

**INTELLECTUALISATION OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO ISIXHOSA**

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by

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work and has not, in its entirety or part, been submitted at any university for a degree.

SIGNED:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'M. A. A.', written over a horizontal line.

DATE:

14 June 2011

ABSTRACT

The research explores the relationship between language and education, and motivates for the intellectualisation of African languages, isiXhosa in particular, and for their use in education. The main rationale behind this is that access to, and success in education can largely be realised if that education is mediated in one's first language. The thesis discusses works of prominent scholars who have written on the subject – relating cognitive abilities and achievement in education to language in which that education is offered.

The lack of terminology in new domains in African languages as barrier to mother tongue education is laid bare by looking specifically at the history of intellectualisation of isiXhosa, from the missionaries in the 1820s up to the new endeavours as recently as 2008. Terminologies that were developed during the Bantu Education era, where development of isiXhosa and other indigenous African languages was accelerated in order to respond to the demands of *moedertaal-onderwys* (mother tongue education) are surveyed, and the process of their development analysed. Three main terminology lists developed during this period are analysed against terminology development principles, approaches and methods that are seen as a measure to ensure quality terminology development. The efforts of the development of isiXhosa during the post-apartheid South Africa, especially the government-driven initiatives, are also critiqued even though these are not as effective and as extensive, especially in education.

The result of this analysis is that African languages and isiXhosa in particular, can be used in scientific disciplines and at the highest levels of education. Its grammar is advanced, and its lexicon is extensive such that new concepts that need to be named can be named, using appropriate term creation strategies. There are also technological tools such as WordSmith tools that can be used that can advance its development, ensuring that the concept represented in the newly-created term is precise, concise and appropriate in terms of its discipline. Therefore it is argued that, in the interim, terminologies should be developed, in various subjects, to support learning, which at this stage is mediated in English, for those students

who have other languages as mother tongue. Those terminologies that have been developed in the various historical periods should be collated, revised and brought into the classrooms.

The thesis argues that real intellectualisation of isiXhosa and other African languages rests on the use of these languages in classrooms and lecture halls, and in the value that all role players place on these languages.

ISISHWANKATHELO

Olu phando luhlola unxibelelwano olukhoyo phakathi kolwimi nemfundo, luze lukhuthaze ukuba kuphakanyiswe uphuhliso lweelwimi zesiNtu, kujongwe ikakhulu isiXhosa, ngenjongo yokuba zisetyenziswe kwezemfundo. Eyona ngqiqo ephambili ehambelana nale ngcamango kukuba ukufumana ulwazi olunikezelwa kumaziko emfundo, nokuphumelela kuwo la maziko kungenzeka kuphela ukuba loo mfundo ubani uyifumana ngolwimi lwakhe lweenkobe. Lo msebenzi ke uphicotha uphando lweemfundimani ezininzi ezibhale zophela ngalo mba, apho zinxulumanisa indlela aqiqa ngayo umntwana nokuphumelela kwakhe kwizifundo zakhe kulwimi enikezelwa ngayo loo mfundo.

Ukungabikho kwesigama esikwinqanaba lenzululwazi kwiilwimi zesiNtu njengesithintelo ekufundiseni abantwana ngeelwimi ezizezabo kubekwa elubala ngokuthi kuphononongwe imbali yokuphuhliswa kwesiXhosa ukususela ngo-1820 ukuya kutsho ngo-2008. Isigama esaphuhliswa ngexesha le*Bantu Education*, apho uphuhliso lwesiXhosa nezinye iilwimi zesiNtu lwaye lwakhawuleziswa nangakumbi ngenjongo yokuxhasa *imoedertaal-onderwys*, siyahlolwa ze inkqubo eyasetyenziswa ukusiphuhlisa ibhencwe. Isigama esipapashwe kumaxwebhu amathathu nesathi saveliswa ngeli xesha siyaphononongwa ngokuphathelele kwimiqathango yophuhliso-sigama, yona ethathwa njengomlinganiselo omawusetyenziswe ukukhangelangangatho waso. Iinzame zokuphuhliswa kwesigama emva korhulumente wocalu-calulo nazo ziyakhangelwa ngokuthi kuphicothwe amanyathelo eza norhulumente nangona esi sigama singenafuthe nagalelo lingako kwezemfundo.

Iziphumo zolu hlolo zibonisa ukuba iilwimi zesiNtu, isiXhosa, zingasetyenziswa kwizifundo zenzululwazi nakumanqanaba aphezulu ezemfundo. Igrama yalo olu lwimi iphucukile kwaye isigama sayo sityebile ngendlela yokuba izinto ezintsha ezifuna ukuthiywa zingathiywa ngokulula, kusetyenziswa amaqhinga afanekileyo okuphuhlisa isigama. Kukwakho nezixhobo zobuchwepheshe ezingasetyeniswa ukukhawulezisa olu phuhliso, ziqinisekise kananjalo ukuba loo nto imelwe lelo gama litsha ichanwe ngqo, kwaye ichaneke ngokufanelekileyo kweso sifundo. Ngoko ke kugxininiswa ukuba makube kuphuhliswa isigama kwizifundo ngezifundo ukuxhasa imfundo esanikelwa ngesiNgesi okwangoku,

kwabo bafundi balwimi lwabo lweenkobe ingesosiNgesi. Eso sigama besiveliswe ngamaxesha athile kwimbali yesizwe sethu masihlelwe kwakhona, ze sibuyiselwe kumagumbi okufunda.

Olonaphuhliso lululo lwesiXhosa nezinye iilwimi zesiNtu lulele ekubeni ezi lwimi zisetyenziswe kumagumbi okufundela ezikolweni naseziyunivesithi. Lukwalele nasekubeni bonke ababandakanyekayo babe bazixabise kangakanani na ezi lwimi.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BICS	Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills
CALP	Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
CDs	Controlling domains
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
ESP	Extended Studies Programme
FSU	Free State University
HEIs	Higher Education Institution
HWI	Historically White Institutions
LoLT	Language of Learning and Teaching
LPHE	Language Policy for Higher Education
LWC	Language of Wider Communication
MoI	Medium of Instruction
NCDs	Non-controlling domains
NLB	National Language Body
NLS	National Language Services
NMMU	Nelson Mandela Metropole University
PanSALB	Pan South African Language Board
PLC	Provincial Language Committee
RU	Rhodes University
SANTED	South Africa-Norway Tertiary Education Development
SCDs	Semi-controlling domains

SU	Stellenbosch University
UCT	University of Cape town
UF	University of Fort Hare
UKZN	University of KwaZulu Natal
UNISA	University of South Africa
UWC	University of the Western Cape
XNLB	IsiXhosa National Language Body

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The context of the study

The intellectualisation of African languages, that is, their development such that they can be used to teach, or to support teaching of all subjects, and at all levels of education (Sibayan, 1999), is essential in the true transformation of the South African tertiary education environment. South African universities, because of the political imperative for them to transform, are giving access to linguistically and culturally diverse students – students who would not normally meet the requirements to gain access to these institutions. These multilingual universities, where many different languages and cultures converge, face the challenge of supporting students' learning during their vocational training careers. Since 1994, a large number of students have entered universities across South Africa, but research shows that many of these students, who are mostly black, underperform and are not able to succeed (Higher Education Monitor, 2009). Research relates students' underperformance, amongst other things, to language in which teaching occurs in the universities (Dalvit, 2010). Because of the past apartheid policies that entrenched English and Afrikaans as LoLT at universities, these languages dominate in HEIs in South Africa while indigenous African languages are marginalised. It means that in universities, knowledge presented to the students is mediated in English or Afrikaans, languages which, as research shows, black students are not fully proficient in (Ministerial Report on the Development of Indigenous Languages and Mediums of Instruction at university, 2003; Heugh, 2003; Obanya, 2004; Miti, 2009b). In other words, students gain physical access to these institutions of higher learning, but they do not gain access to knowledge that is offered (Boughey, 2010, Inaugural address at Rhodes University) – knowledge that will lead to the development of black society, and subsequent transformation of South African society.

While there is research that links students' poor socio-economic and schooling backgrounds and poor teacher preparedness, or example, as contributing factors to students' underperformance, there is also growing evidence that draws a relationship between underperformance and the language in which teaching and learning occurs in the universities (Dalvit, 2010; October, 2002). In his study Dalvit describes an intervention which aimed at

improving success of students studying Computer Science in a historically black university in the Eastern Cape. The intervention was in the form of a Computer Science glossary in isiXhosa, which was used in supporting learning in English. Over and above the positive effective results shown in students' responses to the intervention, Dalvit reports that the intervention showed that in using students' primary language, isiXhosa, there was better access to concepts underpinning the Computer Science, and therefore better understanding of meaning associated with the concepts. October's study investigates matric pass in Western Cape schools, and in her findings she suggests that the academic performance and, therefore, pass rates in matric are skewed and this "can largely be attributed to the fact that while Afrikaans and English speakers are assessed in their home language in grade twelve, African language speakers, with individual exceptions, are assessed in their second or third language" (October, 2002: 5). Because of the past apartheid policies that entrenched English and Afrikaans as LoLT at universities, these languages dominate in HEIs in South Africa while indigenous African languages are marginalised. It means that in universities, knowledge presented to the students is mediated in English or Afrikaans, languages which, as research shows, black students are not fully proficient in (Ministerial Report on the Development of Indigenous Languages and Mediums of Instruction at university, 2003; Heugh, 2003; Obanya, 2004; Miti, 2009b). In other words, students gain physical access to these institutions of higher learning, but they do not gain access to knowledge that is offered (Boughey, 2009) – knowledge that will lead to the development of black society, and subsequent transformation of South African society.

It has been observed that a student whose mother-tongue has not been used at higher levels of education, or in scientific and technological subjects, has difficulties in cognition and understanding knowledge given in another language (Bamgbose, 2000; Dlodlo 1999). Underperformance of black students can be attributed to this. This is further compounded by the fact that our education systems do not create space for indigenous African languages, that is, home languages of the majority of black students. By and large, these students, who speak the languages of wider communication in these institutions (i.e. LoLTs which are English or Afrikaans) as a second language are not supported and encouraged to link the LoLTs to the languages they speak at home. Therefore, the language (and knowledge contained in the language) plays no role whatsoever in supporting students to access knowledge offered at HEIs (Djité, 2008).

The continued marginalisation of African languages in South African HEIs means these languages cannot be developed such that they are able to formulate scientific and technical ideas and concepts. The consequence of that is that students who have these languages as home languages will continue to underperform because their language, which is critical in facilitating cognition and understanding, is not used in teaching or in supporting teaching.

1.2 The political context as a motivation for intellectualisation of African languages

In the South African context, the political change that started in the early 1990s, and culminated in the 1994 election of a democratic government, put great demands on the South African indigenous languages, which had previously been undermined and selectively developed. The history of the development of these languages, for example through the work of the missionaries, the language-based homeland system, and perhaps even the Bantu Education system, demonstrates the diligent work done by those concerned with the advancement of those languages. However, even so, the ulterior motives of all the different role-players of the time did not facilitate for these developments to be embraced by, and to be of overall benefit to the language users (Hartshorne, 1995: 310-314).

