusted in order to suit the context in which sub-cultural languages occur, as well as the nature of sub-cultural languages. The elements which are to be presented in the models are: Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language, domain of use, transference, identity, acquisition, motivation, accommodation, communication, attitude, and the resulting element is sub-cultural language maintenance.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The general approach for this study is qualitative and empirical making use of the grounded-theory approach. This methodology chapter aims to provide a comprehensive account of the frameworks and theories adopted in order answer each of the research questions within an interpretivist paradigm. It further develops the methodological approach by explaining the relevance of the data collection method, analysis, interpretation, and presentation of results. Previous research on the topic of Fanagalo is not without limitations such as a one-sided data collection focus on out-group opinions made by members of the dominant culture of the status of the language. This one-sided approach resulted in a limited understanding of the phenomenon and it is problematic to draw conclusions based on these views only. The literature review section in this chapter addresses these limitations in detail for the purpose of not only identifying the limitations but also to provide a critical analysis of the methodological issues that future research, such as reflecting a holistic perspective as attempted in this study, should address. Following this, the chapter further aims to propose a solution for the limitations identified so that a comprehensive premise is constructed through valid frameworks that could potentially result in a more inclusive model explaining the maintenance of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language within selected contexts in South Africa today. In order to answer all the research questions and to address the limitations identified in previous research, the methodology supports the composition of three main data sets. These three data sets are triangulated so as to achieve all the objectives determined by the research questions.

4.2 Overview of the grounded theory approach used in the study

The purpose of this section is to specifically demonstrate the use of grounded theory as a part of the methodology adopted in this study. It is important to note that grounded theory does not account for the entire methodological framework of this study, but it does formulate the basis for the gathering and analysis of the data. According to Duchscher and Morgan (2004:605), “researchers need to be clear about which philosophy and resulting analysis approach they are using, and the effect that approach

will have on the research process and outcomes". In order for the data to be fully understood, it is important that this section of the methodology chapter explains how this method is adopted as grounded theory, "is still not widely understood" (Allan, 2003:1). The grounded theory approach was selected as a method for this study as, "the magnificence of this work exists in its capacity to create rich descriptions and understanding of social life" (Walker & Myrick, 2006:549). The social and cultural framework this study adopts thus needed a data gathering and analysis method that allowed for perspectives of actual speakers of Fanagalo to be presented and interpreted. The suitability of grounded theory in this study will be discussed in detail in section 4.2.4. The origin of grounded theory is discussed briefly in section 4.2.1 which is then followed by a concise discussion of the most prominent constructs related to grounded theory (section 4.2.2) and finally, a critique of grounded theory is presented (section 4.2.3).

4.2.1 The origin of grounded theory

Grounded theory was developed originally by Glaser and Strauss (1967). In due time, grounded theory scholars developed divergent paths that resulted in two variations of the methodological approach. The initial purpose of grounded theory is three-fold. First, researchers that supported the theory aimed to generate a methodology which was grounded in terms of the action and reaction related to the data gathered and the existing literature which would result in "closing the embarrassing gap between theory and empirical research" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967:vii). The second purpose of grounded theory was, "to suggest the logic for and specifics of grounded theories", and the third purpose was to, "legitimate careful qualitative research" (Corbin & Strauss, 1990:275). Corbin and Strauss (1990:273) explain that grounded theory is:

A general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analysed. Theory evolves doing actual research, and it does this through continuous interplay between analysis and data collection.

The systematically generated substantive theory is grounded in empirical data which continuously alternates comparison between the data and the existing literature. The constant comparison of data and existing knowledge about the topic of research is a central feature of grounded theory and therefore the approach is also often referred to

as the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The line of argumentation that grounded theory follows is to gather data from which a theory is derived as opposed to the traditionally dominant logico-deductive line of argumentation which develops a theory and then seeks to verify it. As Corbin and Strauss (1990: 273) explain it:

In this methodology, theory may be generated initially from the data, or, if existing (grounded) theories seem appropriate to the area of investigation, then these may be elaborated and modified as incoming data are meticulously played against them.

The continuous interplay between data and existing research findings and the modification of existing theories allows for the development of a new theory based on the data which serve as a set of guidelines in which conceptual frameworks are developed. The newly developed conceptual framework serves to explain the relationships between certain factors that emerged from the data and in this way a new theory is developed.

Grounded theory favours an elaborate and specific set of analyses of data that leads to the attainment of satisfactory results. Consequently, these analytical processes – of which coding is the main activity – have become a point of contention between Glaser and Strauss who have since maintained divergent paths related to different applications of a grounded theory approach. The constructs of grounded theory related to both variations are briefly discussed in the next section.

4.2.2 Constructs that are prominent in Grounded Theory

The most prominent construct of grounded theory – ignoring for the moment minor differences in the application of the process – centres on the activity of coding of the data. In a grounded theory approach, coding is not simply part of the data analysis as conducted in general qualitative processes but rather, it is the “fundamental analytical process used by the researcher” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990:12); and according to Walker and Myrick (2006:594) it is “what transports researchers and their data from transcript to theory”. Strauss and Corbin (1990) and Glaser (1978) agree that there are similarities in the application of the general constructs used as part of a grounded theory approach in the different versions of the approach that currently exist. In both approaches, coding is used, there is an emphasis on constant comparison, questions,

theoretical sampling, and the use of memos in the process of generating theory. Moreover, both versions adhere to the same basic research process: gather data, code and compare data, categorize data, theoretically sample, develop a core category, and generate a theory. The objectives of using grounded theory also remain the same as both versions guide researchers in conceptualising a theory which is interested in patterns and discovering processes that are reciprocal in nature (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). The way in which the researcher engages with the data, and specifically codes and presents it, is the main division between the two variations of grounded theory.

4.2.2.1 The Glaserian approach to coding

Glaser (1978:55) presents coding as a process that “gets analysts off the empirical level by fracturing the data, then conceptually grouping it into codes that then become the theory which explains what is happening in the data.” The Glaserian coding process is divided into two methods: substantive and theoretical coding. Substantive coding uses two sub-methods (open and selective coding) which produce categories and their properties, while theoretical coding draws the substantive conclusions together formulating a theory.

4.2.2.2 The Strausserian approach to coding

Corbin and Strauss (1990:61) have defined coding as “the process of analyzing data” which alludes to comparing and questioning the emerging codes. Dissimilarly to Glaser’s (1978) two coding methods, Strauss’s (1990) coding procedure consist of three coding methods: open, axial and selective. Strauss’s open coding is similar to that of Glaser’s except Strauss includes the concept of “dimensions of properties” in their discussion of properties. The addition of examining the dimensions of properties is that it “breaks the data down and assists in the development of relationships among categories” (Walker & Myrick, 2006:552). Axial coding is conducted in order to piece the open coded data back together “by making connections between a category and its subcategory” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990:97). These connections are achieved by focussing on three aspects: conditions of the situation in which the phenomena occur, the actions or interactions of the people in response to what is happening in the situation, and the consequences of the action. The final coding method is the selective coding method which according to Corbin and Strauss (1998:143), is the “process of integrating and refining theory” and at this stage, the analyst will develop a core category of interpretation and all other categories are related back to it. In this way, Corbin and

Strauss (1998:128) believe that, “The paradigm is nothing more than a perspective taken toward the data, another analytic stance that helps to systematically gather and order data in such a way that structure and process are integrated.”

4.2.3 Grounded theory criticism

The discrepancies between Glaserian and Strausserian grounded theory relate to the coding process. This issue is also at the core of the main body of critique of grounded theory. Straussarian grounded theory, as explained, makes use of axial coding in which the data is micro-analysed for meaning. Allan (2003:2) offers two drawbacks related to this micro-analysis of coding: firstly, it is time consuming as interview data contains masses of data that need to be studied, and secondly, because of the masses of data, the analysis could become “lost within the minutia of data” causing the focus to be lost. In defence of grounded theory as a method, the researcher is aware of how time consuming it can be, but in the best interest of the study, the grounded theory analysis method provided appropriate analytical tools related to the nature of the research question. The risk of the potential loss of focus as a result of the method of analysis was managed via the development of specific objectives that relate the research questions. These objectives kept the researcher focused during the analysis phase. It is true that the data did yield unforeseen results, but that is what grounded theory sets out to do, to let the data speak for itself by analysing the data and writing down what is observed (Glaser, 2001 cited in Allan, 2003).

Another critique related to the Straussarian grounded theory is that the coding process is over-conceptualised (Glaser, 1992:40) referring to the extra coding step. It was necessary in this study to make use of axial coding because the three aspects mentioned above provide pertinent insight into the context in which Fanagalo is still spoken. The details of this will be explained in section 4.2.4. This coding step provides the focus for the entire analysis process – previously criticised by Allan (2003) – as “The purpose is to delineate extricate relationships on which the axis of the category is being focussed” (Strauss, 1987:34). Bias has been identified as a potential hindrance to trustworthy analysis during the coding process. The researcher can defend this study as Fanagalo is not part of the researcher’s repertoire and the researcher is not affiliated with the mining industry in any way, therefore biased interpretations could not infiltrate the analysis as there is nothing to be gained by it.

The use of previous literature as part of the constant comparative process has also been critiqued by scholars. I want to argue that critics of the use of previous literature may be guilty of misinterpretation. Allan (2003:4) quotes Glaser and Strauss (1967:37) in an attempt to establish why using previous research is not useful as it “hinders searching for new concepts”. In response, Glaser and Strauss (1967:169) encourage researchers to “use any material bearing in the area” which would include the research of other authors. Furthermore, Strauss and Corbin (1998) condone the use of existing literature as it provides the basis of knowledge known as sensitive literature. This is a necessary inclusion as without it, there may be no comparable ground which is central to both strands of grounded theory.

Now that the origins, constructs and criticism have been discussed, it is important to explain grounded theory in terms of its application in this study. This is discussed in the following section.

4.2.4 Grounded theory applied

The recognition of two strands of grounded theory introduced a methodological decision that needed to be based on the suitability of the specific strand related to the nature of the research question that is the focus of this study. Since both the Glaserian and Strausserian versions do have similar objectives and outcomes, the coding process is what determined which version would be adopted in this study. The general application of grounded theory is discussed first, followed by the specific application of the Strausserian grounded theory methodology.

The decisive factor in determining why grounded theory should be adopted as part of this study’s method related to the social perspective and categorical relationships it formulates in order to develop a theory which explains the maintenance of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language in its current context. Grounded theory is appropriate because, it “fits in with life world research, because the emphasis is on individuals as unique living wholes and the researcher focuses on the world as it is experienced by the individual” (Hallberg, 2006:141). The perspectives of current speakers of Fanagalo, which were not previously considered by existing research, can thus be examined and from this data an existential explanation can be derived. Grounded theory, in general, sets out to achieve such substantive theory but for the purpose of specificity which

Duchscher and Morgan (2004:605) call for, this section explains which variation of grounded theory this study employs, how it is employed and why it is employed.

Grounded theory does not allow for the hypothesis of probable explanations but it does, however, allow the researcher to use existing data to construct an interactive context which may later be modified determined by the results of the data analyses processes, because “theories are always traceable to the data that gave rise to them” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990:278). This is what the models in chapter 1 and 6 represent.

Even though the existing literature used in this study may not be based on grounded theory, Corbin and Strauss (1998) do allow existing literature, even if it is not grounded, to be used as a basis of comparison. The factors defining Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language and the determining factors of language maintenance and language shift are the codes against which the data is continuously compared. The modification of these codes provides the theory on which the elements of the model proposed in this study are based. Through this comparative process coupled with the iterative coding process – said to be a “process that requires a great deal of time, patience and analytic skill” (Allan, 2003:8) – the interaction of the elements is formulated encapsulating grounded theory processing. The entire process results in a model which explains the maintenance of sub-cultural languages applied to Fanagalo.

The articulation of the sub-cultural language maintenance model required the entire process of grounded theory analysis which begins with descriptions of existing knowledge and moves to conceptualisation by means of the coding process and results in the proposal of a new theory (Patton, 2002) that explains the phenomenon under investigation. As discussed, the Straussarian construct includes an additional coding process which is what determined the use of this grounded theory version as opposed to the Glaserian strand. The axial coding phase is important because of the three aspects it includes. The first aspect has to do with the conditions or situations in which the phenomena occur. In this case, the phenomenon is the use of Fanagalo and the situation refers to the context in which Fanagalo is spoken. The second aspect concerns the action and interactions of the people in response to the phenomenon. This is important to examine as the social and cultural approach undertaken in this study offers an alternative perspective on the maintenance of Fanagalo within a selected

context and the actions of its speakers may play an influential role. The third aspect concerns the consequences or results of the action. In this case, if Fanagalo is treated in a certain manner, then the result of the action of speakers is language maintenance. The micro-analysis of data is then important as these aspects could provide an explanation for the maintenance of Fanagalo. The necessity of including this coding step was realised when the discussion of existing research was compiled and as a basis, it showed the need for micro-analysis and specificity.

Lastly, grounded theory is a suitable methodology to adopt for the data analysis phase as “this methodology is designed to further the development of effective theory” (Corbin & Strauss 1990:278). Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 of this study explain the need for current theories of language maintenance and language shift to be expanded to include sub-cultural language. Grounded theory is a way of achieving this objective. Furthermore, grounded theories are fluid as Corbin and Strauss (1990:279) explain:

Because [grounded theories] embrace the interaction of multiple actors, and because they emphasize temporality and process, they indeed have a striking fluidity. They call for exploration of each new situation to see if they fit, how they might fit, and how they might not fit. They demand an openness of the researcher, based on the “forever” provisional character of every theory. For all that, grounded theories are not just another set of phrases; rather, they are systematic statements of plausible relationships.

It is this fluidity that the results of this study aim to achieve in creating a model which explains the maintenance of sub-cultural languages applied to Fanagalo spoken in a selected context today.

4.3 Overview of data sets

In this section, an overview of the collection process for each data set is presented. The main set of data for this investigation was gathered by means of discursively oriented interviews with users whose language repertoires include Fanagalo. The participants were sourced from a specific mining site as it is well-known that Fanagalo is currently spoken in that specific domain (Swanepoel, personal communication 2013). However, should the initial interview allude to a broader context of spoken Fanagalo, this study will take it into consideration and interviews with other relevant populations will be included where practically possible. The appropriateness of a discursively oriented interview for this study is supported due to its reported ability to extract rich data. Furthermore, a discursively oriented interview allows for interaction between the

interviewer and interviewee to take place. The discursively oriented interview allows the interviewee to share facts, opinions and insights on the topic around which the interview revolves. “The respondents are seen as social actors who are interacting with an interviewer and who are at the same time involved in discursive practice” (Henning, 2004:55). It is an informal conversational style interview in which answers are unrestricted and thus provides data of a qualitative nature that may be analysed to provide both superficial and detailed information.

Since the style of the interviews was informal and largely relied on unrestricted conversation in order to obtain rich data, an interpreter was present at the interviews to assist in the process. The availability of an interpreter allowed for the participants to express themselves without having their meaning distorted as a result of a possible language barrier. Participants who made use of the interpreter had their interviews back-translated during the transcription and analysis phase so that the accurate meaning might be recorded and analysed. The languages which were accommodated by the interpreter(s) are Fanagalo, IsiXhosa, Setswana, and IsiZulu, as these are the main languages spoken by the participants who work on the mining sites (Nell, personal communication 2013). It is important to note that the researcher does not speak Fanagalo and thus cannot insert or coerce potentially tainted responses from interviewees, which is a potential strength of the study. This type of data, and the manner in which it was collected, is best suited to the goal and aims of this research. The superficial data (for example the information about the languages known by participants) and the detailed information (for example the motivations for maintaining languages in the repertoire) are necessary to answer the research questions posed for this study. The conversational style of the discursively oriented interview was reinforced through dialogic communicative action – such as words of encouragement – which allowed the interviewee to feel more comfortable and provide as much raw data as possible used to explore the research topic. The interviews took place in a boardroom on the mine where the miners worked. This is not necessarily a “neutral space”, because it might have symbolised “management” to the workers and in this way might have inhibited their responses. However, the interview data indicate that the participants were willing to speak frankly about language issues because this topic was probably not regarded as a contentious topic related to the strikes by them.

The detailed analyses of the interviews require the integration of existing research about Fanagalo and sub-cultural languages in order to explore the relevance of the findings of the study to these topics. The foremost theoretical frameworks adopted are cultural frameworks and existing theories of language maintenance and language shift. The chief purpose of the integration of existing theories and the detailed analysis of interview results is to explore the possible interpretation of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language and in addition, to ascertain which driving elements (in regard to the driving forces explicated in existing theories of language maintenance) support the maintenance of Fanagalo. This will be achieved through the implementation of a grounded theory research approach. Ultimately, the outcome of this grounded theory approach will reflect the implications for existing theories of language maintenance in relation to sub-cultural languages such as Fanagalo.

The data gathered and interpreted manifest a qualitative method. Furthermore, triangulation of the data gathered – including questionnaires, analyses of interviews and existing literature – will strengthen validity and reliability of the claims that will be used to create a conceptual model that could explain the maintenance of Fanagalo in selected contexts in South Africa today. The merit of this approach is that “[c]orresponding evidence obtained through multiple methods can also increase the generalizability – that is, external validity – of the results” (Dörnyei, 2007:46). This is important because the purpose of triangulating the data is to enable juxtaposition with related data about language maintenance based on mainstream cultural languages to investigate the appropriateness of these models to describe and explain the maintenance of sub-cultural languages. Since this research explores only one sub-cultural language, the triangulated results may allude to a broader or generalised context for more, if not all, sub-cultural languages.