The new demands, as expressed in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996), that were placed on African languages were articulated such that a new social space and function had to be established around them in all state institutions. The Act requires that we learn from the efforts from the past, and utilize that which is relevant in realising the vision that the state has for indigenous African languages in the new dispensation. Other policy documents that specifically give guidelines on the use of African languages in HEIs are the *Language Policy for Higher Education* (2002) and the *Report on the Development of indigenous African languages as Mediums of instruction in Higher Education* (2003). The Constitution particularly makes provisions for the development and use of indigenous languages by declaring that in

Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages..., the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages (Section 6 (2)).

The expanding role of indigenous African languages in domains such as education, politics, commerce and information technology – domains that have, hitherto, been dominated by English and Afrikaans, requires that there be a deliberate and concerted effort to hasten the process of their development, or more explicitly, of their intellectualisation. According to Sibayan (1999: 77) and Alexander (2003:20 and 2005), a developed or an intellectualised language is a language of which corpus allows for it to be used, across disciplines, at all the different levels of education, i.e. from pre-primary up to tertiary education.

Therefore, there is a two-fold need to develop these languages: exogenously and endogenously, as applied to language (Alexander, 1989). Firstly, the exogenous motivation is political and socio-cultural in nature. It is to build racial understanding and harmony, to construct a nation whilst being tolerant of the diversity of our society, and to promote linguistic access and equity (Finlayson and Madiba, 2002). This viewpoint, which tends to be sentimental in nature, is the one which is emphasised in general practices where indigenous African languages are concerned. For purposes of this study I would like to argue that this is not sufficient; in fact this is not possible if the second motivation is not equally addressed. The endogenous motivation is supposed to be linguistic and pedagogic in nature. It encourages the internal and structural development of the language. This is of essence if these languages have to fulfil the official function as placed on them. They need to be intellectualised so that they can be used equitably with the two other highly developed and dominant languages, that is, English and Afrikaans, in high-status domains such as education, politics, commerce and information technology. As indicated earlier, it is a widely known fact that Bantu education helped to facilitate the structural development of indigenous African languages (Hartshorne, 1995, Heugh 2000). This was done within the confines of the apartheid system. Heugh points to the fact that

... Bantu education came into being in 1953 with eight years of mother tongue instruction, and teaching and learning of Afrikaans and English as subjects... Text-books and terminology were available in African languages for eight years of school (Heugh, 2000:23-24).

This development was carefully charted out in that the development of African languages was not extended to the so-called controlling domains (CDs) such as education, politics, commerce and information technology. These domains were, and still are, dominated by English and Afrikaans. Bamgbose (2002) and Alexander (2005) both argue that languages that are not visible in these controlling domains, especially in print form, are viewed negatively by language users, including their mother-tongue speakers.

What this means, therefore, for the official indigenous African languages, is that their use will continue to be sentimental – as languages of socio-cultural value at home, and only of primary schooling unless meaningful and deliberate intervention is done, with the purpose of stepping up the process of their intellectualisation, within the context of the national development initiatives. Alexander (2005) notes that it is a fallacy to think languages simply develop naturally as it were. They are resourced and manipulated to serve a motive of a certain people at a specific point in time. The history of the development of Afrikaans in South Africa is a good example. The apartheid regime invested financial and intellectual resources in Afrikaans to entrench the Afrikanerdom.

Finlayson and Madiba (2002:40) argue that language intellectualisation is a significant facet of endogenous language development. It is a dynamic process distinctive to most of the languages which have acquired a larger and expanded range of functions in their societies. These scholars further argue that this process *has* to occur in relation to our official indigenous languages because

Although all the nine [official] indigenous languages have been partially developed, that is, they have written forms, literary works, dictionaries and

terminology lists, they are lagging far behind in the area of modern terminology as compared to neo-colonial languages (Finlayson & Madiba, 2002:40).

Garvin (quoted in Finlayson and Madiba, 2002:42), argues that intellectualising developing languages means that these languages will have in their corpus precise and comprehensive means of communicating matter especially in the realm of modern life, for example, in the areas of science and technology, of government and politics, of senior and higher education, of health sciences, and of commerce.

While the process of intellectual development of African languages, or any developing language for that matter, can occur ordinarily in the spheres of life listed above, there is mounting concurrence from language policy makers and planners that there should be a conscious and deliberate effort to accelerate the process and to make it more effective before we can say that these languages are absolutely intellectualised (Finlayson & Madiba, 2002).

1.3 Development of African languages for use in education

A language has domains – the non-controlling domains (NCDs) constituting language of communication at home; the semi-controlling domains (SCDs) – the language of communication in religion, politics, and entertainment; and controlling domains (CDs) – the language of government, education, professions, science and technology, etc. (Sibayan, 1991). The language that is mainly used in CDs is a fully intellectualised language. If one looks at the South African context, English and Afrikaans dominate in CDs, for example, in education, science and technology, etc and are therefore, by definition, fully intellectualised. African languages, on the one hand, dominate only in NCDs and in some areas of SCDs.

As we can see from the discussion above, for a language to be used in education (in CDs) it has to be fully intellectualised. The history of the development of African languages illustrates that while these languages enjoyed some kind of development, the development was selective, and they are not fully intellectualised for them to be used as fully-fledged languages of teaching in school, or university, or even in supporting teaching at HEIs. The perception was that their corpus, syntax and other grammatical features were not sufficient for them to be used as medium of instruction, especially in communicating the concepts embodied in Western education beyond lower levels of education (Van Zyl, 1961 as quoted in Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh, 2002:11). Van Zyl argues that while this might have been used against using indigenous languages to support learning in higher levels of education when Bantu Education Act was passed in 1953, in fact what was missing constituted only 10-20% of the concepts required in each subject to introduce mother-tongue education in isiXhosa, for example (ibid). Further, the suspicion with which mother-tongue education was viewed by the black elite meant that they resisted reading any materials written in indigenous languages and, consequently, put a stop to any meaningful development of the languages. While benefits of mother-tongue instruction are widely understood, Van Zyl noted in 1961 already that for this to be successful, the development of African languages should be seen as a “creative and enriching challenge” (as quoted in Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh, 2002: 13), and not an obstacle. The obstacle referred to related to the criticism directed at the unfamiliarity, in terms of form and function, of the terminology created in the new subjects, especially of Arithmetic and Natural Science, in higher primary classes (ibid). Wildsmith-Cromarty (2008: 147-8) also argues that strategies used in developing African languages were, and still are, fraught with problems, and concludes that development of these languages for use in higher level of education needs to be a collaborative and consultative effort between linguists, subject specialists, and the users. If African languages are to be used to facilitate access, retention and success of their native speakers at university, there has to be concerted effort to develop them; and a process of their intellectualisation has to be set in motion with this in mind.

The African languages, prior to their being reduced into print form, were able to articulate, every aspect of the life of their speakers. They were able to articulate concepts in astronomy, zoology, botany, biology, physics, etc. This knowledge was articulated orally in a precise and

succinct manner. Boyce writes about twenty (20) years after isiXhosa was converted into print that

In forensic debates, in legal pleas and cross examinations, the native talent of [an indigenous language speaker] appears to take advantage, and no one can witness such displays of intellectual gladiatorship without being convinced that, in their case, intellect has not been affected by their distinction of colour or clime (Boyce, 1844: iii-iv).

Boyce's statement above relates discussions and deliberations that occur in a specialised context, a legal context. Discussions are communications that are mediated through a language. This seems to suggest, therefore, that while the language possessed primary discourse for basic, domestic communication, it equally possessed secondary discourse for secondary "specialised" domains, as in the legal context related above. Their development during the missionary, and subsequently the colonial and the apartheid periods, facilitated towards their intellectualisation in selected areas, but also at the same time failed to make sense of the intellectualised aspects evidenced by these accounts.

If one were to consider the indicators of an intellectualized language, African languages are not highly intellectualized because they do not have an academic register required for high level teaching and learning in higher education. Although there is abundant research literature that acknowledges that conceptualisation (i.e. the ability to cognitively understand, talk about, reason over, infer and generate new concepts in the knowledge formation process) is heavily influenced by language but in the South African higher education context the potential role of indigenous African languages in academia is often marred by arguments that caution about their deficiency in scientific and modern terminology (Foley, 2002: 55-6). Understanding the relationship between language and learning, and the potential role of African languages in facilitating access, retention and success of their native speakers at university, there has to be concerted effort to accelerate their development; a process of their intellectualisation has to be set in motion.

Studies in language development, and translation particularly, advance the view that the reciprocal relationship between languages enables meaning to be expressed in any language (Munday, 2001). However, in a study on translation of scientific and technical concepts for a secondary education science resource book, Wildsmith-Cromarty (2008: 155-158) cautions

that it can be difficult to transfer meaning of some scientific concepts into African languages. She recommends that translators should have linguistic knowledge of both languages one is working with, as well as cognitive and domain competencies in order to avoid loss of meaning.

Nevertheless, as South Africa seeks to transform its higher education environment the maintenance and development of African languages has to be accelerated. Kropf's *Kafir-English Dictionary* (1915) is one of the most comprehensive works of orthography in isiXhosa up to date, and reflects words, concrete and abstract in nature, collected by the author from the speakers of the language, in the contexts in which they were used. The words were collected between 1845 and 1895. We can learn from the richness of the past oral history of the speakers of African languages, their development during the eras cited above and from these processes, and then initiate a meaningful, effective and efficient process of the intellectualisation of African languages – a process that will transform policy into real action plan. The development of African languages for use in education is fully explored in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

1.4 The statement of the research problem

Language, it can be argued, is central to human development and learning. Language and language learning empower people to make, negotiate and understand meaning; access education and information; communicate and use different forms of language in social, political, economical, spiritual and cultural contexts, amongst other things. There is abundance of research, world-wide, on the relationship between language and learning (Cummins, 1981; Bamgbose; 1991; Alexander, 2003; Prah, 2009). Such research illustrates the link between language, learning, personal advancement, economic success, and national development generally. It also proves that people learn and develop better when using their main languages for learning, or if another language is used for learning, that their mother language is sustained in some way, to support learning throughout their education.

For a language to be used for learning or to support learning, and more specifically throughout education (a CD), it has to be fully intellectualised. As stated above, Sibayan (1999:229) states that, any language can be used in NCDs, and to some extent, in SCDs. However, the main language used in CDs is at all times an intellectualised language. He states that a language is considered to be intellectualised if it can be used for educating a person in any field of knowledge from kindergarten to the university and beyond. Such a language, according to Gonzalez (2002), has indicators such as a rich corpus of literature (imaginative and non-imaginative); publications in academic fields, newspapers and so on, the list is endless.

If one considers the above definition of an intellectualised language the only languages that fit into this category in the South African context are English and Afrikaans. None of the indigenous African languages are intellectualised. As it is, these languages are far from being the intellectualized languages that English and Afrikaans are, which make available to the world a wide range of subjects and in different mediums. The syntax and lexicon of the indigenous African languages is sadly inadequate. It has not kept up with the developments that we are experiencing in modern domains such as ICT.

The task of developing indigenous African languages, and any language for that matter, is a task of great magnitude. Language development or lack thereof, is a result of multifaceted, complex but interrelated intralingual, extralingual and interlingual factors. The intralingual factors refer to matters related to the internal structure of the language; its ability to expand its lexicon, for example, to “name” new domains of language use. Extralingual factors are in relation to linguistic and subject expertise of those developing the language, financial and human resources, structural support and plenty of time (Bamgbose, 1991). Interlingual factors relate to the relation of the language with other languages, for example the less developed language in relation to the highly developed language in a given context (Bamgbose, 1991). Because of the complexities given above, those against intellectualisation often bring up the argument that it might not be best option, but that it might be practical to just adopt English, as an intellectualised language, and use it in all semi- and controlling domains. There is a chapter in the thesis (Chapter 3) dedicated to arguments for the intellectualising of indigenous languages in South Africa. In this part of the research I would like to note the arguments

raised by Sibayan (1991) and Alexander (2003) who both concur that language intellectualisation is an enormous and daunting undertaking that can seem impractical and impossible, *but it is necessary* – for political and pedagogic reasons. They both argue that the process has to begin as languages develop, and become intellectualised by being used. It is not a matter of intellectualising the language before using it. As Alexander puts it, languages develop as they are used, and they are used as they are developed (2003).

The last point in the paragraph above leads to the argument that language intellectualisation does not occur in a vacuum. A significant aspect to it is the identification of institutions (such as education institutions, health-care facilities, publishing houses, etc.) that encourage and facilitate the process of language intellectualisation. These institutions can put forward proposals for languages to be intellectualised, start the process and make the resources in these languages available to support learning and teaching in another language and, in long term, teaching and learning in it (Bamgbose, 1991, Alexander, 2003).

There is a large amount of research literature, as indicated above, that offers confirmation of how languages used for teaching and learning can be a key hurdle or enabler in achieving success in education. A few of the teachers at universities are also starting to look at language as a possible cause for students' underachievement. At Rhodes University, a bilingual glossary list was developed for use in a Computer Literacy class (Dalvit, 2010), at the University of Cape Town multilingual concept glossaries are developed in various subjects (Madiba, 2010) and the Ramani and Joseph of the University of Limpopo have successfully pioneered a fully bilingual degree, in English and Sesotho saLeboa (2002).

The scenario painted above, of underperformance of mostly black students beyond first year at university, was also identified by a Political Philosophy lecturer at a South African university. The University is a multilingual university, has English as LoLT but the majority of black speak isiXhosa. English, isiXhosa and Afrikaans are the official languages of the University, as well as the Province in which the University is located. As an intervention strategy to improve performance of black students, the lecturer proposed developing a glossary list, in English and isiXhosa. The list contained key concepts in Political Philosophy I, concepts which the lecturer, in her opinion, considered important but which the students

grappled with. The list contained only a few political concepts, about fifty. This study seeks to expand the glossary list¹. However, the focus here is on developing terminology lists in isiXhosa that is, providing an isiXhosa equivalent of the English concept.

Most of the world's countries have many different linguistic and cultural groups within their borders. This is particularly so because of the multilingual nature of our societies, in the case of the African continent, and the globalisation that is the result of the fluidity of borders of all countries of the world. The challenge that countries like ours are faced with in the context of education is that the reality of multilingualism is often articulated in legislative policy but the local indigenous languages and cultures are not welcome, but only English and Afrikaans are seen as important for economic growth, social mobility and national unity.

1.5 The objective of the study

Except for the Bantu Education era, indigenous African languages in the South African education system, historically have never been used beyond primary schooling in various teaching acts, across disciplines, for example, as mediums of instruction, or as languages of assessment. They have been taught scientifically as subjects. In higher education they have been taught as subjects in the medium of English or Afrikaans, in the areas of literature, phonetics, phonology, syntax and semantics, etc. In other words, there is no metalanguage for these languages (Department of Education, *Development of Indigenous languages as Mediums of Instruction in Higher Education*, 2003).

The purpose of the research is, firstly, to provide compelling reasons why African languages should be developed, such that they can be used in education beyond primary schooling, and in other controlling domains that are presently dominated by English and Afrikaans. The use of African languages in the context of this research means using them as medium of

¹ The glossary list was developed as part of the Rhodes University-SANTED Multilingualism Project which piloted the development of multilingual glossaries to promote multilingualism and support learning in some disciplines, which occurred in English.

instruction, as subjects (both as first and additional languages), as support teaching material, and as sources of indigenous cultural knowledge embedded in them. Secondly, it is to analyse selected terminology in documents and other resources developed in high function domains in isiXhosa, throughout the history of the writing of the language, but primarily during the Bantu Education system. In this analysis I will assess the availability and usability of terminology that already exists in isiXhosa in high status domains. Lastly, I will identify the recurring aspects in the structure of the terminology (i.e. syntactic, phonological, morphological and semantic structure), and from that make inferences which I can then transfer in the process of creating glossary for further intellectualisation of isiXhosa.

The choice of using isiXhosa as a point of reference is motivated by language policy documents, mentioned above, that guide language practices in education, and more specifically, in higher education. The *Language Policy for Higher Education* (2002) seek to ascertain that all South African languages, especially the previously marginalised, should be developed to their full capacity while at the same time ensuring that the existing languages of instruction do not serve as a barrier to access and success of the speakers of those languages. The second policy document is the Ministerial report of the Department of Education entitled the *Development of Indigenous Languages as Mediums of Instruction in Higher Education* (2003). The report recommends that Rhodes University, amongst others, because of its geographical location² assumes the responsibility of developing and intellectualising isiXhosa for the purposes of it being used, alongside English, as the language of learning and teaching, in various teaching acts at tertiary institutions. The allocation of isiXhosa to Rhodes University is motivated by the geographical position of the University. The University is located in the Eastern Cape where 83% of the total population has isiXhosa as its mother-tongue (Statistics South Africa, 2003). Although the large number of students are mother-tongue speakers of English, isiXhosa, with about ten percent (10%) constitute the highest numbers of speakers amongst indigenous languages spoken by the student population. Other universities are also allocated languages according to the linguistic composition of the population where they are located.

² Rhodes University is situated in the Eastern Cape Province in the Republic of South Africa. The Eastern Cape Province is the heartland of amaXhosa, speakers of isiXhosa. IsiXhosa is the second largest indigenous language in the country. Although isiXhosa is widely distributed throughout the country, seventy percent (77%) of the language speakers reside in the Province (Statistics South Africa, 2003).

It is hoped that this work will help in the process of the intellectualisation of isiXhosa by providing a guide to terminologists on the best practices and strategies to adopt in the further development of isiXhosa. However, its ultimate purpose is to take isiXhosa from being the language of social communication, to being the language seen and heard in all spheres of South African life – i.e. at various levels of education, commerce, politics and administration, for example.

Language intellectualisation as a research area is also motivated by the fact that language, as indicated earlier, plays a major role in acquisition of knowledge. For that reason, it plays an important role in learning. In the context of South Africa it means that indigenous African languages, which have been marginalised in education, are required to be used as LoLT, or to support learning and teaching that occurs beyond primary schooling. If this is to occur, then these languages need to be intellectualised. Terminologies in CDs have to be developed, and the manner in which this is done has to be articulated in academic platforms so that it provides a basis for accelerated development of the rest of the African languages.

The primary aim of the study, therefore, is to initiate a process for the intellectualisation of African languages, particularly isiXhosa. The researcher will examine the various attempts at intellectualising indigenous African languages, using orality as a predecessor to intellectualisation (particularly in reducing them to print form). Approaches and strategies adopted by the Xhosa Language Committee³ in particular, in developing isiXhosa terminology and orthography during 1970s will be examined and critically examined against theories of translation and terminology development, within which language intellectualisation falls. These approaches and strategies, particularly of the creation of concepts in isiXhosa, will then be analysed and used to further develop a bilingual terminology list for a Political Philosophy I course in a South African university. The list, referred to above, is not comprehensive and conclusive and therefore the purpose of the study is to develop it further, as well as design a model that can be replicated in other contexts – to

³ A booklet published by the Department of Bantu Education (1972), titled *Terminology and Orthography No. 3* will be used as a basis.

help intellectualise African languages, and isiXhosa particularly, in other disciplines. The process of the selection of the Political Philosophy concepts to be developed in isiXhosa is discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Suffice to say that the other important aspect of the study is to bring forth political-related concepts that are recorded in the book titled *Xhosa Terminology and Orthography No. 3* (1972). The book itself has had been relegated to archival sections of the libraries because, I would like to believe, of the political context in which they were developed.

The study, therefore, will propose strategies that can be adopted in the intellectualisation of isiXhosa, using lessons from the past experiences of the development of isiXhosa. A bilingual terminology list of political science terms will be developed and presented as a model, where these strategies will have been used. Proposals on accelerating the intellectualisation of African languages will be offered, based on the model.

1.6 Research methodology

This first part of the study will employ an empirical method of research in collecting and recording isiXhosa terminology in existence and that has been developed in a specific era. Further, English political philosophy concepts are extracted from Political Philosophy 1 textbook and Political Philosophy 1 lecture notes used by a specific lecturer at Rhodes University. I have used the Wordsmith tools in extracting the concepts. The tools list the concepts in a document according to their frequency. Except for articles (the, a and an), terms that have high frequency in the text will be understood as being important in the subject. The importance of the terms will, however, be confirmed by the lecturer and senior students identified in the SANTED-Rhodes University Multilingualism Project. IsiXhosa equivalents will be provided for these concepts, using where available, those developed during the Bantu Education era, or develop new terminology equivalents using inferences made from terminology the Bantu Education terminology lists. The end product will be a template that gives an effective and procedural guidance to terminologists in the process of developing terminology in various subject areas in isiXhosa.

Motivation to use the Bantu Education terminology lists is based on the work of Dlodlo (1999), Heugh (2002) and Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh (2002). Heugh, and Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh argue that there is a large body of isiXhosa terminology that was collected and developed by language committees during Bantu Education. These committees consisted of scholars, academicians and language practitioners, and so one can argue that their work is legitimate. The terminology was developed so that it could be

... useful in training schools where instruction in some subjects... is given through the medium of [isiXhosa] (Bantu education department, 1972).

The above authors also concur that this work is valuable and of good quality but because of the alignment of these committees to the apartheid government at the time, their work has been unfairly slandered (Heugh, 2002).

Therefore, to explore the extent of the amount of the isiXhosa terminology developed in the education environment in the 1970s, I have looked at the documents and publications of such terminology. These are stored in archives across the country but my source is stored at Rhodes University's Cory Library.

This terminology has been reviewed to check its efficacy and acceptability in terms of meaning and linguistic structure. The process of making public this terminology can speed up the process of intellectualisation (through terminology development) of isiXhosa, and avoid replication of work that has been done in the past. In exploring the amount of isiXhosa terminology I will be able to determine what exists, and in what domains or subject areas, but focusing mainly on Political Science. I will also use my first language knowledge and my linguistic expertise (having studied isiXhosa syntax, semantics, phonology and morphology at university, and worked in terminology development at Rhodes University's SANTED Multilingualism Project which piloted the development of terminologies and glossaries in various subjects areas) in determining the quality of the terminology. Further, after determining what is available, I will make use of relevant first language subject specialists to

determine the appropriateness of the terminology where my subject knowledge is limited. As indicated earlier, these are senior Political Science students who I have worked with in the initial pilot phase of the Political Philosophy isiXhosa terminology development process.