In summary, the interview process adopted as part of the data gathering method is valid in terms of its social approach as this is the most comprehensive manner in which to accumulate as much raw data as possible. The interpretation of the data relies heavily on the support of existing research – sub-culture, mainstream language maintenance and language shift theory – so that a triangulated premise may be constructed in order

to answer research questions 1-3. For this purpose, the grounded theory approach is the most appropriate method to adopt. The fourth research question, which intends to explore the implications of the results obtained in questions 1-3, will involve the presentation of an argument that results in a conceptual model that will be based on the interpretation of triangulated data from a sub-cultural language perspective and how it could potentially influence understanding the processes of language maintenance and language shift of mainstream languages. In addition to this application of the findings, implications for language policy will also be explored. Through this validation, a generalised model explaining the maintenance of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language in South Africa today should surface.

4.3 Literature review

In this section, a review of the more current literature available on Fanagalo is presented critically. Firstly, the main aim of the section is to benchmark the research method for this study against those of studies conducted previously on a similar topic. Secondly, the literature review will reveal potential methodological limitations with studies of this nature that will be addressed in this study. Therefore the methodological objective is to construct a suitable design in which the method is credible and tailored in order to address shortcomings of approaches – mostly related to data sets – in previous research. Thirdly, this literature review will explain which research questions will be answered using an analysis of existing research in which the key words are: Fanagalo, sub-cultural language, maintenance, shift, domain of use, motivation, class, identity, linguistic models, and crystallised pidgin.

4.3.1 Methodological analysis and limitations

In “The origins of Fanagalo”, Mesthrie (1989) investigates the then popular hypothesis of the genesis of Fanagalo. Mesthrie (1989:211) uses structural and lexical evidence derived from “written sources a first-hand account by an English settler from about 1905, and two published accounts by an English missionary” (Mesthrie 1989:211) as data in his study. In a later article, Mesthrie (1998) continues to use historical texts to study the development of Fanagalo. These texts include journals and letters written by colonialists and missionaries, which describe situations in which the characteristics of speech illustrate the development of shift or changes and eventual stabilisation of Fanagalo as a crystallised pidgin. The data source and its analysis are valid in terms of

exploring the aspects of language contact, however, since the letters and journals are sourced from mainstream culturally dominant members of the population, the perspective is potentially one-sided. Additionally, the political situation, and by implication the social interaction, has changed drastically as South Africa is no longer under colonial rule. The social and cultural dynamic has developed since the stabilisation of Fanagalo as a crystallised pidgin in the 20th century. Mesthrie's (2007) contribution refers to early forms of Fanagalo that determined conclusively how Fanagalo developed, shifted and stabilised as a crystallised pidgin. The focus of this study is a macro-level exploration into the current status of Fanagalo. In this way, the research conducted by Mesthrie (1989; 1998; 2006; 2007) lays the foundation for the current study as a form of historical description with which the current situation could be compared.

Adendorff (1993:1) uses a similar textually based approach in which "Ethnographic evidence assembled from a range of written sources reveals that largely unfavourable connotations are associated with Fanagalo." His method of investigation is relevant in relation to the social meaning of Fanagalo in South Africa. However, similar to the origins of texts used by Mesthrie (1989; 1998; 2006; 2007), the negative or unfavourable connotations associated with Fanagalo are expressed from the view point of individuals in a power position. The social domination of mainstream culture potentially over powers the sub-cultural vulnerability of individuals who speak Fanagalo from a sub-ordinate social position. For example, "Fanagalo is moreover a language which, when used 'downwards' – i.e., from White foreman to Black worker – can legitimately result in one assuming that the addressee lacks intelligence, education, and refinement" (Adendorff 1993:11). However, should the addressees be asked to reflect on their own intelligence, education and refinement, the response would in all likelihood not describe it as lacking, especially as a result of having Fanagalo as part of their linguistic repertoire. Once again, just as in the case of Mesthrie (1998; 1989), the data collected and interpreted are sourced from the dominant mainstream cultural point of view in its textual form. The classification of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language gains importance because it incorporates the mainstream cultural structure in relation to sub-culture and thus reflects an all-inclusive approach. Since the mainstream cultural viewpoint has been conclusively described, the focus of this

research falls on the sub-cultural status of Fanagalo in order to create an inclusive data premise from which an all-embracing deduction can be made. This approach necessitates a focus on the views towards and attitudes about Fanagalo as expressed by in-group members that use the language today.

In addition to the textual analysis Adendorff (1993:1) also considers oral ethnographic data “in the form of spontaneous, naturally-occurring interpersonal exchanges and self-reports on why people use Fanagalo”. This approach exudes a spontaneity which is free from a socially and culturally biased interpretation, unlike the textual material found in local newspapers, and allows a less biased deduction to surface. Such a data collection method seems to be more suitable in the exploration of contributory elements of the maintenance of Fanagalo in South Africa today because it offers a *real-life* situational analysis from the *bottom-up*.

To summarise, both Mesthrie (1998; 1989) and Adendorff (1993) make use of textual data as their premise, make deductions and arrive at salient conclusions through qualitative strategies. However, as mentioned, the exclusion of the opinions and perceptions of language speakers from the sub-cultural context, in which previous data about Fanagalo were collected, leads to an incomplete analysis of the status of Fanagalo. Furthermore, data about Fanagalo were collected fairly long ago and there is a need to collect more current data; especially to investigate issues of language maintenance and language shift. The methodological contribution made in this study will revolve around taking a different view in the type of data gathered and the analysis of the data gathered; and providing results from an analysis of data collected about 20 years after for example the data collected by Adendorff (1993). Therefore, this study aims to achieve a comprehensive view, which includes a consideration of the results of the mainstream cultural perspectives adopted by both Mesthrie (1998; 1989) and Adendorff (1993), and the addition of an in-group sub-cultural perspective in the analysis of recent data collected from Fanagalo users. In short, the methodological approach of this study is aimed at being an inclusive and comprehensive approach with a minimal amount of socially biased interference.

4.3.2 Aid of existing literature

The third data set accommodates the needs in answering the third research question, which relates to the reason for the current status of Fanagalo in selected contexts. The content analysis based on previous research will satisfy the requirements in answering the third research question. It is important to note however, that the analysis of existing research is not solely reserved for answering the third research question. The interpretation of the data relies heavily on the support of existing research about language maintenance and language shift in mainstream languages and frameworks that describe mainstream cultures in order to answer research questions 1-3. Therefore, the grounded theory approach is the most appropriate method to adopt. The fourth research question, which intends to explore the implications of the results obtained in questions 1-3, will contain triangulated data as part of the answer in order to determine how data from sub-cultural languages could potentially influence understanding processes of maintenance and shift of mainstream languages and explore implications for language policy. Thus the analysis of the existing research accommodates the answering of all research questions and forms a part of the data triangulation process in order to answer the fourth research question. Conclusively, the results and support that the literature review provides is relevant in answering all the research questions.

4.4 Empirical study

The data to be collected as part of the research involves interviewing a number of participants who will complete a demographic questionnaire, and whose language repertoire includes Fanagalo. The data collected through this process allow for the representation of sub-cultural language speakers, as opposed to the dominant representation of mainstream cultural language speakers used by Mesthrie (1998; 1989) and Adendorff (1993) where mainstream language speakers were requested to express their opinions and attitudes towards Fanagalo; or where the opinions of mainstream language speakers of Fanagalo were expressed in texts by members of the socially dominant class at the time. The demographic questionnaire consists of brief *tick the correct box* style questions (which include questions enquiring age, gender, and occupation amongst others) that were completed before the interview commenced. The questionnaire is attached as Annexure A.

The interviews were discursively orientated to enable the collection of perspectives and experiences of users of Fanagalo about the issues of interest to the study. The questions which formed part of the interview were reviewed by language sociologists and researchers in the field to ensure the relevance of the questions in order to obtain optimal answers. The proposed broad interview questions are attached as Annexure B. The interview questions pursue a line of questioning reflective of the elements in the envisaged conceptual model as gathered via the literature review. It is momentous to note that the topic of Fanagalo may not be directed in an obvious manner or communicated as a primary topic in order to avoid potentially biased or formulated answers. Participants were interviewed about all the languages they use as part of their language repertoires. This approach, developed by Coetzee-Van Rooy (2012), is important, so as to not predispose the participants to provide answers they hope the interviewer wants. However, the identification of individuals who use Fanagalo as part of their language repertoire was not directly discoverable because of the unofficial status of Fanagalo as a language. The sole requirement for participants is that they should include Fanagalo as part of the languages in their language repertoire. The identification of specific sites where Fanagalo is most probably used, like mining communities, assisted the researcher to get potential access to people who use Fanagalo as part of the languages in their language repertoires.

Fanagalo has been referred to as a pidgin in a substantial amount research. It is thus obvious, since Fanagalo has been categorised as such, that it is not considered to be a part of the mainstream cultural language repertoire. As a result, the actual speakers of Fanagalo – apart from the identification of broad sites where people potentially use Fanagalo – are not overtly identifiable. Consequently, in order to construct a meaningful number of participants for the interviews, the HR division of the participating mine identified 15 miners to participate in the project.

This qualitative methodological framework consists mainly out of conducting grounded theory research. The grounded theory approach is suited because of the nature of the data needed in order to answer the research questions in this study. Owing to the social and cultural focus on the status of Fanagalo in South Africa today, the data collection method should reflect a socially interactive approach. Grounded theory research

accommodates such a social approach, because “Data collection is done through social interaction with participants, field studies, participant observation and semi-structured interviews” (Maree, 2007:78). The analysis of the data will rely heavily on the comparison of themes (dictating triangulation) that emerge from the interview data to existing theories of language maintenance and language shift. From the interview data, the interaction of elements that relate to the maintenance or shift of Fanagalo will be presented to address the core focus of the study, namely the current status of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language in South Africa today. The themes which emerge are central in the grounded theory approach because it “could explain varying interactions” (Wells, 1995 cited by Maree, 2007:78). The analysis of the data leads to the specific interactions of the elements – Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language, motivation, domain of use, social and cultural identity, resulting in either maintenance or shift – enumerated in the conceptual model. Theory delimitation, a part of the grounded theory research approach, is carried out after the data analysis process in which the interactions pertaining to the core idea “confirm and disconfirm the elaborated concepts and the relationship among them” (Wells, 1995 cited by Maree, 2007:78). This is important in terms of one of the potential contributions of this study namely a focus on a bottom-up approach where members of a particular sub-culture are canvassed to gather their perceptions and experiences directly. Furthermore, the interaction between variables in this study may confirm or disconfirm the validity of driving forces confirmed in existing theories of language maintenance and language shift. The last step in implementing grounded theory research is theory definition. At this stage, the “[d]efinition of the resulting grounded theory is intended to be a rich [...] explanation of the investigated phenomenon [and] once a theory has been arrived at, the process is complete” (Maree, 2007:78). The explanation of the phenomenon – the status or maintenance of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language in South Africa – is structured according to the results of the data which will determine the relationships and interactions between the elements of the proposed model. A detailed account of the relationships and interactions will prove and explain the current status of Fanagalo in South Africa and how its maintenance may pertain to a possible sub-cultural model of language maintenance theory. Nevertheless, according to Miller and Fredericks (1999), after the explanation of the investigated phenomenon it is not necessary to confirm its validity.

In relation to the objectives of this research, the methodological approach has to be suitable in order to achieve the objectives. The first three objectives are attainable by applying the grounded theory research approach as part of the qualitative method. As expressed by Maree (2007), grounded theory research methods rely heavily on the comparison of existing research to the findings of new research. Therefore, triangulation of data will accommodate the comparative aspects of this study. A large contribution to this study is formulated by the existing research of salient academics in the field relevant to the topic. Existing research pertaining to Fanagalo is analysed in order to deduce the status of Fanagalo in the past. Based on those results, cultural frameworks are applied in the same manner in order to categorise Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language. After the interviews have been conducted, existing research is once again applied in order to determine the cardinal elements which drive the current maintenance or shift of Fanagalo. A comparison of the already identified elements and the elements which surface after the analysis of the data should elucidate the relationships and interactions between these elements in the conceptual model. The fourth objective will be achieved by comparing the elements identified in previous research and the results of this study. This juxtaposition will determine the implications for existing theories and models of language maintenance and language shift; and potential implications for language policy development. In conclusion, the qualitative methodological framework in conjunction with the grounded theory research approach and data triangulation will ensure the attainment of required data, verify suitability in its analysis, and offer credibility in the results.

4.4.1 Questionnaires

4.4.1.1 Participants

Participants were required to complete the demographic questionnaire before the interviews commence. The questionnaire is simple in terms of questioning style and brief in length. Therefore, completion of the questionnaire before the interview is possible. The number of participants required for qualitative data is generally small in number. Therefore, this study aims to start with interviews with 15 mine workers who speak Fanagalo. If data saturation is not acquired after the first 15 interviews, more interviews will be arranged. The views of “socially powerful” people that were present in earlier studies are used to compare the views of in-group participants that use

Fanagalo which is a new addition of information. The result of this will aid in determining the influence of social and cultural elements, such as identity, as set out in the conceptual model.

4.4.1.2 Instrument

The first set of data is composed of raw demographic questionnaire data (see Annexure A). The demographic questionnaire includes questions concerning age, gender, and occupation amongst other demographically related issues. The first research question alludes to the status of Fanagalo in selected contexts and who the speakers of the language are. The demographic data is significant in terms of identifying the factors which determine the context of the speakers of Fanagalo and contributes to explaining the sub-cultural context. The data further determines which elements are relevant in the conceptual model by coding raw data. During the data triangulation process, the data gathered from the questionnaires and the interpretations yielded by the responses, will contribute to the development of the conceptual model and to the overall conclusion.

4.4.1.3 Data gathering process and ethics

The questionnaires was provided to each of the participants who were given time to complete it before their individual interview session. The questionnaire is mainly a *tick the appropriate box* style of questionnaire. This means that not a lot of time was needed for the questionnaire to be completed. It must be noted that the language of the questionnaire is in English, a language medium approved by the site's human resource managers, and contains no technical terminology or jargon which may be unclear or ambiguous to the participant.

Before participants completed the questionnaire they were informed of the nature of the study, which also appeared in print at the start of the questionnaire. The main details of the study (the focus on Fanagalo) were left vague so as not to influence the answers of the participants. The main focus communicated to the participants is that of understanding how people use languages in South Africa. After this section, a consent section explained the conditions of the data gathered from both the questionnaire and interviews conducted. This was explained to the participants and they read the content of the consent section themselves too. Once the participants were satisfied with an

understanding of the process, they were asked to sign the consent form thereby giving the researcher permission to use the data as part of this study.

The reason for the inclusion of the demographic questionnaire is to determine whether elements of identity (such as social status and culture, and situational context, for example, employment) can be related with the maintenance of Fanagalo. Should this be possible through the use of data coding and triangulation, then the elements comprising the conceptual model can be measured in terms of their respective influences based on facts supplied by participants. Therefore, the demographic questionnaires will firstly determine if Fanagalo is currently maintained by means of language repertoire questioning, and secondly, who in terms of social and cultural identity the speakers of Fanagalo are in order to develop the elements of the model of sub-cultural language maintenance. This data is further used during the triangulation process which once again aids the development and construction of the model.

4.4.2 Interviews

4.4.2.1 Participants

The interview participants comprise the same participants who answered the demographic questionnaire as they remain the target group. It is also important that the participants remain the same so that the demographic data and interview responses and analyses thereof can be related to and triangulated with existing research. In order for intersubjectivity to be attained, it is important that the objective of the discursively oriented interview is achieved. The objective is to search “for meaning beyond the superficial and the obvious denotative meaning” (Henning, 2004:65). The interview questions are thus compiled in order to attain rich data which will be analysed firstly to determine the themes mentioned by participants and then analysed at a deeper level in connection with theoretical frameworks (as stipulated in the grounded theory approach) in order to answer the research questions. Furthermore, the elements of the model (motivation, domain of use, social identity, cultural identity, and potentially class) are embedded in the interview questions so that coding and intersubjectivity becomes possible.

4.4.2.3 Instrument

Research interviews, according to Henning (2004:50), “assume that the individual’s perspective is an important part of the fabric of society and our joint knowledge of social processes and of the human condition.” This study focusses on the perspectives of current speakers of Fanagalo in selected contexts, a view missing in previous research on the topic. Such perspectives are important in terms of determining the maintenance mechanisms of sub-cultural languages like Fanagalo from a social and cultural perspective. The interview questions are based on potential elements for the conceptual model of sub-cultural language maintenance, but are flexible enough in order for additional elements to surface. Additionally, the final closing question of the interview allows the interviewee to have the concluding say. This strategy is noted by “several scholars ... in the literature [to lead to] the richness of the data that simple closing questions [...] can yield” (Dörnyei, 2007:121).