The second process of the study is to examine common methods used in developing the terminology that already exists, and propose a process for development of terminology in subject areas and disciplines where a need still exists. This will be in direct response to the provisions of the two language policy documents pointed out above, that require that universities lead the way in the intellectualisation of African languages by, for example, creating terminologies in intellectual domains for use in facilitating access and retention of the previously disadvantaged in higher education.

The methodology used in this part of the study and in some parts above will be quantitative methodology, but specifically content analysis. Content analysis is a research method that emphasises making suppositions or inferences, based on quantified examination of recurring and identifiable aspects of content. If this is applied to words or phrases, these aspects can include syntactic, semantic, morphological and pragmatic aspects of the word. The WordSmith tool will be able to identify these specific aspects of the word. Krippendorff (quoted in White, 2006:24) defines content analysis as a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts or other meaningful matters to contexts of their use. This research technique is used extensively in the study of written and visual texts in mass communication (Rapley, 2007). Although content analysis is applied largely in mass communication, it is applicable and adaptable to many areas of enquiry (Neuendorf, 2002). In general, content analysis allows one to search and identify common structures or regularities in words or expressions (Rapley, 2007; Neuendorf, 2002). The concept of inference is highly important in this specific study because I will use suppositions made during the analysis to transfer knowledge acquired to the latter part of the study. In other words, I will implement the assumptions made in the further development of the isiXhosa terminology in areas where there is still a need.

The other important part of the study is to provide persuasive arguments on the need for the intellectualisation of African languages. In motivating this view, I will also explore research by scholars who have undertaken work on language intellectualisation, and the rationale for such. The example of work that will be explored will be that of Sibayan (1999) who spearheaded the intellectualisation of Filipino, and that of Batibo (2009) who has written extensively on the intellectualisation of Kiswahili in Tanzania. The work of South African scholars who have also published widely on the need for the intellectualisation of African languages to counter English hegemony will also be looked at. These include Alexander (1989, 2005), Kwesi Prah (2003, 2005) and Heugh (2002). The thread that goes through the work of these scholars is that the transition of African children at school from their mother-tongue to either English or Afrikaans is not beneficial to their advancement in education. They argue that the model that the African continent uses in the acquisition of additional languages is at the expense of the mother tongue of African learners. They argue that access, retention and success at all levels of education is supported by mother-tongue education, and good provision of a second language, which in case of South Africa, is either English or Afrikaans.

1.7 Limitation of the study

The primary aim of the study is presented as the intellectualisation of African languages so that they can be used to support learning and teaching in various levels of education. It is motivated by research that links success in education to the language in which that education is given. In the introduction of the chapter I indicate that there are other contributory factors to students' failure in education, such as poor schooling and socio-economic background, poorly prepared teachers and lack of resources, for example. While there are these factors that might be related to poor performance and failure of students whose primary language is an African language, the investigation of these is beyond the scope of this research. Further, it is also not within the scope of this study to present confirmation that the glossary developed in the model presented in the study improved performance of the students concerned. That could be the subject of a future study – to provide compelling evidence on whether the intellectualisation of African languages and their use in multilingual pedagogic practices in higher education can enable students' access to concepts in their disciplines and,

consequently, facilitate success. The study at hand is solely motivated by the theories of the relationship between language and learning, as developed and expounded by scholars over time, which are discussed in detail in the next chapter.

1.8 Exposition of chapters

Chapter 1 gives an introduction to the study, putting forward, in consolidated form, the fundamental arguments for the study, and its limitations.

Chapter 2 critically analyses works of the major scholars on the subject of language intellectualisation and education. In putting forward the rationale for the intellectualisation of African languages, we also discuss the relationship between language and education, as well as that of language and human development. The context is sociolinguistics, particularly language policy and planning. The focal sub-discipline is language-in-education policy and planning. The process of language intellectualisation is contextualised within the framework of applied language studies, in the sub-discipline of translation studies, largely terminology development.

The history of the development of African languages, with particular reference to isiXhosa, will be critically evaluated in Chapter 3, looking specifically at the contributions of the missionaries and subsequent non-African and African scholars. Orality as a method of recording, preserving and passing on knowledge is presented as a predecessor to literacy as we understand it today. I will show that orality was used as a springboard for the development of isiXhosa as a written language.

The process of terminology development is reviewed in Chapter 4. I review corpus planning as an important stage in language elaboration, and terminology development as an important aspect of language elaboration. I discuss the strategies and processes critical for successful terminology development.

Chapter 5 gives a brief background to the strategies and approaches used in developing African languages, looking specifically at terminologies/glossaries developed during 1970s, particularly the Department of Bantu Education's *Xhosa Terminology and Orthography No. 3* (1972). I look at the processes used in initiating the development of new concepts as the Department introduced mother-tongue education, and make inferences which we use in designing a model for the development of IsiXhosa-English-Afrikaans glossary list in Political Philosophy I course. Selected and recent works on terminology creation in isiXhosa in content subjects will also be reviewed.

Chapter 6 provides a list of concepts, extracted from Political Philosophy 1 lecturer's slides, as well as the list that was provided by the subject lecturer. The tool used to extract these concepts, the Wordsmith tools, is discussed. A terminology list is provided in English, and then translated into isiXhosa.

Chapter 7 draws together the main arguments running through the study, as well as discuss the major findings and proposal for the intellectualisation of African languages for use in HEIs in South Africa.

1.9 Conclusion

The focus of the thesis is on reviewing development of isiXhosa as a written language, focussing on the pioneering work of the missionaries and that which was done during the Bantu education era. In reviewing this work, it rebukes the belief that African languages are underdeveloped. The thesis also provides practical strategies for further development of isiXhosa. It is hoped that the glossaries and terminologies that are in existence in the language, in various subjects, will be brought back into education contexts where they can be used to support those students and learners whose underperformance is related to the language in which they receive education.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The main purpose of the study on the intellectualisation of indigenous African languages is to argue for a place and role of these languages in CDs, especially in education. It is motivated by studies undertaken by notable scholars (whose work will be reviewed later in the chapter) that make an association between language and education. This chapter on literature review will therefore look at research completed in the following four areas, which I believe are critical in this study, namely,

- a) the relationship between language and education, especially in the context of multilingual societies,
- b) language intellectualisation and how it relates to language planning and education,
- c) terminology development as important processes of language intellectualisation, and
- d) language, access and success in South African higher education institutions.

2.2 The relationship between language and education

Beaugrande et al (1998) argue that countries emerging into nationhood often undertake a process of social renewal – a process that is deemed necessary for a meaningful reconstruction of a nation. They state that there are two factors, amongst others, that are vital for this reconstruction, namely, language and education. They declare that through language policy and planning,

...[language is consolidated] as a primary symbol of national identity and cultural sensitivity, and [is prepared] for new uses in such important domains as politics, commerce, science and mass media; ... [while education] has the daunting task of rebuilding the consciousness of unity and human dignity (1998:275).

If one were to look at Beaugrande's observations above, one would understand that there exists an inescapable relationship between education and language. This relationship, therefore, exists in

... so far as the main business of education is conducted via language, and insofar as education is the key arena where language attitudes get shaped (Beaugrande et al, 1998:275).

In his pioneering work on the language policies in Africa, Bamgbose (1991) also points out that language and education are important in a developing country. He states that education links directly to mass participation, socio-economic development, and social mobility and is crucial for realisation of one's full potential, and subsequently, the exploitation of this potential and the available nation's resources for one's benefit and for that of the other citizens in a country. Bamgbose states that language is without doubt the most important factor in education because in the learning process the transfer of knowledge is mediated through language. He argues that the benefits of education, as outlined above, can only be realised depending on the issue of which language that education is mediated in (Bamgbose, 1991:36-80). In associating success in education with language, he believes that there are pertinent questions that need to be asked if quality education is to be achieved, especially in multilingual contexts like Africa. These are: Which language? For which purpose? At which level? How the language is introduced? By whom? And for how long is it maintained in the education system? (Bamgbose, 1991:62). These sentiments are expressed by other scholars, notably Djité (2008) and Obanya (2004). Djité (2008: 54) states that

... education can lead to growth only when it is carried out in a context of sound macro-economic planning and good governance, and this raises the issue of which languages education is provided in.

Obanya (2004: 5-8) raises another dimension to the argument. He states that the quality of education in Africa is a great area of concern. High numbers of learners and students enter educational institutions but the quality of education received by these learners and students

leaves a lot to be desired. According to Obanya, the “language used for and in learning” is crucial in enhancing or inhibiting the quality of education imparted to the recipients of that education. He states that although there are global indicators⁴ to measure the development of quality education, the role language plays in ensuring quality education should be carefully considered. He makes three distinctions related to language use in education. These are the languages that one is “learning with, learning in and learning from” (ibid).

‘Learning with’ a language refers to learning a language as a subject in the medium of that language. An example would be, say, a first year class at university learning isiXhosa as a subject, in the medium of isiXhosa itself. As far as indigenous African languages are concerned, this is infrequent in tertiary education context in the South Africa, and the continent at large. Except for a few exceptional and recent cases⁵, African languages at university are commonly taught in English or Afrikaans, depending on the LoLT of that institution. Bamgbose refers to this as learning the language as a “subject” in that language (Bamgbose, 1991: 63). Other than cognitive benefits for the learners and students, learning with a language also has an immense contribution towards the intellectualisation as it ensures that the language is used in a CD, and further, the language corpus is continually expanding as new concepts – both abstract and concrete – get added into the language. In other words, a language develops a metalanguage. Except for at school, African languages in South Africa are rarely taught ‘with’ them. At university they are taught in either English or Afrikaans. As a result, they are lacking in metalanguage. This can be attributed to the history of the writing of African languages, as we will see in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

The second distinction Obanya makes, i.e. ‘learning in’ a language denotes a situation where a language is used as a medium of instruction (MoI) or as LoLT. It could be that, for instance, students studying Sociolinguistics at university study it in the medium of isiXhosa; or that a

⁴ Some of these are societal involvement, extent of adaptability of education policy guidelines to local contexts, management of the process, the curriculum, the quality of the teachers, infrastructural support, teaching and financial resources (Obanya, 2004: 6-7).

⁵ This can be directly traced to the history of the development of African languages, where the focus was mainly for the benefit of the speakers of other languages. However, it must be noted that there are institutions that teach indigenous languages in the language itself, from undergraduate to post-graduate studies. The ones to note are the University of Venda’s African Languages Department and the Rhodes University’s African Language Studies in the School of Languages. At Rhodes University the courses offered do not only provide academic study in isiXhosa but the modules within isiXhosa are of practical benefit when the students finish their studies. Therefore, they are tailored such that they are vocational-orientated.

specific university teaches all its subjects in isiXhosa. In Africa, beyond the first four years of education, learning is often mediated in a colonial language (Djité, 2008; Alexander, 1999; Bamgbose, 1991 and Wolff, 2002). The mother-tongue of the child is only used at primary school.