4.4.2.4 Data gathering process and ethics

The qualitative method adopted in this study is important due to the:

growing recognition that almost every aspect of language acquisition and use is determined or significantly shaped by social, cultural, and situational factors, and qualitative research is ideal for providing insights into such contextual conditions and influences (Dörnyei, 2007:36).

Since this study endorses cultural and social factors as part of its perspective which exist in a selected context, it can be noted that it is emergent; in the sense that it is flexible, objective, and open to a variety of details that may emerge during the data gathering process. In order to achieve such flexibility, it is important that the interviews occur in a natural setting, “without any attempts to manipulate the situation under study” (Dörnyei, 2007:38). Therefore, the interviews will be conducted in the context which participants are familiar with – the mining context. Additionally, it is important that the interviews are conducted on site so as to remain in the selected context in which Fanagalo is spoken.

The interviews were conducted with the 15 mine workers who were selected by the HR department and have agreed and given consent to participate in the study. The process

of audio recording, and the process of the data gathering and processing, was explained once more after the participants signed the consent form. Once this had been done, the interview commenced. After the interview, participants were given the choice of whether they would like to be provided with the results of the study or not. Should they choose to remain informed, the researcher provided appropriate contact details and requested the same in return so that the offer may be fulfilled as promised.

4.4.2.5 Data analysis

The aim of interviewing as a data gathering method in order to yield results is to attain intersubjectivity. If intersubjectivity – denoting shared views of participants – is realised either during the interview process or during the analysis stage, then the data can be coded into specific categories. The coding categories will then determine the elements which comprise the conceptual model explaining the maintenance of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language in selected contexts today. Therefore, the discursively oriented interviews aim to answer the second research question specifically, alluding to how Fanagalo is maintained. However, in answering the second research question (using the data from the interviews) all the other research questions will be addressed as well since the explanation of maintenance will answer why (using the participants' perspectives and experiences) Fanagalo is maintained which then bears implications for theories of mainstream language maintenance and policy.

The analysis process of the interviews is two-fold. A qualitative content analysis is conducted in order to attain the first level of meaning which is the content of the data texts. The analyses of interview data then extend into grounded theory analyses in which the qualitative content data is analysed in order to “construct substantive theories” (Henning, 2004:102). The substantive theory which will be developed using the processed and coded data, are the elements comprising the conceptual model explaining the maintenance of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language. In continuation of the grounded theory approach, the combination of the coded data will be linked to existing research and further triangulation of all three data sets will be used to develop the conceptual model that explains sub-cultural language maintenance.

4.5 Chapter conclusion

This study makes use of three data sets which are compiled and analysed within an interpretivist paradigm using qualitative and empirical methodology in which the grounded theory approach and cultural frameworks are adopted in order to answer all the research questions. The literature review revealed limitations concerning the data of previous research in which the perspectives of socially sub-ordinate speakers were not included. This study is methodologically tailored to address and redress the shortcomings of previous research in order to arrive at an updated and inclusive conclusion by means of demographic questionnaires and discursively oriented interviews which will be applied to existing literature. The participants comprise of mine workers, referred to the researcher via the HR department of Mine X in Rustenburg, who currently speak Fanagalo. This exploration constitutes the reclassification of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language. As a result, the maintenance of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language is explained in the construction of the sub-cultural language model applied to Fanagalo (in which data triangulation is contributory) which will force the reconsideration of Fanagalo's social meaning which is unfoundedly still perceived as negative from a mainstream cultural perspective (as evidenced by recent examples from the popular press mentioned above). Furthermore, the maintenance and redressed social meaning of Fanagalo will hold implications for current mainstream language models of maintenance. This is because assumed negative connotations from the mainstream cultural perspective did not falter the maintenance of Fanagalo, instead the sub-cultural aspects become a driving force. The method developed in this study has been justified throughout this chapter and has shown to be appropriate in order to achieve all the aims as set out by the research questions.

Chapter 5 Presentation and discussion of findings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of data gathered via the questionnaires and the discursively oriented interviews conducted. The relevant information gleaned via the literature review reported earlier will be related to the findings in the interpretation and discussion of the data in this and the ensuing chapter. The utilisation of grounded theory as the main methodological paradigm of this study will aid in answering the main and secondary research questions posed in this study. The grounded theory approach allowed for the data to be gathered from a socially interactive process mainly via the discursively oriented interview. This approach is vital as the perspectives of the actual speakers of Fanagalo have been overlooked in the past which created a methodological limitation. By adopting grounded theory, an important methodological gap has been filled which results in a contribution towards understanding the language that is Fanagalo from a cultural, in-group perspective. An iterative coding process could help “explain varying interactions” (Wells, 1995 cited by Maree, 2007:78) between these themes, which are central to grounded theory, that surface from the interview. Finally, these themes and definitions will be described in terms of their role in the conceptual model which, with the aid of grounded theory, allows for “the explanation of the investigated phenomenon” (Maree, 2007:78) which will then finally shape the theory explaining the maintenance of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language today. The development of such a theory signals the completion of the grounded theory process (Maree, 2007) and will formulate the main findings of this study.

In a qualitative study of this nature, the outcome of the analyses should denote the shared views of the participants in order to achieve intersubjectivity. In this chapter, the participants’ (n=15) answers to the questions in the questionnaire are reported in a way that cluster the responses sensibly to enable its interpretation. It should be noted that there is no attempt to perform statistical analyses on the questionnaire data, simply because the aim of gathering the questionnaire data was to capture relevant demographical data that was needed to contextualise the interview data. The main reporting approach towards the questionnaire data is therefore to represent the participants’ views via the clustering of frequencies.

In the case of the interview data, efforts to achieve trustworthy intersubjectivity required the implementation of several processes. The iterative process in this study involved the assigning, comparing, and revising of codes that relate to themes as they emerge from the interviews (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). The codes that emerged were influenced by the prior knowledge of the theoretical elements of language maintenance and language shift in the minds of the two active coders (the researcher and her supervisor) in this study. Once the two active coding participants had independently coded selected interviews (two interviews were selected), a discussion ensued resulting in the consensus of themes concerning the elements of language maintenance and language shift as they emerged via the interviews. The supervisor of this study actively coded two interviews and independently of her, the researcher coded the same two interviews. These independently coded interviews formed the basis of the discussion to find consensus regarding the main coding themes to be used in the rest of the study. After this discussion, the researcher continued with the rest of the coding independently and she refined coding themes as they emerged. Data saturation was achieved after the seventh interview. The interview data reported in this chapter reflect the final themes that were clustered by the researcher at the end of the processes followed, to assure the trustworthiness of the findings.

5.2 Findings from the questionnaire study

The questionnaire is presented in Annexure A. The findings from all questions asked in the questionnaire are reported in narrative style and via tables and graphs where applicable.

5.2.1 Description of the participants

After the data gathering phase of this study that included the completion of questionnaires and interviews with the participants (n=15), the researcher is able to specifically describe the demographic features of the participants. Fifteen participants employed at Mine X in Rustenburg as mine workers, with varying job titles, completed the demographic questionnaire and were interviewed. All participants were Black African males between the ages of 29-61.

The participants were born in either South Africa or Mozambique. The Mozambican nationals have been living in South African between 20 – 30 years and in the opinion of

the researcher this extended length of stay in South Africa enables their categorization as locals. It is assumed in this context that the data is not influenced by migratory factors. Only two out of the fifteen participants have family members (both of the participants' fathers) who have worked or still work in the mining industry. One can therefore not assume vast historical awareness of working on the mine among the majority of the participants.

When participants were asked how they would respond if someone asked them what their culture is, all the participants stated that they were Black African males, and most participants (nine out of fifteen) specifically mentioned some form of ethnic allegiance signified with language, for example, "That I am Black African whom is speaking Tswana, and proud of being Tswana speaking person" (Participant D, 2013). This finding is similar to findings by Slabbert and Finlayson (2000) and Coetzee-Van Rooy (2012) that indicate that for multilingual South Africans, the home language remains linked in some ways to a form of ethnic identity.

Eleven participants have completed secondary school (Grade 12/ former Standard 10) and four participants have completed primary school (Grade 7/ former Standard 5). Based on definitions of socio-economic status and class, these participants can be described as working class because they belong to what Marx and Engels (1886:) would describe as the proletariat, or the industrial working class. The participants' biographical details are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Summary of the demographic data of the participants

PARTICIPANT	POPULATION GROUP	GENDER	AGE	NATIONALITY	FAMILY MEMEBERS WORKING IN THE MINE	CULTURE DESCRIPTION	HIGHEST EDUCATION LEVEL	OCCUPATION and EXPERIENCE
A	Black African	M	29	SA	YES	Black African man	Secondary	Miner - rock breaker (21 months)
B	Black African	M	33	SA	NO	African	Secondary	Miner – stoping (6

								years)
C	Black African	M	42	SA	NO	South African/Tswana	Secondary	Miner (10 years)
D	Black African	M	44	SA	NO	Black African/Tswana	Secondary	Miner – stoping developer (13 years)
E	Black African	M	38	SA	YES	Xhosa/ Nguni	Secondary	Miner (9 years)
F	Black African	M	54	SA	NO	Xhosa	Secondary	Miner (13 years)
G	Black African	M	43	SA	NO	Xhosa	Secondary	Miner (10 years)
H	Black African	M	50	SA	NO	Tswana	Secondary	Miner (20 years)
I	Black African	M	49	MO	NO	African culture	Primary	Miner (18 years)
J	Black African	M	61	MO	NO	-	Primary	Miner (14 years)
K	Black African	M	42	SA	NO	Black African male/ Tswana	Secondary	Miner (7 years)
L	Black African	M	47	MO	NO	Shangaan	Secondary	Miner (13 years)
M	Black African	M	42	MO	NO	Shangaan	Primary	Miner (5 years)
N	Black African	M	35	SA	NO	Black African	Secondary	Underground miner (12 years)
O	Black African	M	29	SA	NO	African/Xhosa	Tertiary	² N/A

As a collective group, the participants spent 1821 months working as miners. This is a substantial period of experience in this industry and the opinions of the participants

² Participant O is the interpreter used in this study whose language repertoire includes Fanagalo. Participant O works as a project manager in the agricultural sector and is not a miner working in the mining industry and is included in this study to contribute information about an out-group perspective where necessary. The interpreter and the researcher knew each other from school.

could therefore be regarded as trustworthy to represent opinions and perspectives from this context.

5.2.2 Description of the language repertoires of participants

The following data was obtained from Section B and Section C of the questionnaire completed by all the participants. Table 2 illustrates how many participants speak more than five languages in order to contextualise the multilingual domain in which Fanagalo is spoken.

Table 2: Participants who speak more than five languages

	More than five languages	Less than five languages
Number of participants	12	3

Two out of the three participants who indicated that they do not speak more than five languages in actual fact do. The discrepancy comes in when their entire language repertoire is accounted for, they did not reflect Fanagalo as a language that they used to answer questions related to their perceived proficiency or order of acquisition. This may be because the two participants did not associate Fanagalo with their mainstream language repertoire. It can be said that because Fanagalo is not associated with the notion of a mainstream language, it is seen by some of its users as a *non-language*, meaning that it belongs in a category all on its own, separate from mainstream language and culture. The extent of the multilingualism of the participants is similar to that reported by Banda (2009), Prah (2010), Slabbert and Finlayson (2000) and Coetzee-Van Rooy (2012).

Table 3 represents the results of Section B which aimed to investigate the language repertoires of participants in three separate domains: home domain, work domain, and general.

Table 3: Summary of the language repertoires of the participants

Participant	Home language	Work domain language(s)	Complete repertoire
A	Zulu	E, F,T,X	A, E, F, N, SS, S, T/S, T, X, Z
B	Tswana	A, E, F, T, X	A, E, F, T, X
C	Tswana	A, E, T	A, E, T
D	Tswana	A, E, F, SS, T, X	A, E, F, SS, T, X
E	Xhosa	E, F, SS, T, X, Z	E, F, SS, T, X, Z
F	Xhosa	E, F, SS, T, X, Z	A, E, F, T, X, Z
G	Xhosa	E, F, NS, SS, T, X, Z	E, F, NS, SS, T, X, Z
H	Tswana	A, E, F, SS, T	A, E, F, T
I	Shangaan	E, T/S, T, X	E, P, T/S, T, X, Z
J	Shangaan	T	S, T/S, T, Z
K	Tswana	A, E, F, X, Z	A, E, F, T, X, Z
L	Shangaan	E, F, P, SS, T/S, T, X, Z	E, F, SS, T/S, X, Z
M	Shangaan	E, F, P, SS, T/S, T, X, Z	E, F, P, SS, T/S, T, X, Z
N	Tswana	A, E, F, NS, T, X, Z	A, E, F, NS, SS, T, X, Z
O	Xhosa	A, E, F, NS, SS, S, T/S, T, V, X, Z	A, E, NS, P, SS, S, T/S, T, V, X, Z

Key: (A) Afrikaans; (E) English; (F) Fanagalo; (N) Ndebele; (NS) Northern Sotho; (P) Portuguese; (S) Swati; (SS) Sotho; (T) Tswana; (T/S) Tsonga/Shangaan; (V) Tshivenda; (X) Xhosa; (Z) Zulu

From this data, it is clear all of the participants have extensive language repertoires. Half of the participants (Participants B, C, D, E, F, G, and M) claim to use their entire repertoire within the work domain which demonstrates the multilingual context in which Fanagalo is spoken. Some participants did not indicate that Fanagalo is used as part of their work domain repertoire nor their complete repertoire (Participants C, F, I, and J) although they do speak it – as confirmed by a later section in the questionnaire and during the interview – which may indicate that these participants do not categorise Fanagalo as part of their mainstream repertoires. It is difficult to interpret what this finding means. It could be that the participants do not perceive Fanagalo as a *formal* or *mainstream* language and therefore do not include it in the discussion of their language repertoires. The information from the interview data and responses to other questions asked in the questionnaire should be mined to find possible interpretations of this finding.

5.2.3 Description of the participants' perceptions of their proficiency levels of strongest languages and of Fanagalo

Participants were asked to rank their five strongest languages comprising their respective language repertoires in order of their strength in terms of perceived proficiency. Table 4 represents the data collectively.

Table 4: Perceived proficiency of languages included in the language repertoires of participants

Language	Strongest	Second strongest	Third strongest	Fourth strongest	Fifth strongest
Afrikaans	1	-	3	1	1
English	1	6	2	-	1
Fanagalo	2	-	1	2	1
Portuguese	-	3	1	-	-
Shona	-	1	-	-	-
Southern Sotho	-	1	1	2	-

Swati	-	-	-	-	1
Tsonga/Shangaan	2	1	3	-	-
Tswana	4	-	5	3	1
Xhosa	3	2	-	-	4
Zulu	1	-	-	4	3

In these repertoires, the strongest languages are perceived as the traditional “home languages” (Tswana and Xhosa; four out of the seven types of languages mentioned as strongest languages are official African home languages). The most prominent second strongest language is perceived to be English, although this is the case for only six out of the fifteen respondents. Claims that English is such a widely shared language among these participants that it could replace Fanagalo as a working language seem incorrect in the context of this data, although the lack of visibility of Fanagalo in the repertoires is also true. The finding that African home languages are regarded as strongest languages and that English is perceived as a prominent second strongest language is similar to findings by Coetzee-Van Rooy (2012; 2013) where the majority of Southern Sotho, Zulu and Afrikaans home language users regard their home languages as their strongest languages and English as their second strongest language.

Interestingly, two out of the fourteen participants indicate that Fanagalo is their strongest language. This is an indication that Fanagalo is perceived as the language which these two respondents believe they can communicate in with great ease and for these participants Fanagalo is clearly part of their formal language repertoires. For four of the participants, Fanagalo is a third, fourth or fifth strongest language. Conversely, six out of the fifteen participants did not mention Fanagalo in answering this question. This may be indicative of either two things: as proposed earlier, these speakers of Fanagalo do not associate Fanagalo with their mainstream repertoires, or they are the least proficient in Fanagalo out of all their languages. Fanagalo is then not ranked as part of their fifth strongest languages. If the former is the case, then once again, it is shown that Fanagalo is not associated with the mainstream. This dis-association may

be attributable to the fact that Fanagalo does not have a lot of value in the broader context as explained in a critical review of the socio-psychological theories of Giles (1973), Giles *et al.* (1977) and Tajfel (1974) in Chapter 3 – and is therefore disregarded by these participants. If the latter is the case, then the language proficiency level and the extent of the multilingual repertoires contribute to the in- or exclusion of Fanagalo in the top five strongest languages.

Fishman (1965) identified a range of media variations that relate to the language repertoires of people and how languages are used. These categories were included in the questionnaire and the participants' views about their levels of proficiency in Fanagalo related to their listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills are provided in table 5.

Before the data presented in table 5 are discussed, it is important to note the difference between speakers' perceived proficiency in a language and their actual proficiency level, as these may not always correspond. Perceived proficiency is linked to the concept of linguistic self-confidence which was first introduced by Clément *et al.* (1977 cited in Dörnyei, 1995) and can be described as “self-perceptions of communicative competence and concomitant low levels of anxiety in using the second language” (Noels *et al.*, 1996:248). This linguistic self-confidence is extremely important in terms of context and motivation as described by Dörnyei (1995:123):

Clément and his associates provided evidence that, in contexts where different language communities live together, the members will be a major motivational factor, determining future desire for intercultural communication and the extent of identification with the L2 group. Thus, linguistic self-confidence in Clément's view is primarily a socially defined construct (although it also has a cognitive component, the perceived L2 proficiency).