‘Learning from’ a language means learning a language for purposes of acquiring communicative competence in that language, and learning from it the cultural knowledge that it offers. In other words, it means learning the linguistics and culture of that language for purposes of being able to communicate with it. In the African context and in South Africa particularly, indigenous African languages are often learnt in this manner, but for communication purposes only. Speakers of other languages, and the mother tongue speakers for that matter, often study the linguistic structure of these languages without aligning them to their cultural repertoire (Maseko & Dowling, 1999). As a consequence, in learning from them in this manner, there is no referral to the practical, cultural and indigenous knowledge embodied in the languages or practised by their speakers. They are often studied as exotic and lifeless languages (Maseko, 2008).

From the three points above, Obanya argues that quality education cannot be realised “if learning is not carried on with, in, and from ...learner’s first language” (2004). The subsequent discussion will explore the desirability of learning with, in and from the one’s first language, as expound by Obanya (2004). I will be using the relationship between language, education and cognitive development as a starting point of the argument.

The first language or the mother tongue is generally the first source and foundation of learning in all humanity. It is the language which is used as a medium of learning or education at home, before a child goes to school. It is the language that is used to teach the child, from birth, about the world view of the society they are born into. The society’s cultural values and norms, traditions, its worldview and its organisation are passed on to a child in this language. It is also a language that the child uses with his peers. In other words, it is the language that is passed on by family members, and is mastered by the child before

they go to school. Concepts are first developed in this language (Obanya, 2004: 8-10; Bamgbose, 1991:62-3).

Learning from first language, therefore means that in formal schooling or learning a child draws from his or her immediate environment, that is, in terms of their first language and everything that is embodied by it, especially the cultural values, as discussed above. Learning in the first language links the formal schooling to the child's home. The transition for a child from home to school is effortless and they are able to use the knowledge acquired from home (because of mastery of first language) in deciphering and making sense of new knowledge taught at school. On one hand, it enables the child to be comfortable with self, and that self interacts with the 'otherness' that is brought by the formal schooling. On the other hand, the cultural and linguistic knowledge that the child brings into the classroom is harnessed with the new knowledge to enrich teaching and learning. For example, a child, in knowing the calendar months of the year isiXhosa, will relate them to the environmental phenomena aligned to the time of the year in which that calendar month falls, and will be able to add this knowledge onto knowledge acquired in English, for example, in a specific subject, e.g. Botany.⁶ Tollefson (2002: 21-23) also argues that education should encourage students to categorize, confront and defend their reasons for taking particular action. According to Tollefson, students must actively engage and participate in their education without any inhibitions. This can undoubtedly occur if the medium with which the child engages with the

⁶ Here are the calendar months in isiXhosa, and the meanings of their names in English:

1. January – eyoMqungu (the month of the tall grass; the ripening of the tambuki grass)
2. February – eyomDumba (the month of the swelling grain; month of the pod when pod-bearing trees are carrying pods)
3. March – eyoKwinda (the month of the first fruits; the harvest month)
4. April – ekaTshaziimpunzi (the month of the withering pumpkins; when the pumpkins become frostbitten)
5. May – ekaCanzibe (the month of the star, *uCanzibe*, the Canopus, which can be seen rising before daybreak in May)
6. June – eyeSilimela (the month of the *iSilimela* star, the Pleiades), the ploughing stars. This was the beginning of the year of amaXhosa)
7. July – eyeKhala (the month of the aloes; when the red aloes burst into flower)
8. August – eyeThupha (the month of buds; when the trees begin to bud)
9. September – eyomSintsi (the month when the *umSintsi*, the *eurythrina caffra* – lucky bean tree - blossoms)
10. October – eyeDwarha (the month when *senecio latifolius* – small ragwort - blossoms)
11. November – eyeNkanga (the month when *senecio juniperinus* – large ragwort - blossoms)
12. December – eyoMnga (the month when the acacia karoo – mimosa thorn – is in full bloom)

(Adapted from Pinnock, P. 1994. *Xhosa: a cultural grammar for beginners*. Vlaeberg. African Sun Press.)

teacher (and learning materials), is in their first language. This encourages “deep learning” (Obanya, 2004: 11) rather than a “transmission model” where students are lectured and assessed on what is on the textbooks, without engaging them in issues beyond the textbook (Tollefson, 2002:23).

In summarising the benefits that can be derived from using first language in education, Obanya (2004: 12) states that

Learning with the first language reinforces language skills acquired in early childhood. Learning in it helps to ensure genuine learning by developing the higher cognitive and communication skills, while learning from it promotes the feeling of belonging and self-confidence that goes with all-round acculturation.

Problems that are likely to arise because of undermining one’s first language in education will be discussed under the section on *Language, access and success in South African higher education institutions*. It is important to note here, though, that there is a link between learning, development or success, and language generally. Research, as we have seen above also indicates that people learn and develop better when using their first language for learning.

I indicated in the Chapter 1 that we live in a globalised world, and in multilingual, multicultural societies. A child is highly likely to come across another language and culture when they start formal schooling, or even before they start formal schooling, which is a high likelihood in the African context. This contact with other languages and cultures is supposed to empower students, rather than undermine their world view, as is the case in Africa. Africa’s linguistic, cultural and religious diversity is often presented as a problem, especially within learning environments. My own experience, where I was disciplined when I spoke isiXhosa at school sent to me a message that isiXhosa had no place in my school environment, and society (save for my home), and that succeeding in school and in society at large meant renouncing my loyalty and commitment to my home language and culture. The

effects of this forced assimilation did not necessarily make my language problems disappear – right from primary school to university!

The choice of which other languages the students should learn, and what role they should play in their education is important in the learning process. How the first language interacts with the other languages that the child comes in contact with, especially in the school environment, is as important. As Cummins' (2000)⁷ work indicates, linguistically diverse children need their first language nurtured at school for the following six reasons:

1. When these children come to school, they have already mastered their first language, and developing their abilities in their first language and in an additional language, as long as possible in schooling, means that they get a deeper understanding of both languages, and learn to use both of them effectively. Developing good quality literacy in both languages means that that they can apply comparative and contrastive means in organising the linguistics, phonology, morphology and syntax of the two languages⁸. The ability to process information effectively in two languages also promotes cognitive development.
2. A solid foundation in the first language or mother tongue ensures that students develop strong literacy abilities in other additional language. Cummins argues that once students' cognitive abilities in the first language are developed, they are able to

⁷ I am aware of subsequent critique of Jim Cummin's work (on Canadian immigrant school children) but the model he presents is suitable for the purpose of this thesis. The critique of Cummin's work is not referred to in this study primarily because it critiques more the terminology that Cummins uses (i.e. additive *versus* subtractive bilingualism), and not necessarily the validity of his hypothesis on the importance of first language in cognitive development of a child in bilingual or multilingual educational settings. I am also conscious of the fact that Cummin's study was done on Canadian immigrant school children where their language was a minority, and the school language was the majority. The South African context (and in fact, the African context as a whole) is different. The situation is inverted. In the South African context the speakers of the indigenous languages are in the majority throughout primary to senior schooling, but the LWC in the school is usually English or Afrikaans. At university this changes though. The majority of students, who are normally white (especially in historically white institutions (HWI)), have LWC as mother tongue.

⁸ I have an experience with my daughter whose first language is English, and her mother tongue is isiXhosa. She is learning in English (LoLT), and also learns English as a subject, and is learning isiXhosa as a subject (as first additional language (FAL)), in isiXhosa, as well as French as a second additional language (SAL). I have observed over a five year period how she uses the knowledge acquired from either of these languages, in successfully processing knowledge in other languages. She has performed highly in all "her" languages, as well as in her content subjects. This is obviously random and isolated, and is an uncontrolled environment but I could not help but observe the issued highlighted about benefits derived from learning in and from your first and, in this case, mother tongue languages.

transfer these in the acquisition of other languages. However, there has to be a strong foundation at home on understanding of concepts and thinking, followed by good literacy, in the home language. This notion of the interdependence of languages of languages means that when home language and the language of wider communication (LWC) at school is equally nurtured and maintained, knowledge can be transferred between the languages, and children can easily access both languages.

3. Fully bilingual students perform better in LWC when there is a strong foundation in the mother tongue, while neglecting the mother tongue or first language can have opposite effects. Cognitive development in the first language declines, and their overall learning ability is negatively affected.
4. There is misconception that time spent on mother tongue means taking away time from the LWC but benefits derived from adept and efficiently implemented bilingual programmes oppose this view.
5. If children's mother tongue is not nurtured at school, it can be easily lost. Cummins notes that children can lose their language within two to three years of starting school. In contexts like these, children can understand their language, which they had mastered by the time they started school, but once it is ignored and less affirmed at school, they cannot function in it at higher levels of thinking, even within their home environment. It is often this that separates the school from the home environment, and isolates the child from their culture.
6. There is a strong relationship between language and identity and to undermine a child's language means undermining – in essence, the self of the child. The child is denied a basic human right, the right to own language.

The work of Cummins clearly indicates that a child's abilities in their first language, and how that is nurtured in formal school has an impact on the child's performance at school, and subsequent development of the child in and outside of the school. The social, linguistic and cognitive processes should be fostered to ensure further development of the first language/mother tongue and efficient learning of other additional languages. The next

discussion on this section then will try and answer the following questions, in relation to the African context: If bilingualism or multilingualism is beneficial in education

- a) What languages should play a role in children's education?
- b) What purpose should each of the languages serve in a children's education?
- c) At which level should those languages be introduced?
- d) And how long should they be maintained?

The questions have been partially answered in the preceding discussions but I will try here to bring up issues that are not necessarily covered above. Bamgbose (1991) states that multilingualism is a norm in Africa. By the time a child starts school, and is introduced to the LoLT at the school (which is often a colonial language, they could be speaking two additional languages, over and above their mother tongue)⁹. When they start school there is a LWC which is often a colonial language. The challenge is that when they start school, these proficiencies are not recognised because in the colonial-inherited education system, bilingualism is reserved exclusively for situations where one of the languages is an ex-colonial language. In speaking about the Tanzanian experience, and referring to linguistic competencies brought by African children to school, Brock-Utne has this to say:

Our students *are* already bilingual. Most of them speak a local language as well as kiSwahili, a language which unites them and in which they all are fluent. Some of them even speak several of the African languages of Tanzania which are rather different from each other apart from commanding kiSwahili. They are multilingual in African languages. English to them is not their second language. It is a foreign language they do not use outside of the classroom (2009:19).

The argument then is, if an African child speaks these languages, can these languages play a role in promoting quality education? Bamgbose (ibid.) contends that a different language can

⁹ Bamgbose (1991: 62-64) notes that African children are generally multilingual by the time they start school – they have mastered their home language, a language that they have been exposed to from birth. This might be different from community lingua franca which they also learn. They also can be proficient in a national language, and a religious language.

play a different but complementary role in education (as illustrated above through Cummins' work). He particularly mentions that in ideal situations, a language can be used for initial literacy, can be taught as a subject without necessarily being used as a medium of instruction, and can be used as LoLT as well as taught as a subject. In trying to answer the question above, the model promoted by Bamgbose, which seems to also support Cummins' work is the one where a child's first language/mother tongue is used as the language of instruction all the way through the educational system. It is argued that this would bring the desired outcomes because both teachers and students would be able to master the language, and the LoLT would not be a hurdle to learning. Instead, it would develop further the cognitive skills of the child. This language should also be taught as a subject. The role of the 'foreign' language is important. It should be taught as a subject by competent teachers, and proper support, in terms of resources and such related things, should be provided (Bamgbose, 1991).

In Cummins study discussed above, he distinguishes between Basic Interpersonal Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). BICS refers to the communication skills required for informal communication, for example, in conversation; and CALP refers to the sophisticated language required to succeed in academically demanding contexts. According to Cummins (1981) it takes two years for a child to acquire BICS while CALP can take five up to seven years, with proper resources and facilities. As indicated above, Cummins' study was conducted with minority children in highly resourced school contexts of a developed country. The children's home language was supported at home, and the majority language at school was spoken by the majority at school and outside the school environment. In other words, the majority language dominated in the school environment, and in the environment outside of the school.

If the BICS and the CALP lessons were to be taken to the African context, unlike the Canadian context where the Cummins study was conducted, in Africa the majority of the children switch to English after only three years of primary schooling, on average. Besides the teachers who themselves are mother tongue speakers of local indigenous languages, the children have no role models who speak the 'majority language' and have no comprehensive input or exposure to English, except for in the classroom. This is the language that they are expected to use in engaging, in a sophisticated manner, with academic discourse. They have no sufficient BICS in the language, which often serves as a basis for the development of the

CALP. Needless to say, this then leads to underperformance in the classroom, nonparticipation in the learning process as a result of underdevelopment of capabilities required to engage with knowledge in the education context.

Bodomo (1996) proposes a language-in-education model that could be used in African contexts, a model that values Africa's multilingualism, but recognises the benefits of what is offered because of globalised society we have become. He recommends the use of mother tongue of the children as an LoLT, and as a subject while allowing efficient teaching of an ex-colonial language, and other languages where possible, as subjects. The outcome of this would be a citizen who is fully competent – in spoken and written discourse, in at least three languages.

The present scenario is far from the ideal. There are many issues that are cited as obstacles that hamper the implementation of multilingualism in every sector of society, especially the implementation of the use of African languages in education. Their limited capacity to express technical concepts, the lack of reference books and encyclopaedia in these languages, the unavailability of good quality creative literature and support teaching materials, the negative attitudes towards these languages (including from their speakers) which continue to be widely prevalent because of the powerful role played by the ex-colonial languages in African society (Batibo, 2010). If we acknowledge the role the mother-tongue plays in a child's education, the situation has to change. Efforts have to start toward the further development of African languages, for their effective use in education, for the benefit of the African child. Bamgbose argues that

No matter how large the population of speakers of a language is, it is only when the language has been reduced to writing and materials written in it that it can be used in education. Hence, a major factor in the selection of language for any role whatever is the state of development of the language. A language with a long literary tradition has an advantage over one that does not (1991: 72).

I refer to this language development, i.e. for use in education (CD) as language intellectualisation. In the section below I wish to raise argument on the relationship between language intellectualisation and how it relates to corpus planning, the subcategory of language planning.

Beaugrande et al (1998) quoted at the beginning of this section emphasises the importance of proper language planning, especially in education, for former colonised countries who are emerging into nationhood. They state that if there is not proper planning, two scenarios are likely.

In the darker scenario, the hardships and losses suffered while gaining independence bring forth a nation already exhausted. Long-term exploitation... has left the new nations bereft of the resources for building solid new institutions such as schools and universities and staffing them with new or retrained personnel. So old institutions are retained despite their doubtful legitimacy, or worse yet, crumble away...

In the brighter scenario, the emergence into nationhood affords a rare historical opportunity to reflect upon the role and meaning of institutions that might otherwise never be questioned. A whole society can be mobilised to liberate a potential that would usually seem foreclosed by long social continuity, especially in the schools which, for reasons of their own, are monumentally stable institutions (1998:276).

Beaugrande et al note that success, as illustrated in the second scenario above, can be linked to the role an indigenous language plays. However, as Bamgbose also states (1991:109-111) language planning is important. Bamgbose states that policies that define the role and functions of languages are often not aligned to plans which should seek to regulate and monitor whether the roles and functions allocated to these languages are realised. He sees this “declaration without implementation” as one of the problems characteristic of language

policies, especially in Africa (Bamgbose 1991:111). Further, we can see from the discussion above that language proficiency is related to academic achievement and therefore, without a doubt, relevant to the development of children, particularly in multilingual contexts. In countries emerging into nationhood, it becomes clear then that policies that promote multilingualism should follow up on policies with proper implementation strategies to ensure that the policies' objectives are realised. There is an urgency in Africa to change the rhetoric that is characteristic of the policies in the continent into action.

The necessity, therefore, for the intellectualisation of indigenous African languages emanates directly from the need for the implementation of mother-tongue education.

2.3 Language intellectualisation and how it relates to language planning

Francois Grin, cited in Webb (2002) describes language planning as a logical and orderly way, based on a certain assumption, on how to work out language problems of a society so that all can benefit from the effort. He states that it is a

... systematic, rational, theory based effort at the society level to solve language problems with a view to increasing welfare. It is typically conducted by official bodies or their surrogates and aimed at part or all population living under its jurisdiction (Webb 2002:37).

According to Cooper (1989:31), language planning is also a

... systematic, theory-based, rational, and organised societal attention to language problems.

Similarly, Fishman (also cited in Cooper 1989:30) refers to language planning as an

... organised pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level

while Jernudd and Das Gupta, cited in Cooper (1989:30) define language planning as

... a political and administrative activity for solving problems of society.

According to Tollefson (1991:16) language planning

... refers to all conscious efforts to affect the structure or function of language varieties. These efforts may involve the creation of orthographies, standardisation and modernisation programmes, or allocation of functions to particular languages within multilingual societies.

Bamgbose simply defines language planning as “the perception of language problems requiring a solution (1991:109).

The definitions of language planning given above emphasize views of some of the most important scholars of Sociolinguistics on the subject of language planning. The fundamental characteristics of language planning, which in essence are captured in the definitions of language planning above, and as stated by Webb (2002:38-42) include the following:

- a) Language planning is aimed at solving problems;
- b) Language planning is theory-based;

- c) Language planning is rational; and
- d) Language planning is authoritative.

The following discussion looks at each of these qualities of language planning.

2.3.1 Language Planning is aimed at solving problems

It is clear from the definitions of language planning above that in any society, language ‘problems’ must be resolved through a process of language planning.

Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000:1-23) argue that language is a problem in society if it does not wholly fulfil its instrumental and symbolic functions. The instrumental function of language is seen, amongst other things, as use of language in actively doing something “...such as giving or receiving information or expressing emotions or desires...”, or “...grouping people together, or separating themselves from other...” or allowing people “...to participate in activities and enjoy certain privileges” (Webb and Kembo-Sure 2000:3). The symbolic function of language is the use of language to indicate or represent identity. In some countries national languages represent the political identity of the people of that country; or some language/s can symbolise identity of the people of a certain region. In South Africa, for example, isiZulu is often associated with the identity of the people of KwaZulu-Natal (isiZulu is arguably concentrated in this region, although also now widely distributed throughout South Africa).

Both the symbolic and the instrumental functions of language can be used constructively, as well as unconstructively. When the function of language is such that it denies people’s ability to receive or access information, when it is used to control and influence certain people, or to separate groups of people from one another, this results in language problems (Bamgbose in Alexander, 2005:15; Harlech-Jones, 1990:101-106; Webb & Kembo-Sure 2000:1-3). Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000:3-23) distinguish between two types of problems – the ‘language-

based problems' and the 'language problems' that language planning could seek to address. According to these scholars, 'language-based problems'

... are problems in the domains of education, the economy, politics, or social life, but with a clear language component. In other words, language plays a central role in their occurrence (Webb & Kembo-Sure 2000:3).

In contrast to this, 'language problems' have to do with the inability of the people to use language extensively and in an unrestrictive way. This could be in spoken and written form, in public places and in 'intellectual domains' such as technology, politics, education, science, and mathematics – domains that are normally dominated by colonial languages in the case of Africa. Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000:3) state that language problems are "...linguistic by nature; that is, they have to do with the nature of language directly".

In line with problems associated with language as outlined above, Webb (2002:37-38) argues that language planning is often taken to be concerned for the most part with language "...maintenance and/or promotion". He points out that while this is true, language planning should be concerned first and foremost with "...language mainly in its role as a barrier to community welfare" (ibid). He draws our attention to the fact that although language maintenance and promotion is essential in language planning, these can only occur in a meaningful manner

... if the languages concerned acquire value, in particular economic and educational value, something which is dependent upon the economic and educational prosperity of the communities that use these languages (ibid).

For the reasons given above, it is important therefore to note that at the heart of language planning therefore is concern about the relationships among language, power and inequality,

which are believed to be central concepts for understanding language and society (Tollefson, 2002:4).

As stated above, the fundamental problems that need to be resolved in South Africa now, since the all-encompassing democratic elections of 1994, are the inequities in education, economic growth and wealth, politics, public administration and provision of services, and ill feeling and enmity that exists between different linguistic groups in our society. Essentially, it is the black groups that were on the receiving end of these inequities prior to 1994. For this reason, the language planning then in South Africa, after the long apartheid dispensation, seeks to promote educational, socio-economic, political and cultural welfare of these historically disadvantaged groups while at the same time addressing issues of linguistic and cultural diversity and tolerance of all in South Africa.

However, as pointed out by Webb, (2002) and echoed by several other scholars (notably Bamgbose in Alexander, 2003; Webb and Kembo-Sure, 2000) it is not of any help to just make a ruling through language planning that certain languages will acquire certain status and value, but these languages, as stated earlier, are not promoted such that they acquire, most importantly, economic and educational value. The promotion of these languages should be result on speakers of these languages acquiring economic and educational accomplishment.

2.3.2 Language planning is theory-based

The theoretical aspect of language planning looks at language itself and its planning, and the association between language and the life of the people speaking it. In other words, this means that language planning looks at the body of the language itself – i.e. its grammar, its words, its phrases, its spelling and its ability to match with the demands to be placed on it (Bamgbose 1991:110). Besides the language corpus, Webb (2002) also talks about the psychological and social functions to be placed on language during its planning as being theory-based. He states that as part of this theory what needs to be considered is

... the way in which language is used in the communication process, its role as an instrument for the transfer of information, its psychological functions ..., its social functions ... and in facilitating social participation and binding, and in its symbolic function... (Webb, 2002:38-39).

According to Webb, this aspect of language planning is significant in the language planning process as, besides the corpus features of the language, these are other important functions of language that need to be planned. As he puts it, in "...planning language behaviour for increased welfare, languages are resources" (ibid: 40).

The other important aspect in which theory is needed in language planning, according to Webb, is the "planning activity". Webb states that language planning should be carried out in a strategic planning framework. This framework is the language policy development which in ideal cases has to be linked to the ideals that the country wishes to accomplish for itself. The ideals are usually prided in the vision and mission that the country has set for itself. In the case of South Africa, for instance, the vision, as contained in the Constitution of the country is to grow into a democracy characterised by fairness, where diversity is evident in the linguistic and cultural tolerance of the different language and cultural groups that are attributes of our country.