It seems that speakers of the second language (L2) might have an inflated perception of their linguistic ability as a result of their desire to pursue intercultural communication that will allow them to be identified as part of a specific communicative group. This is extremely important as the ability to speak Fanagalo allows for a very similar process. Therefore, participants may exaggerate their proficiency levels in Fanagalo in order to heighten their perceived in-group identity. The researcher is thus aware that participants' proficiency levels are likely to reflect an inflated proficiency level.

For the purpose of this discussion, the participants' perception of their Fanagalo proficiency is clustered in three categories for interpretation purposes. The following perceptions as presented in the question in the questionnaire are clustered in the category "poor": "Very poor", "Poor" and "Below average". The following perceptions as used in the questionnaire are clustered in the category "average": "Low average", "Average" and "High average". The following perceptions as noted in the questionnaire are clustered in the category of "good": "Above average", "Good" and "Very good". The participants' perceptions are aggregated and presented in the following table.

Table 5: Summary of participants' perceptions of proficiency levels in Fanagalo

	Poor	Average	Good
Listening	0	1	14
Speaking	0	0	15
Reading	0	1	14
Writing	0	1	14

The two respondents who selected options below "Good" when they reflected on their proficiency levels in Fanagalo selected "Average" for the following skills: participants B (for reading and writing Fanagalo) and participant H (for listening effectively when Fanagalo is used). Motivational factors in achieving a target language are heavily influenced by an individual's social disposition towards a certain speech community (Dörnyei, 1995:122). This idea is based on the work of Gardner (1985) who developed the social psychological approach as impetus for motivation to acquire an L2. Gardner (1985:6) explains that, "Students' attitudes towards the specific language group are bound to influence how successful they will be in incorporating aspects of that language." Motivation is further developed into the desire of an individual to perform a certain action; in this case, to fit into the mining community. The acquisition of Fanagalo provides access to in-group identification and is motivated by a desire for effective communication related to a safe working environment. The two drivers that propel the learning of Fanagalo are the motivation towards effective communication

and the desire to be part of a mining in-group. As previously discussed, participants who claim to be good at Fanagalo thereby assert their proficiency in order to demonstrate their achievement in the target context. This is true for the majority of the participants in this study. Two of the participants even indicate that they perceive Fanagalo to be their strongest languages (see table 4). Only two of the two participants believe that they are “average” in some skills in Fanagalo. One could argue that the latter two participants may not value in-group identity as much as the rest of the participants.

The findings reported in this section indicate that the participants perceive their skills in Fanagalo as “Good” (excluding the responses of participants B and H). One must interpret these perceptions in the context of the reported discrepancy between perceptions of language proficiency and scores on English proficiency tests (Coetzee-Van Rooy & Verhoef, 2000; Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2011). One must interpret data related to perceptions of proficiency with great care, because these remain perceptions and should not be confused for real proficiency levels. One would need to measure the Fanagalo proficiency levels with standardised tests before one would be able to determine if the perceptions of proficiency in Fanagalo are realistic, inflated, or an under-estimation. This would be an important issue to explore if one wants to plan Fanagalo development courses. The different perceptions of Fanagalo proficiency levels will all relate differently to the ways in which one would have to motivate learners or users of Fanagalo who want to improve their proficiency (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2011). However, this issue is not a focus of this study.

The perception, that the respondents believe they are proficient in Fanagalo, could be interpreted if one perceives the uses of Fanagalo as reported during the interviews. The main *medium* (akin to Fishman) in which Fanagalo is used, is for listening and speaking. Participants do report writing messages in Fanagalo and reading Fanagalo messages, but there is a clear indication (discussed when the interviews data are discussed) that listening to and speaking Fanagalo are the main uses for the language in the mine as working context. It could be that participants believe that to be good at listening and speaking Fanagalo is not so demanding and therefore they believe that they are good at these skills. The pressure to be able to read and write extensively in Fanagalo is even lower (see the discussion of the interview data) and could explain the perception that

the proficiency levels they achieved in these skills in Fanagalo are good. In general one can conclude that the perceived proficiency in Fanagalo is a sub-cultural expression that these participants believe that the Fanagalo they acquired is *fit for its purpose*, and therefore they believe they are good at it.

5.2.4 Description of the attitudes of the participants towards Fanagalo

The data that relate to the attitudes of participants towards Fanagalo is presented in Graph 1.

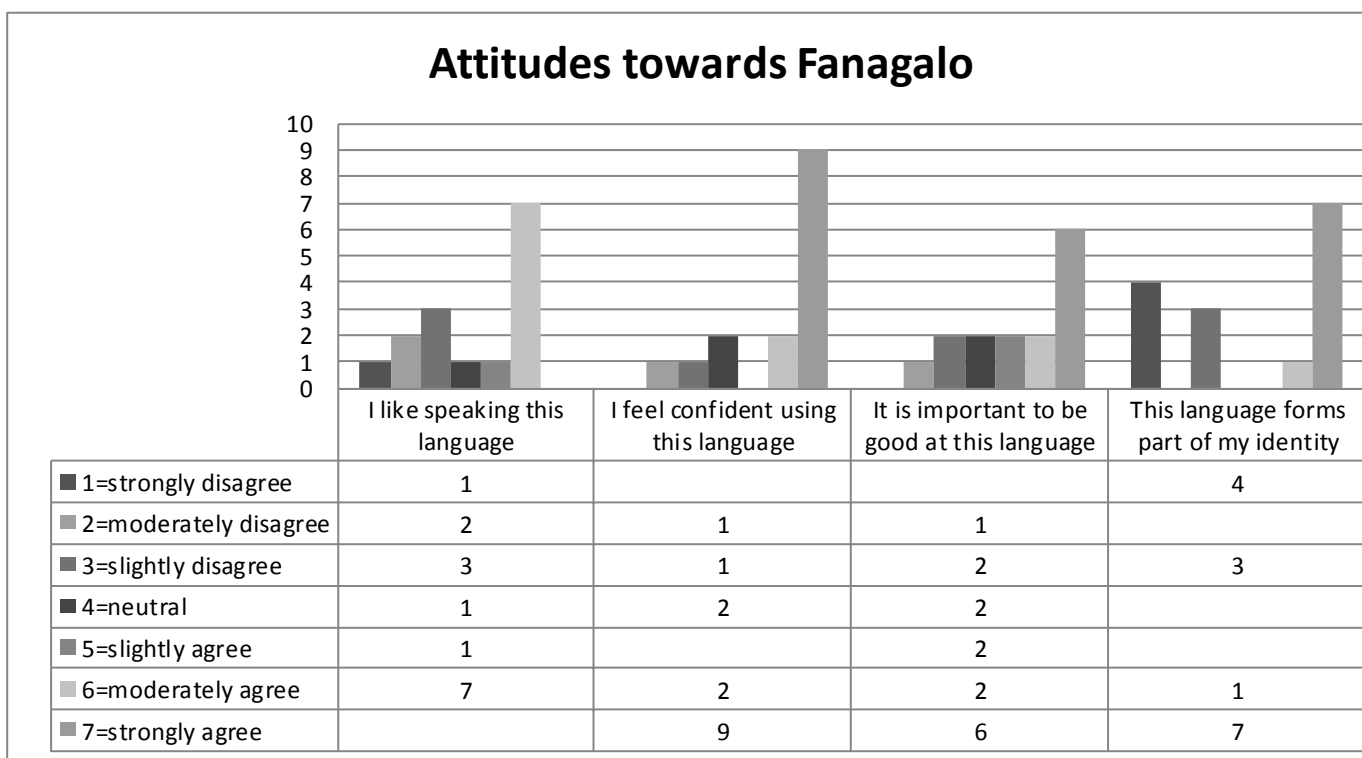


Figure 2 Attitudes of participants towards Fanagalo

From this data, it is clear that the majority of the participants like to speak Fanagalo (mean=5.27; standard deviation = 1.98); feel confident using Fanagalo (mean = 5.87; standard deviation = 1.73); and think that it is important to be good at Fanagalo (mean = 5.33; standard deviation = 1.76). It is also clear that 53% (8 out of a possible 15 responses) of the participants believe that Fanagalo forms part of their identity and 47% (7 out of a possible 15 responses) believe that Fanagalo does not form part of their identity. The overall positive attitudes towards the use and importance and confidence in using Fanagalo are contrasted with the split view among participants when they relate Fanagalo as an element that contribute to their identity. The extent of Fanagalo

being representative, or an expression, of identity will be examined further with the data gathered during the interview process.

5.2.5 Order of acquisition of languages in the repertoire of participants

In general, participants were asked to rank the languages comprising their repertoires in order of acquisition. This is represented in Table 6 as follows:

Table 6: Order of languages acquired by participants

Language	First language learned	Second language learned	Third language learned	Fourth language learned	Fifth language learned
Afrikaans	1	-	5	1	-
English	1	8	-	1	1
Fanagalo	-	-	3	4	1
Portuguese	-	4	-	-	-
Shona	-	-	1	-	-
Southern Sotho	-	1	1	2	1
Swati	-	-	1	-	-
Tsonga/Shangaan	4	-	-	-	-
Tswana	5	-	1	1	-
Xhosa	3	1	1	4	3
Zulu	1	-	-	-	5

The traditional literature suggests that the order of the languages acquired do not necessarily reflect a relation to the order of perceived proficiency, in other words, just because a certain language was acquired first, does not mean it is a speaker's most proficient language. In the case of these participants, however, there seems to be a

correspondence between order of acquisition and perception of proficiency expressed in the ranking of strongest languages. As is clear from table 4, the African home languages are perceived as strongest languages. The data in table 6 indicate that these were also the languages acquired first. This is attributable to the environment in which certain languages are acquired and used.

5.2.6 Findings related to the perception of participants about the role that selected factors played in their acquisition of Fanagalo

In this section, it is first of all important to note that for some participants, certain factors did not contribute to their learning of Fanagalo at all (see table 7):

Table 7: Summary of participants’ perceptions of selected factors did not contribute to the acquisition of Fanagalo at all

Factor	Number of respondents who stated that this factor did <u>not</u> contribute to their acquisition of Fanagalo	% of respondents who stated that this factor did <u>not</u> contribute to their acquisition of Fanagalo
Interaction with family	12	80%
Listening to the radio / music	11	73%
Reading	3	20%
Interaction with friends	2	13.4%
Interaction with co-workers	1	6.6%
Used at work	1	6.6%

From the findings summarised in Table 7 above, it is clear that the majority of the participants basically hold the view that factors like interaction with the family and listening to the radio or music did not contribute to their acquisition of Fanagalo at all.

For all the other factors, some participants hold the view that the remaining factors did contribute in some way to their acquisition of Fanagalo. In the rest of this section, the findings of participants who felt that a factor did not contribute to their acquisition of Fanagalo (and missing data) are not discussed further to enable a clearer view of which factors participants believe contributed more strongly to their learning of Fanagalo. The data are presented in Graph 2.

□

Factors that contributed to the acquisition of Fanagalo ("did not contribute" responses removed; missing responses not reported)

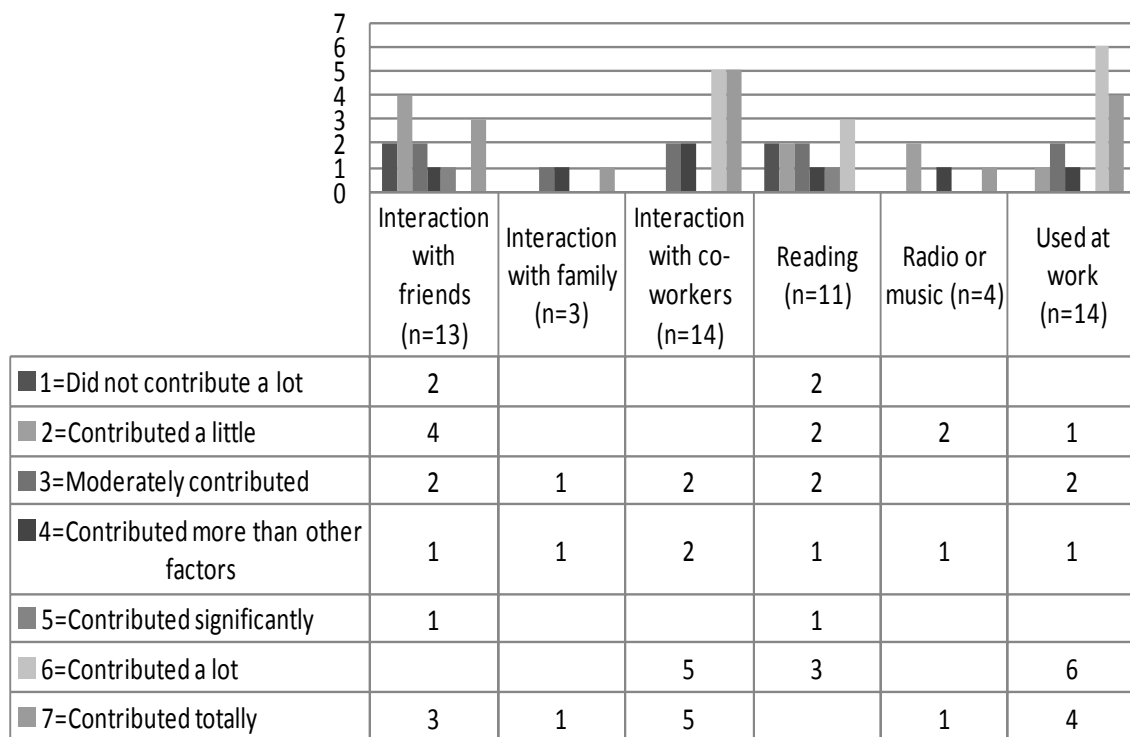


Figure 3: Factors that contributed to the acquisition of Fanagalo

From the data in graph 2 it is clear that interaction with co-workers (mean = 5.64; standard deviation = 1.50) and use at work (mean = 5.43; standard deviation = 1.69) are perceived by the participants as the factors that contributed the most toward their acquisition of Fanagalo. None of the other factors are perceived as contributing towards the acquisition of Fanagalo to the same extent. In the theoretical context of language maintenance and language shift, it is important to note that interaction with the family

did not contribute to the acquisition of Fanagalo at all, meaning that Fanagalo is not present in the home domain. The implication thereof is that transfer of Fanagalo clearly does not take place in the home domain as with mainstream cultural languages. Another factor that did not contribute significantly (except in the case of participant O) is listening to the radio or music. This may be because Fanagalo is not present in this domain, which is mainly reserved for dominant mainstream languages, primarily English in South Africa (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2012). The finding that reading contributes to a small extent to the acquisition of Fanagalo is a result of Fanagalo's presence in the writing and reading media, as defined by Fishman (1965). This notion will be explored in the interview data as well. Overall, the data suggest that Fanagalo is acquired informally via the interaction with co-workers within the work domain.

The acquisition of Fanagalo in the work domain is mainly attributed to the fact that participants recognise the importance and value of being able to communicate in Fanagalo. This is represented in the following table:

Table 8: The importance of Fanagalo in the work domain

Number of respondents who stated that speaking Fanagalo is important for work.	Number of respondents who stated that speaking Fanagalo is <u>not</u> important for work.
13	2

When participants were asked to explain their response concerning whether speaking Fanagalo is important at work or not, all the participants (aside from the two who do not think that Fanagalo is important for work) stated that they are able to communicate with everyone. In the multilingual context of the mine, communication is clearly an extremely important function which Fanagalo fulfils. This value instilled in effective communication using Fanagalo contributes to the motivational aspect for its acquisition.

The two respondents who offered negative responses explained that Fanagalo was not important because, “The way it was imposed to Africans was to brainwash them not to know real languages” (Participant F, 2013). Participant F’s negative perception of the language reflects his negative attitude which may indicate an intrusion of the past mainstream perspective of Fanagalo as described in the ethnographic work conducted by Adendorff (2002). Strangely, the negative attitude has not affected the proficiency of this participant who claims that his proficiency levels are good in every media. Participant O also felt that Fanagalo was not important for work because, “my environment doesn’t force me to speak” (Participant O). As previously explained, participant O does not work in the mining industry but is a project manager who was also the interpreter in this study. He does not feel the need to use Fanagalo because it is not necessary. This could be because either participant O is not immersed in a densely multilingual context or he is able to use one of his other languages as part of his extensive repertoire to communicate. This shows that Fanagalo is restricted to the specific context of the mining industry, further specifying the work domain as an important element related to the maintenance of the language.

5.2.6 Summary of questionnaire data findings

From this discussion, it is clear that the participants hold extensive experience in the mining industry. Concerning the relationship between languages included in the repertoires of the participants, some interesting findings emerged. The African home languages are regarded as strongest languages by the majority of the participants, and English is the second strongest language in the repertoires of some of the participants. English is not distributed as widely and deeply in these repertoires as expected.

The position of Fanagalo in these repertoires is complex. A large group of the participants do not include Fanagalo as a strong language when they are asked to discuss their five strongest languages. The extent of the multilingual repertoires and the perceptions of proficiency drives the in- or exclusion of Fanagalo in the repertoires. The next biggest group of participants regard Fanagalo as their third, fourth or fifth strongest language. For a small group, two participants, Fanagalo is the strongest language in the repertoires. This is a surprising finding in the context of a sub-cultural language.

The domain of acquisition of Fanagalo is confirmed to be the work place. This is not a surprising finding. For half of the participants that included Fanagalo in their repertoires, it does contribute to their identity. Conversely, 47% of the participants do not believe that Fanagalo contributes to their identity. The interview data will be used to explain this complex relationship between Fanagalo and identity more comprehensively.

5.3 Interview coding and analysis

Upon completion of the iterative coding process based on the interviews, the following themes emerged in a non-specific order: domain of use, identity, motivation, acquisition, transfer, communication, accommodation, and attitude. Non-recurring themes were also identified which will be discussed in terms of their potential contributions or implications. As a result of their low re-occurrence rate, these themes do not constitute placement in the development of the sub-cultural language maintenance model for Fanagalo. The primary themes do show potential interconnectivity but this will be explored after each theme was discussed independently. The exploration of the interconnectivity between the themes that emerged will be used to create a functional sub-cultural language maintenance model that will be presented in Chapter 6.

5.3.1 Domain of use

Fanagalo has been described as the language of the mine as workplace (Adendorff, 2002). This notion is also expressed by the participants. Participant G, for example, said, “[Fanagalo] has become a mining language” (Participant G, 2013) and, Participant I said, “[Fanagalo is a] language for the company” (Participant I, 2013). The domain in which Fanagalo is currently spoken is an important contributory element in explaining its maintenance. There are a number of influential factors which propel the use of Fanagalo in the specific context of mining. The influential factors relate mainly to the function that Fanagalo fulfils in terms of: enhancing understanding and communication in the workplace, enhancing safety underground, shaping unity amongst the miners, and to some extent contributing to the development of a shared work identity. This is supported using the view Adendorff (2002:179) expresses when he states that Fanagalo “enables some people to express solidarity with one another and reinforce their interpersonal relationships”. Understanding and effective communication are vital to

the mine workers in a sense that it primarily achieves safety. The mining context is multilingual and multinational which results in a variety of home languages that come into contact. The range of differing home languages is so broad that a single official language becomes laborious to teach and effectively learn as described by Participant E (2013):

Something else, the thing I like, it's easy, for me it's easy ja but now we have to spend spend time, let's say we take somebody from Mozambique who's Portuguese, to learn English it will take him almost a year, year and a half to learn to speak English. But now with Fanagalo, I think three days up to a week is enough to know Fanagalo. [Interviewer: oh wow!] Easy!

The perception expressed by participant E about the supposed ease of acquisition of Fanagalo within a multilingual and multinational context such as the mining industry may contribute significantly to the maintenance of Fanagalo. Factors related to the acquisition of Fanagalo will be discussed in section 5.3.3. In continuation, the need for a lingua franca within the mining context is substantial because of the dangerous working conditions as expressed by participant A (2013), "mining is a very dangerous job" and by participant C (2013), "Ja so the problem underground, eish, there is no way because even we can make words with somebody there but it's a dangerous condition." The multilingual context in the mine requires the use of Fanagalo as opposed to an official language because it is unknown what language another worker may speak in this work place. The risk of using an official language is too high and Participant C (2013) explains that, "Fanagalo saves our lives due to communication". Effective communication via Fanagalo for the sake of safety and work efficiency is a theme which emerged in the interviews and this theme appears continuously in relation to all the other themes. Since Fanagalo is linked clearly to a specific domain of work and since 53% of the participants indicated that Fanagalo contributes to their identity, it is important to explore the identity issue in the interview data as well.

5.3.2 Identity

As explained in preceding chapters, language is an expression of the culture in which it exists (Hebdige, 1979). The identity of speakers plays an important role in representing their culture, and language is an expression of the culture. The association between culture and expression is reciprocal and various themes that relate to identity and

Fanagalo have surfaced during the analysis of the interviews. Fanagalo, according to Participant A (2013), “is part of our history and society” and Participant C (2013) elaborates on this sentiment by stating, “but first they use Fanagalo for the communication so now, it’s our, it’s our culture you see now, that’s why it’s hard for people to say let’s forget about Fanagalo and use English”. Fanagalo as a language has been accepted as part of the mining culture, but it is not accepted as a mainstream language related to a mainstream ethnic identity. Participant M (2013) expressed this notion as follows:

Like I say I'm from Mozambique I speak Shangaan so I can say to me 'MiShangaan' people from Xhosa we say for that people Xhosa's its but Fanagalo no no no no one that I can say this one is Fanagalo people... so Fanagalo there is no people I can say there are no people [interviewer: to say that they are Fanagalo] who can say this is Fanagalo people.

Fanagalo is described as being part of the mining culture by the participants but is not experienced as similar to mainstream culture – such as the relationship between Xhosa or Shangaan as languages and its link to a cultural identifier such as “Xhosa people” or “Shangaan people”. Cultures such as Xhosa or Shangaan – or any other mainstream culture reflected in language as the identifier – are accepted in the broader context of society because the broader society already accepts these cultures as official. This could be the result of the level of acceptability of the languages and thus the cultures by mainstream society. Languages such as Fanagalo are not recognised as part of mainstream culture and by implication, there is no culture to be coupled with it. However, when examining the in-group’s perspective on Fanagalo, it has been described as part of the mining culture – separate from mainstream culture. In this way, Fanagalo is representative of a culture that exists within a dominant society but is viewed as a sub-set. Since Fanagalo is not acceptable as part of mainstream culture, it would belong to the sub-ordinate sets thereof. Within the mine specific context, Fanagalo is a tool which brings its speakers together in order to form a culture of its own. This is indicative of sub-cultural operations as speakers of Fanagalo are an independent group that functions outside of mainstream culture. This independent group relies on Fanagalo as an identifier and this notion is expressed by Participant A:

I found out that it's because the most language spoken...when I got here in the mining industries when I was firstly here at the mine, I heard people talking, speaking Fanagalo and then communicating with each other, laughing...doing everything! So I thought why not? I also want to communicate so they can also

hear my voice and then they know how I feel. So I decided to speak Fanagalo (Participant A, 2013).

According to Participant A, it is important to use Fanagalo when one enters this working community so that one's "voice" is heard. From the interview extract, it seems that Fanagalo is a way to enter and support the group identity of mine workers. Language as an indicator of identity is, according to Dörnyei (1995:118), attributed to the multifaceted nature of roles of language itself and elaborates on this notion as follows:

Language is at the same time: (a) a communication coding system that can be taught as a school subject; (b) an integral part of the individual's identity involved in almost all mental activities; and so (c) the most important channel of social organisation embedded in the culture of the community where it is used. Therefore, the motivational basis of language attainment is not directly comparable to that of the mastery of other subject matters in that knowing an L2 also involves the development of some sort of 'L2 identity'.

Language which is used within a certain context develops an identity representative of that context. As Fanagalo has been described as the mining language, it is justifiable to say that Fanagalo is representative of miners and speaking the language is a prerequisite to gain group identity. Language as a representation or expression of social allegiance within a specific context is also explained by Hebdidge (1979) when he states that language is a carrier of culture, and since sub-culture is a sub-set of mainstream culture it will also have language as an identifier. Group acceptance is then a motivational element which contributes to explaining the maintenance of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language within this selected context. Themes related to motivation will be discussed separately in 5.3.3.

Another view on the relationship between Fanagalo and the identity of mine workers is to consider out-group perceptions of speakers of Fanagalo. More specifically related to the selected context in which Fanagalo is spoken, outward appearance, such as uniforms, also influence the perceptions of in-group members on who are able to speak Fanagalo. Markers such as the colour of the uniforms which are worn, signals to members of the in-group whether the other individual is a member of the in- or out-group. Participant B (2013) explains as follows:

At work usually we, we differentiate those people by our underground work-suit. We see if the visitor is underground you'll see by the yellow one (tugs at shirt sleeve) the yellow then you realise that person maybe doesn't know Fanagalo,

straight you go to the English but if he's wearing the white and you don't [know] him, quietly you start by Fanagalo, you see maybe that guy's from Anglo or he's from the central from the top management (situated in Illovo, Johannesburg) he knows Fanagalo and go straight to Fanagalo because of the work-suit. But if you see the yellow ones, you this person is the visitor and doesn't know anything about Fanagalo and just straight go to English.

This indicates that certain markers of group identity influence the assumption of who is able to speak Fanagalo. Although the uniform is seen as a direct indicator of in-group relations, it is widely accepted that if an individual is known to work in the mining industry, the individual will be able to speak Fanagalo. Race is another marker that could indicate that Fanagalo is part of the language repertoire of a person working in the mine. Even though race was not a recurring theme in the interview data, it is important to note this in terms of considering the origin of Fanagalo and the implications thereof for its present status. It is largely assumed by participants that individuals of different races outside of the mine industry cannot speak Fanagalo:

even a White White person *ya bon* you will never greet them with Fanagalo [interviewer: uhm...] why not? [interviewer: so if you had to see me would you greet me in Fanagalo?] I won't, me? [Interviewer: mm] No. [Interviewer: why not?] I know that you don't know Fanagalo. [Interviewer: ok alright] ja (Participant F, 2013)

I see now in brackets, his colour and tells me that he cannot speak. I will assume that I must try to speak China. [Everyone laughs] Even though I know I could not speak China but I will say hey! Or I will have to use sign languages so I could get the message across. [Interviewer: very nice] (Participant D, 2013).

The fact that race did not emerge as an important theme in relation to the use of Fanagalo other than the comments presented above could be because of the homogeneity of the interviewees. All fifteen interviewees were Black African male mine workers.

In previous studies, Adendorff (2002) reported that Fanagalo conveys a pejorative social meaning and a positive social meaning. This is largely attributed to the dynamic between its mainstream culture perception by out-group members and the sub-cultural perception from the in-group speakers. The negative connotation described in Chapter 2 has its roots in, according to the out-group, colonial racism (Mesthrie, 1989) associated with White colonists that insulted the natives of South Africa at the time. The above extracts from the interviews show that members of the White and Chinese race

categories are assumed to not be able to speak the language. The perceived inability to understand Fanagalo of the current non-Black Africans by current speakers of the language should discredit the notion that Fanagalo is still representative of the past negative connotations. The need for communication within the mining industry seems to outweigh past pejorative views. Since the maintenance of Fanagalo is largely dependent on the context in which it is spoken and the identity of speakers are related – in a broader context – to the mining industry, it seems that identity results from the domain in which Fanagalo is spoken. Before Fanagalo can be associated with a specific domain and certain identity, it is necessary to explore the acquisition process of the language and the motivation behind it.

5.3.3 Motivation, acquisition and transfer

As previously explained, the domain in which Fanagalo is used is multilingual. The diverse linguistic context perpetuates the need for effective communication, especially in dangerous working conditions. Fanagalo aids communication in a multilingual setting as it is “the only effective way to get the message across to the other person who is not from my nationality” (Participant D, 2013). The motivation to acquire Fanagalo is mainly dependant on achieving effective communication in a dangerous and multilingual working context. Linguistic accommodation, as described by Llamas *et al.* (2010:271), occurs when speakers alter their speech variety and, “such alterations may be seen as demonstrating the speaker’s wish to converge with or diverge from his/her interlocutor(s) in order to ‘seek approval’ or demonstrate social psychological distance respectively.” Although linguistic accommodation usually refers to phonetic variants, this study, as discussed in Chapter 1, refers to the choice of an entire code such as Fanagalo which serves the same purpose, which is to align speakers as part of the group. In the case with Fanagalo however, that group is not endorsed in the broader context and remains quite restricted to the mining culture. Linguistic accommodation is the foundation for communication and acts as a motivation to acquire Fanagalo. With effective communication in a multilingual setting as the main goal, Fanagalo is the only tool which is able to achieve this. It could be argued that another language, perhaps of official status, would be better suited. However, the ease of acquisition related to Fanagalo makes it far more appealing than other alternatives, “[Fanagalo is] easier than English, Afrikaans or Xhosa” (Participant E, 2013). Another potential factor which allows Fanagalo to trump official language use is that it is culturally neutral as explained

by some of the participants because Fanagalo is not accepted as a mainstream identifiable culture. Only within the mining context does Fanagalo become related to a culture (the mining culture) which brings unity between the varying mainstream cultures as described by Participant G (2013), "Because now you'd find that there's Shangaane speaking people, Zulu speaking, Xhosa, Tswana and so on so what would bring us to unity would be Fanagalo which we can all speak." Furthermore, there is no culturally neutral competing language which may cause Fanagalo to become redundant. Motivation for acquisition depends on the need for communication. The need for effective communication is high because of the dangerous working conditions and multilingual mine setting. The only way to achieve effective communication is through linguistic accommodation which is fulfilled using Fanagalo.

The acquisition and transfer process of Fanagalo does not reflect the traditional mainstream cultural language process of acquisition and transfer. Most of the miners describe the process of Fanagalo's acquisition as being "picked up" (Participant B, 2013). Fanagalo is learned by using it within the domain of use. The work domain is not the traditional domain of transfer for languages. In the theoretical context of theories of language maintenance and language shift, the main domain for transfer of languages is the home domain and the school domain (Romaine, 2006). As Fishman (1965:76) explains, "[i]n many studies of multilingual behaviour the family domain has proved to be a very crucial one", and Halliday (1993:93) explains that, "Children now learn languages not only in the home and neighbourhood but also in school." The individuals responsible for transference in the case of Fanagalo are the mine workers themselves. The acquisition of Fanagalo is thus informal and it is transferred by in-group members of the selected context. An interesting account of acquisition is provided by Participant K (2013) who described that learning Fanagalo is like, "all our languages in the township like Tsotsietaal". This is interesting because Tsotsietaal is an unofficial and arguably a sub-cultural language too, indicating that Fanagalo is perceived as a similarly sub-cultural language, transferred in a sub-cultural and unofficial capacity. It seems that in the case of Fanagalo, non-traditional patterns of language maintenance are emerging (Romaine, 2006: 464).

In the past, Fanagalo was taught formally in the mine. This history is explained by Participant L (2013):

Yeah, when I started working here at the mines in the gold mines in Welkom there was a training centre for the new recruit is where talking to be Fanagalo [interviewer: oh] so but now now days but for those it was in 1985 up to '89 it was teaching school for Fanagalo even in Impala so they tell me.

The informal manner in which Fanagalo is currently transferred shows that formal Fanagalo training institutions no longer exist. According to Giles *et al.*'s (1977) ethnolinguistic vitality theory, formal institutions that teach the language – in addition to status and demography – that is transferred is a prerequisite for maintenance, and is seen as a “vital factor(s) contributing the vitality of a language” (Giles *et al.*, 1977:308). Despite the lack of opportunity to be taught Fanagalo in a training and or development context, Fanagalo is still transferred in a non-official capacity by the users of the language. The transfer of Fanagalo within the home domain to children or family members of the mine workers is frowned upon substantially by the participants. The main reasons for the unwillingness for home domain transference are attributed to three attitudinally based perceptions. The first, is the perpetuation of the belief that Fanagalo as a language should be reserved for the mine only by most participants. This belief is strongly influenced by the perception that language, in particular Fanagalo, determines a speaker's future occupation which is coupled with a slightly negative association secondly. The second perception is best expressed by Participant A (2013):

No. I don't think so. [Interviewer: can I ask...] Why? [Interviewer: yes] I wouldn't like them to work, I wouldn't like them to be where I am now. I would like them to be better, educated more than me because I know where I am doesn't make...I think maybe I can do well so that I would also want them to be something else than be in the mines. They can be in the mines but do something else they like, so I wouldn't teach them Fanagalo...

This shows that there is no social mobility proposition perceived by its users in the acquisition of Fanagalo, which is a necessary component of Paulston's (1994c) social mobilisation theory for language maintenance. Further developing the resistance to Fanagalo's home domain transference is the third perception which expresses a negative stigma of illiteracy coupled with Fanagalo. It is widely believed by the in-group that out-group members of society view Fanagalo as a language of the illiterate. This is why mine workers do not want to transfer the language in the home domain with the fear that their family members will be stigmatised. There were instances in which some participants seemed to believe this stigma, which is strange since the demographic data shows that the majority of the participants achieved a secondary level of education

which suggests acceptable proficiency levels of languages of high status like English. The motivation, acquisition, and transfer of Fanagalo are reliant on the suitability of the mining domain as an acceptable context for its use and maintenance. Domain of use, identity, motivation, acquisition, and transfer all contribute to the development of a holistic in-group attitude towards Fanagalo which is an important significant element in determining language maintenance.

5.3.4 Attitude

According to Appel and Muysken (1987:16 cited in Fasold, 1984:147), the study of language attitudes can be distinguished by two theoretical approaches:

The first one is the behaviourist view, according to which attitudes must be studied by observing the responses to certain languages, i.e. their use in actual interactions. The *mentalist* view considers attitudes as an internal, mental state, which may give rise to certain forms of behaviour. It can be described as 'an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person's response'.