Besides the vision and the mission, the other important aspect in this framework, and which forms an important feature of the theory component of language planning, is identifying problems that could act as obstacles in the realisation of the mission. Following this would be for the planners to set out goals that also need to meet the country's vision and mission. The most important aspect of the framework is the implementation plan – which should state clearly the plan that needs to be followed to achieve the goals it has set for itself. According to Webb (2002:40) this part of language planning

... describes who does what, where, how, and with what resources, and specifies the necessary management mechanism and implementation strategies, the required resources ..., time schedules, support services and how complaints should be mediated.

The last component of theory in language planning that is important in this research is performance indicators. The language planning framework must contain indicators which will enable bodies tasked with the responsibility of monitoring the implementation plan to evaluate the extent of its success. This means then that in such a framework there should be measures, instruments and methods to manage and assess this process to determine the extent in which the country's vision and mission are being executed.

2.3.3 The rational nature of language planning

Language planning needs to be organised, realistic, logical and sensible (Webb 2002:41). Of the four aspects of language planning discussed in this section, the aspect of the rational nature of language planning is the most difficult to implement in practice. Language discussions, by nature, are seldom neutral. There are ideological and emotion arousing arguments whenever these discussions arise. This is also typical of our country where, for hundreds of years, language has been used to advantage primarily the minority language groups, at the expense of the black majority. For these reasons, it is important therefore that those planning language policies are knowledgeable about the accurate

... sociolinguistic realities of the situation which needs to be transformed, the exact goals they are expected to achieve, and the resources available to them (ibid.).

Balancing reality, as well as that which needs to be achieved if one looks at the sociolinguistic circumstances of a particular situation, means that certain factors need to be

taken into consideration in language planning. This is the reality of which language or languages would carry the official or national status, and what societal realities need to be transformed through language (Bamgbose 1991:111).

2.3.4 Language planning is authoritative

For the implementation of a language plan to be successful, there needs to be strong support by those in power. There also needs to be robust policies that support it for its effectiveness to be witnessed. In addition to that, there needs to be very vigorous and dynamic government-authorised agencies that act as watchdogs for the government in order for the plan to be well-implemented. In the South African situation for example, the language policy – which constitutes language planning and language implementation, is enshrined primarily in Section 6 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

The Constitution (Section 6 (5) also declares the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) as a body that should protect language rights of individuals, as well as ensure the implementation of the South African language policy. There are other stipulations in the Constitution which seek to ensure the reverence and implementation of the language policy by all different sectors of the government in order to realise the ideals of South Africa as a democratic pluralist state. This has been ensured by the formation of legislative bodies, under PanSALB. Examples of these bodies are the National Language Services (NLS), the National Language Board (NLB), the Language Boards (for each of the nine official indigenous African languages), and the Provincial Language Committees (PLCs).

Agencies authorised by the government to facilitate its language plan, however, need to take drastic steps to bring about the transformation through language. This would lead to the realisation of an all-inclusive South Africa that was brought about by the democratic 1994 elections. Unless this is done in a concerted manner, South Africa's remarkable language planning will just remain remarkable on paper. Bamgbose sees this "declaration without

implementation” as one of the problems characteristic of language policies, especially in Africa (Bamgbose 1991:111).

It is clear from the above that language planning is an involved process. The language is consciously manoeuvred so that it can serve the purpose intended for it. The ‘manoeuvring’ involves the linguistic expansion or change in the structure of a language. The two processes indicated above show that language planning occurs in a context where there is more than one language. The objective of the language planning is that its benefits advantage all in the long term. In looking at the South African language plan, one must look at it in this context.

As we can see above, language planning addresses two issues as far as ‘language problems’ are concerned – those related to language status and those related to language corpus. For the purpose of this thesis, the focus will be on language corpus activities. Corpus activities include

- a) expansion of lexicon and creating or standardising terminologies,
- b) altering or re-evaluating the language structure,
- c) simplifying language registers and creating registers for specific purposes,
- d) undertaking orthography work that should establish new orthographies for languages that were not written before, and reform and harmonisation of orthographies,
- e) promulgating rules for pronunciation and usage, and
- f) production of language materials such as textbooks, readers, dictionaries, reference books, translation of important materials, especially in technical domains

(Bamgbose, 1991: 109-110)

The effective implementation of a language plan is dependent on all of the above, particularly (f). The above are also most of the activities that are required to be undertaken for language intellectualisation.

2.4 Language intellectualisation and how it relates to corpus planning

Language intellectualisation is an important aspect of language development and, in the discipline of Sociolinguistics it falls under language planning. Corpus planning is one of the subcategories of language planning. As stated previously, language policy and planning focus on issues of language with regard to the status of a language or languages in that society. It can also focus on changing the internal structure of the language, and lastly, on increasing the uses and users of the language or languages. Tauli refers to these as status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning respectively (Tauli, 1984:30).

Corpus planning, status planning, and acquisition planning are important and necessary forms of language planning, especially when ‘new’ governments, like ours in South Africa, have to plan to develop and promote some languages as part of a social change. These forms of language planning and, as stated by Wardaugh (1992:347-369), are interdependent and intrinsically interwoven, that is, one cannot occur without the other.

I pointed out earlier in this chapter that governments of newly independent countries also use language as a means of bridging barriers created by previous systems, whether they are ethnic, racial or linguistic in nature. Therefore, new policies and plans move away from viewing language as a problem, that is, in a segregationist manner (as in the case of the pre-1994 South Africa) where the language policy elevates the language of the few, who often happen to be part of the ruling regime but deliberately restricts its access to the masses at large (Alexander, 2000). These new policies rather view language as a right and as a resource, and not a problem (Heugh, 2002:452-453).

In countering the segregationist policies, the formulators of new language policies often change the function historically assigned to a language/s. For example, a language that had previously been purposefully deprived and underdeveloped can be declared a national or official language, a medium of instruction, or a language of wider communication or *lingua franca* within that country, etc. This change in the status or function bestowed on a language is called status planning. Filipino in the Phillipines, was developed and is being continuously intellectualised to fulfil this function, amongst others (Sibayan, 1999; Gonzalez, 2002). Status planning, or the change of the status of a language within a specified setting, could also mean

a change of status from low to high, or vice versa (but usually from low to high) to the people speaking that language. They would have either gained or lost their language rights, depending on the situation. In status planning, especially after liberation, it is usually the national language/s, the language/s of the indigenous people of that country, that gain the higher status over or together with the colonial language/s, for instance, or those that were previously protected (Tollefson, 1991). The newly acquired status therefore often means that these languages acquire new roles, as national or official languages, languages of instruction at school, languages of business, etc.

The above will now be related to the South African context. In constructing a new nation whose fundamental values are unity, equity and cultural and linguistic diversity, the democratic South Africa declared eleven (11) languages as official languages – nine (9) of these were indigenous African languages, that is, isiNdebele, sePedi, seSotho, siSwati, seTswana, xiTsonga, tshiVenda, isiXhosa and isiZulu, together with English and Afrikaans, the official language of the former regime (The Constitution of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996). The political change put great demands on the South African indigenous languages, which had previously been undermined and selectively developed. Even though the language-based homeland system, and perhaps even the Bantu education system, contributed directly to the development of African languages, the ulterior motives of the regime of the time did not facilitate for these developments to cognitively improve the curriculum of those to whom the education was intended, in the case of education, for example, or to be embraced by the language users (Hartshorne, 1995: 310-314). The new demands that were placed on these languages are articulated such that a new social space and function had to be established around them.

However, the nature of a negotiated political settlement, like in South Africa, is that the new dispensation is usually an embodiment of values of the old order which is technically gone, but not completely, and the new reflects “visionary idealism” (Ridge, 2001:16). The difficulty in the South African context, which was somewhat overcome in its policies that accommodate both the old but also the new, is to

...forge ways of speaking which articulate the new and make possible an ongoing engagement with realities which it has to take account of (ibid).

If the vision of the South African government for its nation is to ensure equity, especially of access to resources, then the issue of language and education comes into play. It had been clear from the onset by language policy formulators and planners (post-1994) that indigenous languages needed to be developed further, or intellectualised so that the majority of the population, who presently receive most of their education in their second language have equity of success and access to what higher education has to offer (Finlayson & Madiba, 2002:43). Finlayson and Madiba, in their groundbreaking work referenced above, and titled *Intellectualisation and South African Languages* enumerate findings of Language Plan Task Group, appointed by the then Minister of Arts and Culture, whose brief was to investigate the effect of the past linguistic policies on the development of African languages. These findings show that there is a need to develop these languages to address:

- ... the historical backlog in the development of the indigenous [African] languages,
- ... the need to change the negative attitude towards these languages,
- ... the need to set up organisational structures to manage the process [of the development of the indigenous African languages],
- ... the provision of resources (financial and human resources), and
- [the promotion of] research on language intellectualisation strategies (ibid.).

The context given above maybe is that of South Africa, but it is applicable to most African countries in the post-independence era. Bamgbose brings up another view to the need for the development of a language, especially for use in education. He argues that a language that is not developed by either increasing printed resources in it, using it as a medium of instruction and teaching it, especially in so-called intellectual disciplines, will not grow. Any language that is not used in teaching, or to support teaching any “serious subject” also tends to be perceived in a negative way, by its speakers and those of other languages (Bamgbose

1991:71-73). He, therefore, states that African languages have to be developed in order to fulfil this role because he says

No matter how large the population of speakers of a language is, it is only when the language has been reduced to writing and materials made available in it that it can be used in education... A language with a long literary tradition has an advantage over one that does not (1991: 72).

Another eminent African scholar, Batibo, echoes this sentiment and states that

... a language which is written down has a greater chance of surviving because without books or literacy materials, a language cannot be taught at schools (Batibo, 2000:196).

What it means therefore is that African languages have to be fully developed. As a means of increasing language learning and language use, corpus and acquisition planning are important. Corpus planning refers to the act of developing the internal structure of the language so that it can serve every function that the society requires from it. It includes involving terminologists to expand the vocabulary of the language and to coin new terms as necessary according to the new function required of that language, terms which might not be in existence especially in technical areas. It also requires lexicographers to write bilingual or multilingual dictionaries, and translators, interpreters and editors to be prepared in the process of the language development (Bamgbose, 1991:133). In summary, there are seemingly four important areas that are part of language development and which are important as far as indigenous African languages are concerned. These are orthography revision, development of teaching and learning material, terminology development and translation from, but above all, into the indigenous African languages. Alexander concurs with this view, and argues that an important technique of increasing the corpus of a developing language is the translation of "...major literary and scientific creations that exists in the more developed languages..." (Alexander, 2005:14). Sibayan, sharing his views and experiences on the development of Filipino also states that

Translation of important publications now available in English (the chief source language of intellectualisation) is the single most important way of intellectualising Filipino for a long time to come (Sibayan, 1999:464).