The collective attitude of Fanagalo speakers towards the language can be described from both a positive and a negative perspective. It must be noted that the positive attitudes towards Fanagalo expressed by the participants outweigh the negative attitudes. Negative attitudes about Fanagalo mainly revolve around the perception that Fanagalo is not a language that represents an educated background and is thus perceived as a language related to illiteracy. Upon closer analysis, it becomes apparent that the negative attitude resulting from the illiteracy stigma as a premise may be influenced by the mainstream culture's perspective, which is an out-group perspective. This results in a tainted view, distorting the true evaluation of the language by in-group speakers of Fanagalo. The intrusion of mainstream cultural perspective is evident in Participant D's (2013) evaluation of Fanagalo in which he describes it to be "not a real language". Fanagalo may not be deemed as a real language because it is not an official language from the mainstream cultural perspective. The acceptability of a sub-cultural language is diminished via the perceptions expressed by mainstream cultural society. Regardless of the negative attitude, Fanagalo still remains as a language that is spoken in the domain of the mining culture. The importance of effective and efficient communication that enhances safety and productivity contributes largely to maintenance in the case of Fanagalo. These motivations seem to override the negative attitude towards the language, rendering it insufficient to deter language maintenance and to propagate language shift.

The positive attitude of Fanagalo speakers towards the language revolve around issues such as its usefulness and the participants' views about the *aesthetic simplicity* of the language. Furthermore, statements such as: "It's a good thing to speak Fanagalo" (Participant B, 2013), "Fanagalo is just a perfect language" (Participant H, 2013), "Fanagalo it's one of the best languages" (Participant A, 2013), and "I'm proud of that language because it is the simplest language that connects every one" (Participant B, 2013) reveal a positive attitude towards Fanagalo related to perceptions of the intrinsic nature of Fanagalo. Another positive attitude contributor may be attributed to the perception among participants of the ease of acquisition of Fanagalo as a language:

So Fanagalo it's one of the best languages because it includes Zulu, it includes Sotho, there's it's a mixed masala of all of these languages so that you can understand each other and make our work easier (Participant A, 2013)

Something else, the thing I like, it's easy, for me it's easy ja but now we have to spend spend time, let's say we take somebody from Mozambique who's Portuguese, to learn English it will take him almost a year, year and a half to learn to speak English. But now with Fanagalo, I think three days up to a week is enough to know Fanagalo. [interviewer: oh wow!] easy! (Participant E, 2013).

The ease of Fanagalo's acquisition is central to the attitude speakers have towards the language as defined by Richards *et al.* (1992:199):

The attitudes which speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each other's languages or to their own language. Expressions of positive or negative feelings towards a language may reflect impressions of linguistic difficulty or simplicity, ease or difficulty of learning, degree of importance, elegance, social status, etc. Attitudes towards a language may also show what people feel about the speakers of that language.

An important consideration to take into account here is that perceptions about the intrinsic nature of Fanagalo and Fanagalo's ease of acquisition instil a positive attitude in its speakers, which is pivotal in explaining its maintenance. In short, ease of acquisition supports a positive attitude, contributing to maintenance.

Dörnyei (1995:119) explains the importance of attitude as described by the theory of directive influence which aligns with Fasold's (1984) mentalist view of language attitude:

In social psychology a key tenet is the assumption that attitudes exert a directive influence on behaviour since someone's attitude towards a target influences the overall pattern of the person's responses to the target.

Since the attitude determines an individual's behaviour then one can deduce that a positive attitude will result in positive behaviour, and if the attitude is negative then one would perceive negative behaviour in some way. In terms of speaking Fanagalo, the attitude towards it will influence its position on the language maintenance and language shift continuum, which is the target. Although Fanagalo's maintenance may not be a conscious target, it still remains the outcome partly attributed to the mostly positive attitude towards it.

Taking into consideration the socio-psychological theories discussed in Chapter 3 based on the work of Giles (1973), Giles *et al.* (1977), and Tajfel (1974) motivation for acquiring a language is favourable social status. Deductively speaking, favourable social status should be influenced by one's attitude in order for it to achieve positive status in the first place. This attitude is moulded by the environment in which the individual exists. Depending on the context, the attitudes of individuals in different environments may differ and these attitudes might even be different for in- and out-group members in the same environment. Crystal (1997:215) argues that "[t]he feelings people have about their own language and the languages of others" could differ in the same context. Since attitudes differ, motivation will differ as well. In the context of the mining sector, motivation shapes the participants' attitudes because as members of the in-group, they understand the importance of effective communication, which in such a multilingual context, only Fanagalo can accommodate. Attitude as a key force revolves around the value that the speakers of Fanagalo in the mining context have of its functionality. To the in-group users of Fanagalo, it offers steadfastness in terms of language maintenance and this argument is championed by Jaspaert and Kroon (1988:158) when they state that "attitude as a mental construct offer[s] an explanation for consistency in behaviour."

5.3.5 Non-recurring themes

During the coding stage of the analysis only two non-recurring themes surfaced. The first of the two non-recurring themes concerns the gender of speakers of Fanagalo. Although the domain in which Fanagalo is spoken is male dominated – which is possibly why gender did not surface as a dominant theme – women who work in the same domain also speak Fanagalo as mentioned by Participant B (2013) "Plus also, also the ladies they are from they are new in the mines industry but they know [Fanagalo] very

well.” Since the mining sector is largely male populated, the role of transference falls primarily on their shoulders. This contradicts the popularly supported notion that language transference is usually the responsibility of the parents and specifically the mother (Paulston 1994f:13). The normal proceeding for mainstream language transfer is that the language is transmitted in the home domain in which the parents or primary caregivers are present and they will transfer a language to their children. In the case of Fanagalo, it is transferred in the mining domain by the men who work there. Depending on the context of the language, it will depend on who is responsible for transference and akin to Romaine (2006:464) new patterns of language maintenance might arise.

The second non-recurring theme was age. Age seems to be coupled with attitude as insightfully observed by Participant F (2013):

No, no, no, no, the only thing I can tell you as you are doing this research about Fanagalo, check, check whatever *ya bon*...and I would like also when you are dealing with this thing, check up the ages of people who like it, why? From the ages and maybe from the age level you will see these guys that start from the 20 to 30 from 30 to 40 and see their ideas concerning the Fanagalo. I'm only 54 years but I hate it [interviewer: ok, I'm going to do that thank you for that] ja.

In the interest of this notion, the researcher has used the results of the attitude graph and compared the means for an aggregate attitude score of the participants for question 17 (on a scale of 1 to 7; mean = 5.25) to their ages (mean = 43 years) from oldest to youngest. If one takes the mean age as a cut-off point (43 years) and recalculate the mean for aggregate attitudes towards Fanagalo as expressed in question 17, then seven of the respondents could be categorised in the “older group” and 8 participants could be grouped as part of the “younger group”. From this analysis it is clear that the “younger group members” have a shared mean attitude of 5.56 and the “older group members” have a shared attitude mean of 4.89. The perceptions of participant F therefore seems to be supported by this finding.

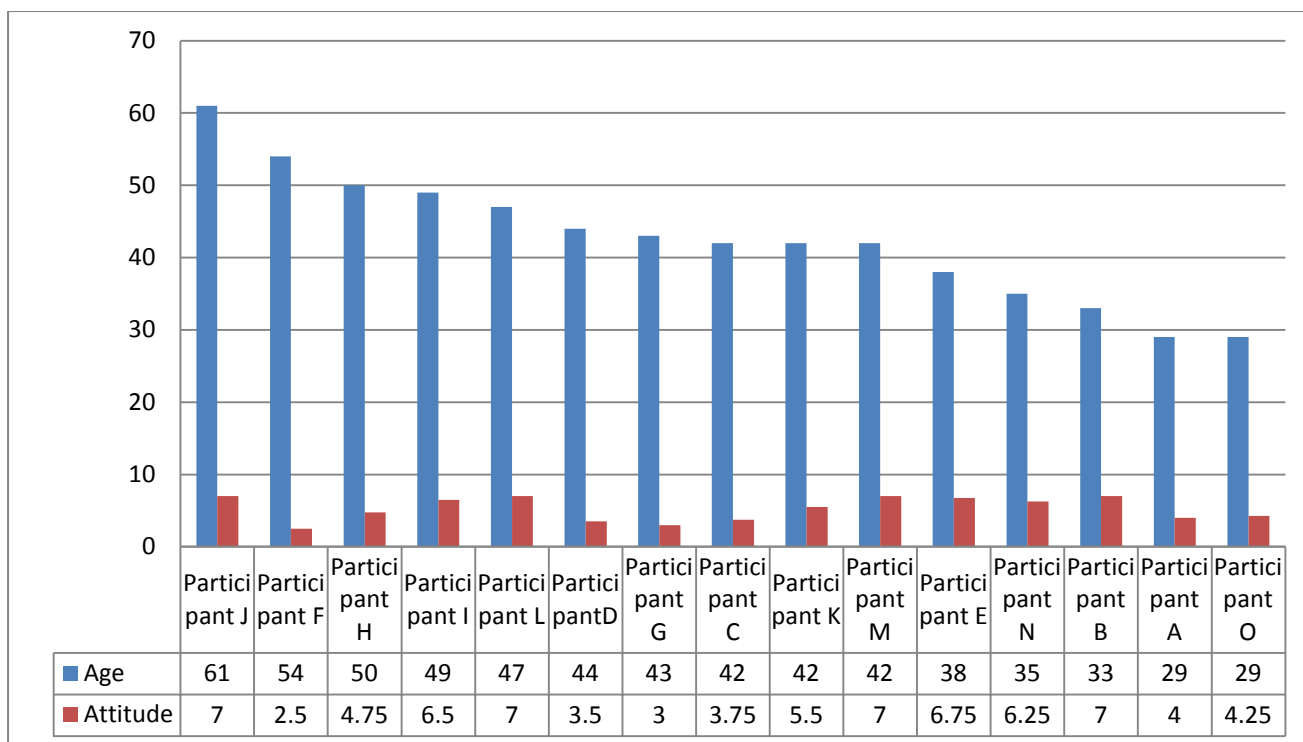


Figure 4: Attitudes towards Fanagalo compared to age of speakers

From the graph and the recalculations, it seems that Participant F's idea that that older speakers of Fanagalo will have a more negative attitude towards Fanagalo than its younger speakers is true. It is understandable that the older miners might have a more negative attitude towards Fanagalo, if one takes into account that they probably did not have great access to English during their forming years. They could therefore feel as if Fanagalo *ghettoises* them. Younger participants that attended school more recently probably perceive their English skills as well-developed and therefore do not feel linguistically constricted to the same extent.

Even though the two themes did not surface regularly enough to support their inclusion in the model for sub-cultural language maintenance applied to Fanagalo, they still bear some importance in terms of recognition as they may be valuable in a different context.

5.3.6 Summary of interview data findings

Fanagalo, as the language of the mine, appears in a multilingual context in which communication performs a vital function related to safety and productivity. Fanagalo caters to this need by functioning as a linguistic accommodative tool that shapes the

communication between multilingual individuals. This enabling role played by Fanagalo partly contributes to the positive attitude of Fanagalo speakers towards the language reported in this study. The other contributory factor aiding the positive attitude is the perception of ease and simplicity of acquisition. The role of transfer is designated to the older miners who introduce the language to the new comers and no evidence of transferral widely beyond the specific domain has been discovered. In relation to the transfer of older miners to the younger miners, it is significant to note that despite the attitudinal division between the ages, the older miners still transfer the language. This may indicate that the need and value of Fanagalo in the mining context overrides the negative attitude of the older miners. It is possible then to claim that Fanagalo indeed contributes to an in-group identity. The relationship between Fanagalo and in-group identity is complex and many factors are involved. This relationship will be discussed in further detail in the concluding chapter.

5.4 Fanagalo: yesterday, today, tomorrow

To conclude, Fanagalo has its roots in a contact situation in which communication, by means of accommodation, was the aim. The inverted conception of Fanagalo (Mesthrie, 1989) made possible by colonists in a power position in order to communicate with the less powerful indigenous inhabitants, may have spurred the negative perceptions associated with the language. This negative perception eventually snowballed into an entirely undesirable social and cultural meaning propelled by the individuals in a dominant position as evidenced by Adendorff's (2002) ethnographic study. However, Fanagalo spread from its Eastern Cape origin to the mines in the North-West Province (for example in Rustenburg) and beyond. Clearly, the negative social and cultural connotation was not as powerful as mainstream society has made it out to be. Fanagalo's journey evolved from an inverted creation, to being a social outcast and finally becoming a linguistic underdog survival story.

The accommodative nature of Fanagalo that is used today in the multilingual and multinational context of the mining industry in South Africa is a salient contributory element of its maintenance. The context has changed significantly compared to the original context that led to its creation. As a result, different elements contributing to the maintenance of Fanagalo surface today. There is no longer a power relation linked

to the language as different hierarchal levels within the mining industry speak Fanagalo and the maintenance is thus no longer achieved through a top-down approach:

Ok, I think for the workers even for my shift boss to my mine manager even the C.O I know that I can I don't have a problem even at his company there was sometimes I can understand when seeing them and then I can speak Fanagalo and I know that he will understand (Participant L, 2013).

The ineffectiveness of mainstream culture's attempt to extinguish the use of Fanagalo in the mining context may be attributable to the fact that its maintenance is not dictated by the top-down approach. This is interesting in terms of Fishman's (1991:4) notion that language revitalisation should happen using a bottom-up approach:

Indeed, for RLS to 'take hold' these 'lower levels' constituting face-to-face, small-scale social life must be pursued in their own right and focussed upon directly, rather than merely being thought of as obvious and inevitable by-products of 'higher level' (more complex, more encompassing, more power-related) processes and institutions. Which is not to say that no such by-product effect occurs at all, but, rather, that initial focussing on RLS-efforts *per se* is crucial, particularly on such efforts as can be engaged in by local communities and by their constituent families by means of their own efforts, resources and dedication. It counsels great sociocultural self-sufficiency, self-help, self-regulation and initiative at the 'lower level', so to speak, before seriously pursuing such 'higher level' arenas, almost always conducted in a contextually stronger, established rival language, as secondary or even more advanced education, the extra-communal work sphere, the national mass media and other governmentally controlled services and operations.

According to Fishman (1991), reversing language shift as a bottom-up approach relies on communication in the language on a regular if not daily basis which is fuelled by intergenerational transfer of the target language since if "fewer and fewer speakers each generation" (Fishman 1991:71) who use the language, it will potentially die out. It must be noted that the reversal of language shift and maintenance are two different concepts, but in terms of Fanagalo, shift would be expected because of the mainstream culture's negative attitude and the insistence of advocates to replace Fanagalo with a high status language like English. Still, Fanagalo has not been replaced by a dominant language and this is attributed to its bottom-up maintenance force. Although Fanagalo is not transferred in the traditional sense within the broader context, its continued use by a closed in-group despite the pressure from the mainstream culture for its phasing out, demonstrates that maintenance is achieved bottom-up. This bears implications for language policy and planning which will be discussed in Chapter 6. As for expanding the bottom-up approach from daily interaction to the mass media – in a positive light –

it is doubtful that Fanagalo will ever get such mainstream support, which is why it will most likely remain restricted to its current domain that supports its maintenance.

Even though the use of Fanagalo is not restricted by status, it is still largely domain specific and the majority of its speakers feel that it should remain that way, “there is no need to cancel [Fanagalo] underground, it’s fine they can use it in many many years to come” (Participant B, 2013). The restriction of Fanagalo to the mining context halts out-group transference to a certain extent allowing Fanagalo to be representative of the mining culture alone. The fact that miners are apprehensive of transferring the language to their children or family members will possibly result in the preservation of Fanagalo as a mining language. There is a slight indication of possible domain expansion concerning the use of Fanagalo currently. Fanagalo is used in some cases to clarify situational communication difficulties to other non-official language speakers outside of the mining domain. Such a situation is explained by participant B (2013):

Participant B: Yes, it is necessary at the shopping, at the Shoprite and Truworths because those, those guys most of them they did the mistakes there, they join the account there and they don’t understand they just put their signatures there.

Interviewer: Ok, so do you mean that you would then use Fanagalo to help them understand what’s happening?

Participant B: Yes what they are doing, what they are signing at the shops there at Rustenburg you can use Fanagalo [Interviewer: oooh] So they can understand what they are signing for. At the Cashloans, they can understand what they are signing, everything then they understand.

Another instance in which Fanagalo is used outside of the mining context is in the farming areas surrounding the Rustenburg mine, “some of the people they know no other languages and Fanagalo they also use it at the farms in other places they use it on the farms. So you might somebody who’s from the farm who wants help but can only communicate in Fanagalo” (Participant A, 2013). It seems that the accommodative function performed by Fanagalo is not limited to the mining context and when the need does arise outside of the usual domain, Fanagalo is the chosen medium in which to fulfil the communicative need.

As for the future of Fanagalo, the potential expansion of the domain of use may result in its acceptance in the broader society. This may be a lengthy procedure which is dependent on unpredictable social factors, which makes it difficult to provide a forecast of Fanagalo’s future status. Indicators of potential integration into broader society can

be contributed to the actual use of Fanagalo outside the mining context as well as the attitude of individuals who either speak, or are exposed to it. Children from certain areas, such as the Reconstruction and Development Project (RDP) housing area, speak Fanagalo as expressed by Participant L (2013): “around the mines those kids some of them are talking Fanagalo because when they are playing football sometimes they can hear hey *speaking in Fanagalo*”. Because of this, Participant B (2013) claims that he would teach his children a little Fanagalo:

but it's fine to know the Fanagalo because there are some children at the RDP's, if you are staying there, there are children that doesn't know Fanagalo and can't communicate with the other children where they are playing but if you teach taught them a little bit of Fanagalo, he can communicate with those children.

Even in the future, it seems that accommodation and communication are central to the maintenance of Fanagalo despite potential contextual changes. So long as the miners, and potentially the broader community, continue to value the usefulness of Fanagalo, it will not diminish any time soon despite mainstream cultural pressure because it is largely a bottom-up maintenance mechanism additionally propelled by its status as a sub-cultural expression which is separate from mainstream cultural society.

Chapter 6: Presentation of an explanatory model and conclusions

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this study was to determine the current status of Fanagalo in South Africa within a selected context. The status aspect that this study explored was based on two determinant categories. The first category examined Fanagalo's position on the language maintenance and language shift continuum. The second category postulated Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language rather than a crystallised pidgin (Mesthrie, 2006). The social and cultural properties of Fanagalo served to explain that Fanagalo is indeed still maintained within selected contexts in South Africa today as a sub-cultural language. Furthermore, the development of a sub-cultural language maintenance model based on the social and cultural underpinnings unearthed in this study will be an attempt to answer the research questions related to the mechanisms and reasons for Fanagalo's maintenance. This explanatory model is presented in section 6.3 of this chapter. The development of this model bears implications for the mainstream theories of language maintenance and language shift in addition to language policy processes that mainly support the development of official languages. These implications will be discussed in section 6.4 along with recommendations for further study in section 6.5.

6.2 Research questions addressed

1. Is Fanagalo maintained in selected contexts in South Africa today?

The initial investigation into whether or not Fanagalo is still maintained in a selected context today was determined by the analysis of Fanagalo's origin and the context in which it was last reported. The theories surrounding language maintenance and language shift were applied to the existing knowledge of Fanagalo which predicted its maintenance. Fanagalo's maintenance was undoubtedly proved by identifying actual speakers of the language who became the central providers of the data for this study. The speakers were identified in a very specific context in the mining sector. As a result, it can be concluded that Fanagalo is still maintained in selected contexts in South Africa today. This is explained in terms of the objectives set out in Chapter 1. According to the objectives set out in order to answer the first research question which asks whether Fanagalo is maintained in selected contexts in South Africa today or not, it was important to establish what existing research indicated. Mesthrie (2006) indicated that Fanagalo had stabilised to form a crystallised pidgin. Although Fanagalo is re-classified

in Chapter 2 as a sub-cultural language, its stabilisation and continued use in the mining sector indicates its maintenance. Media variation of Fanagalo in existing research by Adendorff (1993) is indicative of maintenance as it shows expansion from its original oral communicative role. Even though this was presented ten years ago, more recent Fanagalo texts are available supporting stabilisation in the print media (<http://www.salanguages.com/fanagalo/texts.htm>). This was not a focus of the study, but is important to note here.

2. How is Fanagalo, as a sub-cultural language, maintained in selected South African contexts? (6.2)
3. Why is Fanagalo as a South African sub-cultural language maintained? (6.2)

The questions which ask how and why Fanagalo is maintained today were set out to be answered through the development of a conceptual model. Through appropriate methodological execution, sufficient data was gathered in order to construct the conceptual sub-cultural language maintenance model applied to Fanagalo which is illustrated and explained in section 6.3. The position of each element in the model explains how the process of language maintenance functions and the elements themselves allude to why Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language is maintained in selected contexts today.

4. What are the implications for theories of maintenance and language policy?

The implications for mainstream language maintenance and mainstream language policy are discussed in section 6.4.

6.3 Fanagalo in a selected context: A conceptual model of sub-cultural language maintenance

The conceptual model constructed in Chapter 1 served as a point of departure in examining the maintenance of sub-cultural languages taking Fanagalo into specific consideration. The results presented in Chapter 5 confirm the basic elements which were proposed in the conceptual model and further refine the model via the addition and the re-interpretation of some elements so that the explanatory model could be constructed in its final epistemological state. The following illustration represents the final construct of the sub-cultural language maintenance explanatory model:

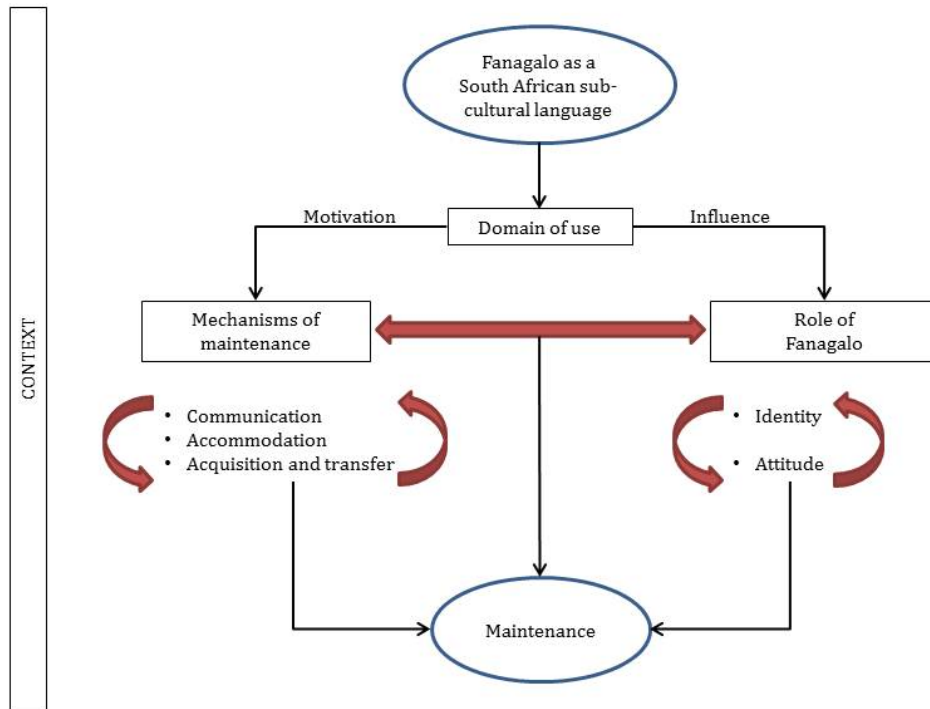


Figure 5: Sub-cultural language maintenance model

In the rest of this section I will explain how the elements that contribute to the maintenance of Fanagalo in a selected context today, which were identified via the literature review, questionnaire and interview data, relate in the conceptual model.

The context in which Fanagalo appears is one of a multilingual and multinational nature within the mining sector. The context cannot be ignored as it encompasses all the contributory elements of sub-cultural language maintenance. The context refers to the situation in which a certain group of people function. The culture that exists in a specific context is a product thereof, as explained by Hall and Jefferson (1992:10), “The word ‘culture’ refers to that level at which social groups develop distinct patterns of life, and give expressive form to their social and material life experience.” In other words, depending on the context and by default, the culture, expressions will differ. No two contexts are alike and thus the specific social workings of the context need to be taken into consideration. This highlights the discussion in Chapter 3 in which the shortcomings of current language maintenance and language shift theories are

described as either too rigid or too general. In this study it is maintained that since contexts themselves vary, so should the theories that explain the nature of language maintenance and language shift vary. However, since current language maintenance and language shift theories focus on mainstream cultural languages, these theories need to be branched out to include sub-cultural languages, which is the focus of this study, as they function in a different capacity. This is why it can be said that context is an umbrella element that dictates the rest of the mechanisms in explaining language maintenance and language shift patterns as Meillet (1921:16) explains, “The only variable to which we can turn to account for linguistic change is social change.” Context is not the only element which can be taken into consideration in explaining sub-cultural language maintenance but it is central because if the context remains undefined, then the specific function of each of the elements in the conceptual language maintenance model is ungrounded.

Fanagalo’s re-classification as a sub-cultural language was important not only because its previous classification is outdated, but also because the remaining elements in the conceptual model that pertain to attitude and identity within the specific domain are influenced by this re-classification. The identity element explains that the individuals who exist in the domain in which Fanagalo is spoken are the industrial working class who, according to Marx and Engels (1886), were exploited by the upper classes. This is an important consideration in terms of sub-culture being a youth-culture of a working parent class culture. In the case of Fanagalo, it is an expression of sub-culture because not all industries make use of the language to communicate making it an identity marker of the mining industry. Additionally, as discussed in Chapter 2, sub-culture is a derivation of its parent culture in terms of values and not of class status per se. It is the values that constitute an identity and context specific values formulate the expression. Fanagalo is an expression of its specific domain in which speakers are defined to a certain extent through language use. Fanagalo is a language of the mine and individuals who speak it are miners. Due to the clear group identity (making up the in-group) it can be said that Fanagalo is representative thereof, which according to Suall and Lowe (1988) inspires homogeneity. In addition to group cohesion, individualisation of members (Hebdidge, 1979) is important as it exposes the nature of the sub-culture. As already gathered, speakers of Fanagalo are generally accepted as being mine workers

and these individuals have extensive language repertoires as gathered from the data. Such a multilingual identity is important because it creates the situation in which all these speakers are unified by a single language, Fanagalo. Fanagalo serves an important function within the mining domain regardless of mainstream cultural pressure disparaging it. Despite the opinions of mainstream culture and their support for phasing Fanagalo out, Fanagalo is according to its in-group speakers, a language that allows effective communication to take place in dangerous working conditions. Such an important function can only be fulfilled through the use of Fanagalo, creating a positive attitude towards the language from the perspective of the in-group. Furthermore, the re-classification of Fanagalo is important on another level. It highlights the overall limitation of existing language maintenance theory – aimed at explaining the maintenance and shift of mainstream languages – in that Fanagalo’s maintenance mechanisms such as motivation, acquisition, and transfer do not reflect the traditional process described for mainstream languages. As a result, the use of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language perpetuates an in-group that functions in a specific domain of use not entirely conformed to the opinions of mainstream society.

The mining industry as the particular domain of use is central to all the other elements in the maintenance model. The domain influences the role that Fanagalo plays within the context as well as the mechanisms of maintenance that are activated in the domain; including elements such as motivation for acquisition, transfer, communication and accommodation. The role of Fanagalo as an expression of identity is directly linked to that of the lives of the professional miners, who exist within the specific domain. Identity and attitude are coupled as part of the new role Fanagalo plays within the domain of use. As stated, the element of identity is reflected by the in-group identity of miners and their positive attitudes towards Fanagalo that is expressed as a means to achieve unity in this profession and workplace. As a result, Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language creates the possibility for miners to be a cohesive in-group. The mechanisms of maintenance are subject to the domain in which Fanagalo is spoken. Motivation for the acquisition of Fanagalo is mainly attributed to the need for effective communication within a multilingual context so that safety in, for example, underground mining activities is enabled. Motivation for communication and accommodation are coupled with acquisition and transfer which is also motivated by the domain of use. The ease of

acquisition related to Fanagalo as perceived by the participants contributes to motivation for learning it so that effective communication is achieved faster and with seeming ease. The informal manner in which Fanagalo is transferred and the individuals responsible for transfer, the mine workers themselves, are a result of the domain in which it is spoken making it deviate completely from the mainstream language acquisition and transfer process which depends mainly on intergenerational transfer in the home domain.

The newly identified role Fanagalo plays and the mechanisms of its maintenance interact and propel the maintenance of Fanagalo as a South African sub-cultural language representative of the mines as professional work spaces. In summary, Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language in the context of a multilingual mine setting clarifies the specific domain of use in which it is used. The domain further influences the role of Fanagalo under which the coupling of identity and attitude interact with the maintenance mechanisms of communication, accommodation, and acquisition and transfer. In combination, the element couplings under each category together with the interaction between the two categories lead to the maintenance of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language. Perhaps one day when miners no longer see the value of Fanagalo, they may shift away from using it, if a viable alternative language is shared by enough people in the work place.

6.4 Implications of the findings

Through the development of the conceptual sub-cultural language maintenance model, implications for existing theories of language maintenance and language shift are threefold. Firstly, the conceptual model demonstrates the inability of existing theories to accommodate languages not spoken in a mainstream context. Regardless of the negative language status – compared to languages that are still acquired in the home domain with traditional intergenerational role players – sub-cultural languages function and are maintained differently. There is an element of intergenerational transfer, but the data reported in this study indicate that Fanagalo is transferred from older miners, or existing users of Fanagalo, to newcomers. In other words, Fanagalo is transferred between different generations of miners that work in the same domain.

Secondly, the functionalities of language maintenance for mainstream languages and sub-cultural languages may be similar but their application and influence on each other function and interact differently. Fishman (1991) states that in order for a language to be maintained, a stable diglossia should be the aim of language maintenance preserving more than one language variety within a community. This can be achieved by transmitting the language in the home domain. Since transfer is restricted to the home domain, just as Paulston (1994f) agrees, the responsibility of transfer will be that of the parents. This may be the case for mainstream cultural languages that represent the values of mainstream society. The case of Fanagalo is different because it is not transferred by parents in the home domain. Rather, Fanagalo is transferred informally by acquired speakers in the mining context (the relevant work domain) for two reasons. Fanagalo is not accepted as a mainstream cultural language and will not be transferred to children of the mine workers themselves, mainly because of the out-group pejorative attitude surrounding the language. Another reason is that Fanagalo is restricted to mainly the speaking and hearing media, limiting access to out-group members who are not present at discussions when Fanagalo is used. In this way, Fanagalo maintains its domain specific function and identity. The one similarity between mainstream cultural theory, specifically that proposed by Fishman (1991), is that language maintenance is made possible from the bottom-up rather than the top-down. This will be discussed as part of the third implication.

Thirdly, existing mainstream languages do not have the added pressure from dominant society to disallow language use, as they are socially accepted languages. It is true that vulnerable languages (in this case related to its status) experience a certain amount of pressure which is mainly attributed to social mobility. However, Fanagalo does not offer social mobility or status in mainstream dominant society. The ill-premised views of mainstream society do not challenge the value Fanagalo offers in its in-group context. In contrast to mainstream dominant language shift as a result of varying pressure sources, Fanagalo does not adhere to this because of the fact that its sub-cultural context is not affected by out-group perceptions. In totality, mainstream language maintenance and shift theories are inapplicable when it comes to explaining the maintenance of sub-cultural languages.

Fanagalo and other sub-cultural languages in general do not experience the comfort of the protection of language policy and planning to ensure its vitality. Nevertheless, Fanagalo as not only an un-official language but as a sub-cultural language with no mainstream social value is still maintained. The implications surrounding language policy and planning highlights its symbolic sentiment in an attempt to preserve the languages it includes. Language policy and planning's un-influential preservation tactics may be attributed to the top-down approach it takes which can be described as such because the definition of language planning and policy connotes such a meaning, "Language planning refers to deliberate and future-oriented activities aimed at influencing or modifying the language behaviour of a speech community or society (Swann *et al.*, 2004:173). Such a formal approach often "serves specific ideological and political ends" (Alexander, 2004:113). Alexander (2004:113) further explains this statement by referring to the work of Lo Bianco (2002):

Language policy is not some de-contextualized set of protocols that can be transported from context to context, setting to setting, and applied by disinterested technicians ... [The] historical settings of culture, legal and political environment, ethnic relations, socio-legal parameters of policymaking and memory influence not only what is possible in any specific setting but also serve to shape its form and its content.

If language planning is determined by influential factors such as culture, political environment and ethnic relations, then the case for its non-effectiveness on Fanagalo may be explained in the same terms. The pressure from mainstream culture seems to be propelled by the past negative connotations attached to Fanagalo.

The political environment also seems to be influenced by the attitude of the people advocating the phasing out of Fanagalo. The following statement made by Peter Turner (2012), head of the Gold Fields South Africa operation, is an attempt to come up with a solution to replacing Fanagalo, "The safety link with language is very important. You can get the message across in an emergency much more effectively in someone's home language." According to the participants in this study, it is impossible to use one's home language firstly because of the multilingual context in which Fanagalo is spoken. It would be nearly impossible for workers to communicate in their own home language because of the extent of the multilingualism represented by the diversity of home languages used by mine workers today:

It was a little bit difficult because when we come when we come we are different nationalities then you are supposed to communicate so it was effective for a person to go Fanagalo (Participant D, 2013).

The perspective offered by the individual who actually speaks Fanagalo and who holds positive attitudes towards the language is a far more superior perspective compared to that of a non-speaker who is not exposed to the daily underground conditions of the mine set in a multilingual context. This is further demonstrated by the analyses of the data which support the vital key of communication that Fanagalo supplies as summed up by Participant C (2013):

Ja so the problem underground, eish, there is no way because even we can make words with somebody there but it's a dangerous condition. You can't say "leave that place" so you can't hear immediately [interviewer: mhmm] Ja you must wait for you to say "*pasop*" ja that is the naming of what we use underground [Interviewer: o.k alright, I understand] ja.

Fanagalo saves our lives due to communication, that's it. Because without Fanagalo there's no communication, there is no safety, there is no way forward. Ja, ja that's it.

Unfortunately, since an authoritative individual aligned within mainstream society has such an opinion, the majority of society will follow lacking the insight into the culture in which Fanagalo operates. Therefore the premise for initiating formal policy set to phase the language out is based on uninvolved and inexperienced perceptions of the out-group. In an attempt to obtain a formal language policy for the mining sector, which was unfortunately unsuccessful, the researcher did discover a Human Rights Policy (2012) of a mine which will remain anonymous, which states that all stakeholders will be treated fairly irrespective of, amongst others, language. Should this policy be upheld, then reason for phasing Fanagalo out would be against the human rights of miners who choose to speak Fanagalo within the mining context. It is also possible, since the policy is established by members of the out-group, that Fanagalo is once again not recognised as a mainstream cultural acceptable language, reinforcing its current sub-cultural status. Furthermore, as there is no official language policy available, the language planning within the mining context is broadly informal. The out-group's attempt to phase out Fanagalo for safety's sake is by implication not founded within official and practical resources, as the Safety Policy set out by the Department of Mineral Resources makes no mention of specific language usage as part of its outcome.

As a result of mistaken mainstream perception of Fanagalo, a top-down approach supporting institutional measures is ineffective and possibly ill-advised and as Webb (2009:1) expresses for the case of mainstream cultural languages:

This approach to linguistic transformation has not produced the expected changes in national linguistic behaviour: the African languages are still not used in public domains, and there are no signs of “equity” and “parity of esteem” between the national official languages of the country as required by the South African constitution. One of the reasons for the failure of language planning in South Africa is the absence of meaningful community involvement, of “language planning from below”.

Fanagalo is maintained in a bottom-up way, without any authoritative influence and rather relies on a practical need for its maintenance, which may show that the top-down approach is not as effective for maintenance and preservation as perceived in the case of Fanagalo as a sub-cultural language. Ferguson (1996:274-275) provides an interesting view concerning policy and attitude, “In many ways the effectiveness of language policies in education is determined more by the attitudes of the people on language use than it is by the simple demographic facts of language distribution and use.” As the results of the data gathered in this study shows, attitude is an important element in considering the maintenance of Fanagalo within the specific domain in which it is used. Webb (2009:5) would seem to agree as he explains that bottom-up language planning is characterised by two processes, one of which directly refers to identity – which as discussed interacts with attitude – where “communities involved are distinguished by a distinctive language.” As previously discussed, Fanagalo is a marker of its speakers’ identity as miners. The other process to which Webb (2009) refers is that of “individuals, who become aware of threats to the interests of their communities (such as access to education and to information), initiate actions directed at protecting these interests.” Although the interests in the case of Fanagalo are not educationally motivated, interests such as effective communication and safety are, providing enough reason for the best interest of miners’ safety and identity to be protected: “The *factors* (*sic*) that have an impact on bottom/up language promotion include the communicative needs of the speakers of the language” (Webb, 2009:6). The only discrepancy that Fanagalo creates in terms of its maintenance as a bottom-up process surfaces from the following statement:

If language promotion is a “grass-roots process, springing from the nationalist aspirations of ordinary people” (Nahir, 1998: 352), it cannot be described as part of

a planning process. This is of course not necessarily true since both traditional language planning and bottom/up language promotion are organised processes (Webb, 2009:6).

Although Fanagalo does fit the basic framework for a bottom-up language maintenance approach – in which certain factors needed to be adjusted – there is no evidence showing that there is an organised process promoting its use. Rather it is, as explained, objected to, but still its maintenance is informally executed. The reason for this may be that once again Fanagalo does not act in a mainstream cultural language capacity but rather as a sub-cultural language that does not adhere to traditional and official languages.

The limitations of existing language maintenance theories as well as language policy and planning processes that this study exposed may be viewed as recommendations for further studies discussed in the next section.

6.5 Recommendations for further studies

As a result of the implications referring to the limitations of mainstream language theories, further studies could explore the extent of the limitations identified. By specifically explaining its limitations, and further examining the maintenance of sub-cultural languages, these existing theories could be adjusted in order to be more inclusive. Alternatively, an entirely new niche area could be developed within the broader context of sociolinguistics. The language policy and planning for the purpose of language preservation and maintenance of mainstream languages should be re-examined in its structure, as official status does not seem to necessarily aid the vitality of protected languages; as demonstrated by the maintenance of Fanagalo for example. The theoretical approach used to compose language policy and planning could be revisited in order to determine its actual current effectiveness in comparison to unofficial and sub-cultural languages. The results of this evaluation may lead to an alternative approach with the same goal of language preservation in mind. The answer to this may lie in the plausible notion made by Webb (2009:11):

The two approaches [top-down and bottom-up] need not be separate, independent processes, but could be co-operative, interdependent and mutually complementary: the state creates the language development infra-structure and funding, provides information, consults with communities and attempts to involve them in the process, and community leaders and bodies respond, assume ownership of the process and take responsibility for driving the process.

6.6 Limitations of the study

The limitations discussed in this section mainly reflect issues that are beyond the scope of the current study. Nevertheless, the acknowledgement of these limitations may contribute to potential further investigation. The findings reported in this study would be enhanced by a current linguistic description of Fanagalo akin to the work conducted by Mesthrie (1989; 2007). An exploration of, for example, the influence of age and gender in relation to possible varieties of Fanagalo as used currently would enable the development of a much more integrated sociolinguistic explanation for the attitudinal findings reported in this study. In addition to adding more current linguistic descriptions of Fanagalo, it would be advantageous for a more well-rounded explanation of the causes of attitudes reported in this study to continue Adendorff's (1993) ethnographic work in Fanagalo. An analysis of current Fanagalo texts (for example from minutes of mine workers' meetings) could provide a fruitful line for future research that could complement the findings of this study. The number of interviews conducted could be increased and conducted in a broader context within different mines around the country. However, as a result of the instability in the mining industry since the Marikana incident in August 2012, this was not feasible during the time of this particular study³ as explained in the summary at the beginning of this dissertation. Should the conditions become more stable, the inclusion of other Fanagalo speakers from different contexts would enhance future studies of this nature.

6.7 Conclusion

The researcher reiterates that in reflecting on the volatile nature of the mining sector during the period in which the data was gathered, it is pertinent to realise that the data is not just valuable but also demonstrates a richness that would not be attainable at any other time.

The current views of the authoritative mine management (representing the mainstream out-group perspective) and the views of Fanagalo speakers (representing the sub-cultural in-group perspective) indicate opposition. The goal of achieving safety in the mine is a shared concern of both the parties involved which revolve around the role of language in the work environment. However, the execution of such, indicates the

³ Interviews were conducted exactly one year after the Marikana incident in August 2012.

former mentioned opposition. The out-group feels that communication should take place using the home languages which have an official and by implication an accepted status in the mainstream culture. Speakers of Fanagalo indicate that the use of one another's home languages would create an impossible and unsafe environment. The in-group speakers have clearly stated that Fanagalo saves their lives due to effective communication and that it may remain in the mine as it achieves the safety of miners in a multilingual context. Reasoning for the phasing out of Fanagalo then seems to become a rivalry in which the two mediums become contenders. In the first corner, the top-down language policy approach is geared towards change that the out-group feels is necessary. In the other corner, bottom-up language maintenance and choice of the medium by the in-group stands by what has already been achieved, the mutual goal of safety in the domain. The bottom-up approach has thus far put up a worthy fight and seems to continue to hold its own against a rather excessively promoted top-down approach. From a different perspective, perhaps the two are not fighting the same fight after all as the bottom-up approach results in maintenance and the top-down approach advocates for change. It seems that the power lies with the individuals who actually deal with the rigours of daily life in a multilingual context set in dangerous working conditions as opposed to those who watch from the side-lines. One thing is certain though: against all odds, Fanagalo has been maintained as a sub-cultural language in a selected context in South Africa, today.

Name & Surname:

Information and consent

This questionnaire includes questions about your language history, experience, identity and language use. This questionnaire forms part of a study in which the researcher aims to understand the relationships between languages and factors that influence the maintenance of sub-cultural languages in selected contexts in South Africa better.

The information provided by participants will be used for research purposes which will be reported anonymously in books, academic journals, at academic conferences, and reports to academic managers at the NWU. A copy of the final dissertation will also be presented to the mine.

When you agree to participate by completing this questionnaire, you give permission to the researcher to:

- (a) Report the data gathered in this questionnaire anonymously in books, academic journals, academic conferences and institutional reports at the NWU;
- (b) Conduct a post-questionnaire interview which will include expanded questions concerning the topics stipulated above and to use this data in combination with the completed questionnaire for analysis which may be reported anonymously in books, academic journals, academic conference and institutional reports at the NWU;
- (c) Contact the participant after the interview for clarification purposes on this contact number:_____.

I, (please write out your full names and surname)_____ give permission to the researcher, Natasha Ravyse and her supervisors, to report the data gathered in this questionnaire, as well as data from the post-questionnaire interview, anonymously in books, academic journals, academic conferences and institutional reports at the NWU.

Signature

Date

SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Please put a cross (x) or a tick (✓) in the block that represents the appropriate answer at the following questions, or write down an answer.

1 Gender	Female	1	Male	2
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2 Age: Today, I am _____ years old.

3 Population group⁴

Please indicate your population group by marking the appropriate box:

Black African	1
White	2
Indian	3
Coloured	4
Asian	5
Other (please specify)	6

4 Culture

When people ask me what my culture is, I tell them ...

5 What is the highest education level you have completed?

I completed primary school (Grade 7 / former Standard 5)	1
I completed secondary school (Grade 12 / former Standard 10)	2
I completed a qualification/s at University / College	3

⁴ Terminology and categorisation of the population group is derived from the Census Metadata report (2011:31) final code list. This question is included to enable the comparison of the data with other data in for example the Census.

6 Country of birth

(a) Were you born in South Africa?

Yes	1	No	2
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If you answered "Yes", please go to question 7.

If you answered "No", please answer the following questions (6bi, 6bii, 6biii, 6biv) as well.

(6bi) *I was born in (town/city & country)*_____.

(6bii) How old were you when you came to South Africa? *I was*_____ *years old when I came to South Africa.*

(6biii) How long have you been living in South Africa to date? *Today, I have been living in South Africa for*_____ *years.*

(6biv) Have you returned to your country of birth for longer than 6 months?

Yes	1	No	2
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If "Yes", for how long? *I have returned to my country of birth for*_____ *(months/years) in total.*

7 Occupation

(a) What is your current occupation? *I currently work as*_____.

(b) How long have you worked in your current position? *I have worked as a (7a) for*_____ *(months/years).*

(c) Have (Do) any of your family members worked (work) in the same field of occupation?

Yes	1	No	2
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If "Yes", please answer question 7d.

(d) Which family member has worked (works) in the same field of occupation as you? *My*_____ *worked (works) in the same field of occupation as me.*

(e) How long has your family member worked in the same field of occupation?_____ *(months/years).*

SECTION B: LANGUAGE HISTORY, EXPERIENCE AND USE.

8 Please look at the following grid with languages. Please mark the ONE language you use at HOME most of the time.

Afrikaans	1	Shona	13
Dutch	2	Southern Sotho	14
English	3	Spanish	15
Fanagalo	4	Swati	16
French	5	Tsonga / Shangaan	17
German	6	Tswana	18
Hebrew	7	Venda	19
Italian	8	Xhosa	20
Ndebele	9	Zulu	21
Ndonga	10	Other (specify below):	22
Northern Sotho	11		
Portuguese	12		

9 Please mark ALL the languages that you use at WORK.

Afrikaans	1	Shona	13
Dutch	2	Southern Sotho	14
English	3	Spanish	15
Fanagalo	4	Swati	16
French	5	Tsonga / Shangaan	17
German	6	Tswana	18
Hebrew	7	Venda	19
Italian	8	Xhosa	20
Ndebele	9	Zulu	21
Ndonga	10	Other (specify below):	22
Northern Sotho	11		
Portuguese	12		

10 Please mark ALL the languages you know in the grid below.

Afrikaans	1	Shona	13
Dutch	2	Southern Sotho	14
English	3	Spanish	15
Fanagalo	4	Swati	16
French	5	Tsonga / Shangaan	17
German	6	Tswana	18
Hebrew	7	Venda	19
Italian	8	Xhosa	20
Ndebele	9	Zulu	21
Ndonga	10	Other (specify below):	22
Northern Sotho	11		
Portuguese	12		

11 Please list all the languages you know in order of your proficiency / ability in them.

In other words, your **STRONGEST language is the language with which you express yourself the easiest and people who understand your strongest language understand what you want to communicate the best.**

Please use the grid below to indicate the **CODES for your **STRONGEST**, **SECOND** strongest, **THIRD** strongest, **FOURTH** strongest and **FIFTH** strongest languages.**

Please remember to use CODE from the grid above for the languages you want to indicate.

Afrikaans	1	Shona	13
Dutch	2	Southern Sotho	14
English	3	Spanish	15
Fanagalo	4	Swati	16
French	5	Tsonga / Shangaan	17
German	6	Tswana	18
Hebrew	7	Venda	19
Italian	8	Xhosa	20
Ndebele	9	Zulu	21
Ndonga	10	Other (specify below):	22
Northern Sotho	11		
Portuguese	12		

Order of strength of language	Language CODE from grid above
STRONGEST language	
SECOND strongest language	
THIRD strongest language	
FOURTH strongest language	
FIFTH strongest language	

12 Do you know more than 5 languages?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

**13 Please list all the languages you know in the order that you learnt them.
Which language did you learn first, secondly, thirdly etc.**

Order of acquisition	Language CODE from grid above
Language I learnt first	
SECOND Language I learnt	
THIRD language I learnt	
FOURTH language I learnt	
FIFTH language I learnt	

If Fanagalo is one of your 5 languages, please complete section C.

SECTION C: FANAGALO

14 How did you learn Fanagalo?

15 Why did you learn Fanagalo?

16 How good are you at Fanagalo?

Please use the grid below to rate your proficiency in Fanagalo. Please tick (✓) the appropriate answer on the table below.

	Ver y poo r	Poo r	Below averag e	Low averag e	Averag e	High averag e	Above averag e	Goo d	Very goo d
Listenin g	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Speakin g	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Reading	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Writing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

17 Please read each of the following statements and indicate how true they are for you when you think about Fanagalo.

	Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Slightly disagree	Neutral	Slightly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree
I like speaking this language	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I feel confident using this language	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is important to be good at this language	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The language forms part of my identity (who I am)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

18 On a scale from 1 to 7, please select how much the following factors contributed to you learning Fanagalo.

	0 Did not contribute at all	1 Did not contribute a lot	2 Contributed a little	3 Moderately contributed	4 Contributed more than other factors	5 Contributed significantly	6 Contributed a lot	7 Contributed totally
Interaction with friends	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Interaction with family	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Interaction with co-workers	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Reading	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Listening to the radio / music	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Used at work	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

19 Do you think that it is important to speak Fanagalo for work?

Yes	1	No	2
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Please explain your answer at question 19 as best you can.

END OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME

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Annexure B

Broad outline of discursively oriented interview questions

The discursively interviews will develop based on the responses of participants. In accordance with the indirect style of questioning, some questions will require a scenario based approach.

1. How many languages do you speak?
2. How well do you speak each of these languages?
3. Which language do you mostly speak at home?
4. Which languages do you speak with your friends?
5. Is there a specific language or languages you speak at work?

At this point, the mention of Fanagalo as part of the language repertoire has surfaced and is reflected by the acknowledgement of such in the questionnaire.

6. How did you learn to speak Fanagalo?
7. Why did you learn Fanagalo?
8. Did someone teach you how to speak Fanagalo? If so, who? If not, how did you learn how to speak Fanagalo?
9. When and where do you speak Fanagalo?
10. Is this the only time you speak Fanagalo?
11. Would it be ok to speak Fanagalo at any other time or place besides at work?
Why?
12. Who do you mainly speak Fanagalo to? Why only them?

Question 13 is a scenario based question in which the underlying question reads as follows:

13. Would I be wrong, if I had to think that because you are miner, you speak Fanagalo? (*Perception of 'work' identity*) I.e. you are a miner (member of AMCU) so you speak Fanagalo?
14. Do you mind if I ask you if you belong to a union?
15. Which union do you belong to?
16. Do others members of your union also speak Fanagalo?
17. Do you ever have meetings where people speak Fanagalo?
18. Do you know what language the other unions use during their meetings? (If so what language?)
19. What do you think of the fact that they use that specific language? Why?
20. Do you think that only certain people can speak Fanagalo? For example if you were standing in a group of your co-workers and you see a Chinese man or a White man coming to talk to you, do you think that you cannot speak Fanagalo to them because they will not understand?

Question 21 is a scenario based question in which the underlying question is as follows:

21. Do you think people think differently of you when they find out you speak Fanagalo?(*perception*)
22. Would you teach your children or any other family member how to speak Fanagalo?
23. Is speaking Fanagalo helpful in your work/career/life? How?
24. Can you read and/or write in Fanagalo?
25. If so, how often do you read and/write in Fanagalo?
26. How well do you read and/or write in Fanagalo?

27. Do you know of any documents, newsletters or posters that are written in Fanagalo? *Enquire about minutes of meeting should certain unions address their members in Fanagalo.*

28. Open ended question:

Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your experience with Fanagalo?

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PERSONAL COMMUNICATION

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