The process of selecting a language, propagating and disseminating its use to increase its speakers, its standardisation through grammar codification and dictionaries and, finally development of corpus around specific themes valuable to the society in which the language is spoken, is important in language development, and particularly as a facet of language intellectualisation (Gonzalez, 2002:5-7). However, what is even more important in language intellectualisation is that language development is geared

...not only [in developing the language] in everyday conversational discourse in the community but as a means of learning subject matter especially at the highest levels of intellectual application and displaced discourse about abstract (concrete) realities (Gonzalez, 2002:6).

One can argue, therefore, that in this progression, from a common everyday social language of the home and the community to a language of scholarly discourse which is possibly the most concrete way of describing the process of language intellectualisation.

It has been pointed out that status and corpus planning are important in developing languages, and promoting their use. This then enables the use of these languages, primarily for cognitive and emotional benefit, to support learning and teaching, either in the promotion of mother tongue education, or in supporting learning and teaching which is metered in ex-colonial languages. As stated above, translation and terminology development are important aspects of language development, and consequently, its intellectualisation. The necessity for terminology development and translation in South Africa follows directly from the need to use these indigenous languages to support mother-tongue based education. For the purposes of my study, I wish to locate the intellectualisation of indigenous African languages in the context of higher education. The most difficult aspect of intellectualisation is its

implementation, that is, using the ‘intellectualised’ languages mostly in higher levels of education, in broad domains. Gonzalez states that

This means that academics and others must use the language for scholarly discourse, and it is difficult to influence such behaviour through legislation (Gonzalez, 2002:2).

However, Gonzalez, in looking at works and experiences of various scholars on the subject of language intellectualisation, as published in a volume titled *Current Issues in Languages Planning*, states that because of the challenge of implementation, language intellectualisation should be undertaken, in the form of projects, by academics and others who use language for scholarly discourse. Although this process should not occur exclusively in higher education context, he argues that an academic institution such as a college or a university, because of its ability to identify and find solutions to societal problems, should lead with language intellectualisation through development of terminologies, translation of core texts from ‘powerful’ languages and creation of glossaries to support learning in this environment. He further argues that certain individuals within a higher education environment,

... can create conditions for the use of the [scholarly, intellectualised language] variety through their own teaching, research and communication and provide role models for others using the language (ibid.).

Bull (2002: 28-39), in the same volume makes a point that language intellectualisation should be seen primarily as an important facet in the promotion of equity and inclusivity in education in order to promote access and success of all. In the next section I wish to explore further the motivation for, and role of the university in language intellectualisation, particularly in the South African context.

2.5 Language intellectualisation, access and success in South African HEIs

In the first section of this chapter I have discussed the important relationship between language and education as a strong and motivating factor for the intellectualisation of African languages. In this section I wish to zoom onto the motivation for the intellectualisation of indigenous African languages for use in higher education, and the role of the South African universities in this effort. I will refer largely to the work of a well-known South African scholar and language activist, Neville Alexander, who is outspoken on the subject, and who has published widely on it. I will also refer to language policy documents applicable to South African higher education. My focus will be more on the development and promotion of the use of indigenous African languages to support learning and teaching in universities.

The first motivating argument for the intellectualisation of African language languages in Africa, and South Africa particularly, is that of linguistic and cultural diversity (Alexander, 2007:31). Finlayson and Madiba state that the country has between 24 and 30 languages spoken (2002: 41). These include the eleven (11), mentioned above, which are official language. The multilingual nature of the country, as is with the rest of the continent, is not reflected in the education system, especially the use of African languages to support learning and teaching. Multilingualism in the African continent is seen as a problem, and as a costly undertaking (Heugh, 2000). The consequence of this is that the ex-colonial languages gain increased status and prestige in African education, and the indigenous languages get sidelined and suppressed as means to access and create knowledge. The statistics on African languages in education are alarming. According Ouane and Glanz (2010), although Africa has reportedly about 2,500 languages, only about 176 of these are used in African education systems, but mainly in primary education. The following statistics indicate how these languages are used, as medium of instruction, at different levels of education:

87 percent of the language of instruction in adult literacy and non-formal education programmes are African languages; between 70 and 75 percent of the languages of instruction in nursery school/kindergarten and the early years of elementary schools are African. Beyond basic education, only 25 percent of

the languages used in secondary education and 5 percent of the languages used in higher education are African (Ouane and Glanz, 2010:9).

The dominance of the ex-colonial languages in African education does not necessarily guarantee that the African children will gain proficiency in these languages. In this study by Ouane and Glanz, they report that only between 10 and 15 percent of the total population in most African states is proficient in these languages. In other words, as is noted by Alexander, English (and other ex-colonial languages) are desirable but not necessarily attainable to African child. This is primarily because the child's language is not taken into consideration when she enters school. An African child in South Africa enters school having acquired sometimes two to four languages, for example. This child is then expected to switch from mother-tongue education to English or Afrikaans at fourth year of schooling. The switch happens as the child has just mastered simple knowledge, and is expected to move to more complex, abstract and academically engaging knowledge. This often leads to underperformance, dropout and repetition of grades throughout the different years of education (Wolff, 2002: 134-134). Wolff (2002), Heugh (2000) and Alexander (2007) and other prominent African scholars pursue the argument that valuing the contribution of African languages in education through their development for their effective use and, secondly, delaying their exit in the education system would increase access to learning and knowledge, and make learning successful by preventing the language barrier often created by using the international languages, and not indigenous languages mastered by learners. Acknowledging multilingualism and the use of African languages in education, especially in higher education, where the desirability of using an African language maybe in tension with the use of an international and academically recognised language need to be advocated by highlighting the benefits of using the mother tongue, in acquiring and processing complex knowledge across disciplines, and in other languages. The education system in South Africa, therefore, needs to acknowledge the languages that the majority of the children bring into the classroom with them, and use these to access and create knowledge for their own betterment. Promoting only English and Afrikaans means that the democratic ideals of our country will never be realised, and that the transformation at different levels of society and in education, will never be realised any time soon. Over and above this, and more importantly,

... the goal of promoting multilingualism would be defeated if it meant banning [ex-colonial] languages of wider communication. Instead, the goal is to give African languages the status they deserve in order to provide the majority of Africans with life-long functional literacy, numeracy and management skills, and to channel their entrepreneurial impulse for development into sustainable and long-term solutions (Djité, 2008:18).

Developing and intellectualising indigenous African languages, and therefore promoting multilingualism in education is also a motivating factor for the advancement of human development (Alexander, 2007: 31; Djité, 2008:14). Promoting the intellectualisation of African languages for use in high-status functions, especially in higher education means that the African child is empowered

... to gain and maintain skills necessary, not only to meet their basic needs... but also to show resourcefulness and inventiveness in taking up new challenges that directly or indirectly affect their lives (Djité, 2008:14).

It means, therefore, that there is correlation between human development and multilingualism in education. African languages, as indicated above, are the most used in the African continent, with a population of about 80 percent in South Africa. However, even though so, they are currently neglected in formal education sector, one of the major players in the creation of knowledge, and the provision of access to information, knowledge and technology. Promoting linguistic and cultural diversity pertaining to indigenous African languages in education means that people are empowered to be able to access economic opportunities, and also contribute to the economy of the country.

The third and final argument, and motivating factor for intellectualisation of indigenous African languages for use in education in South Africa is the issue democracy, as advanced by Alexander (2007) and others. Language is a human right and a democratic right, as stated in Section 29 (2) and Section 30 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108

of 1996). Section 29 makes a provision that “everyone has the right to receive education in the official language *or* language of their choice in public institutions...”, while the Bill of Rights states that

Everyone has the right to use the language and participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights (Section 30).

To advance this argument I wish to quote Alexander at length. Alexander (2003: 9) states that

...all human beings should have the right to use the language of their choice in order to conduct their essential transactions such as going to school, church (mosque, temple, meetings) or to the post office, the bank, the supermarket... If they are unable to do so, they are necessarily being disempowered, unable to be part of decision-making processes of the society concerned and unable to make or influence the concrete decisions that affect vital aspects of their lives. Such circumstances occur in every social formation on a random basis as the result of a lack of resources or because of the insensitivity of one or other bureaucrat... The object of our concern is the systematic denial of linguistic human rights as a matter of political and social policy of the ruling groups in a society... [This] question is of exceptional importance in a country such as South Africa where we are going through a period ... of very real transformation (Alexander, 2003: 9).

One can argue, therefore, that to deny some right to use own language, or to use language as a barrier to access and accomplish significant “transactions” in society, is to deny that person a basic human right. According to Alexander, a basic human right is an “aboriginal human right, [that is, it is one of those] rights by which our own very humanity is defined, and made possible” (ibid.) and it through this language that we successfully access the world around us.

If we can summarily motivate for the intellectualisation of African languages at tertiary institutions in South African, we can then advance three points above as follows:

1. The promotion of multilingualism as linguistic and cultural diversity is one of the core values of South African society. Multilingualism in education, i.e. the maintenance of mother tongue and good support in the LWC (Heugh, 2003: 191) means that students are able to use, in various communication acts of the university, the language that they have acquired from early years, that is that person's instrument of thought, cognition and communication, as well as manipulate this knowledge in accessing knowledge in any other additional language, including the LWC. The person will also be able to link what is learnt with his or her background, and confidently share about his identity, history and other knowledges that would not normally be acknowledged in institutions dominated by languages other than his or her own. Further, this will promote an ambience where all will feel affirmed and empowered to realise their full potential.
2. Intellectualisation of African languages is related the development of the peoples speaking these languages. People development, or human development, is largely aimed at increasing human capabilities, enabling people to access both tangible benefits (like lecture halls in case of university) and intangible benefits (such as knowledge offered in these lecture halls). We would like to argue, therefore, that the second benefit, which is crucial in advancing human development, can be facilitated through mother tongue. Intellectualisation of African languages therefore would assist in enhancing human development of African students who largely access 'intangible benefits' offered by HEIs in an additional language.
3. Intellectualisation, lastly, is motivated on the basis of language rights in education. When students come to university, they are confronted by a new unfamiliar environment; they are also learning a 'new language of academia' as well as coping with a language that they have not even mastered at school. Their mother tongue can then be used effectively in 'lessening' the burden imposed by having to cope in accessing the new physical space, as well as the abstract knowledge offered in this space.

The three points above, in my opinion are critical to speakers of indigenous African languages *accessing* university, and knowledge offered in the university with the primary aim of *succeeding* and capacitating themselves so that they participate successfully in

opportunities offered by society, opportunities that will enable them to access socio-economic opportunities that would enable them to lead rewarding lives.

There are many policy documents in the continent and in South Africa that argue for the use of indigenous African languages in higher education. For the purpose of this research, I wish to focus on two documents: *The Language Policy for Higher Education* (LPHE), 2002 and the Report of the Ministerial Committee on *The Development of Indigenous African Languages as Mediums of Instruction in Higher Education*, 2003.

2.5.1 *The Language Policy for Higher Education* (LPHE), 2002 and the Report of the Ministerial Committee on *The Development of Indigenous African Languages as Mediums of Instruction in Higher Education*, 2003

The *Language Policy for Higher Education* (LPHE) (2002) makes provision for the role different South African official languages have to play in higher education. It states that individual and national development should be facilitated by promoting the use of all appropriate official languages, especially in higher education. In recognising the widely-accepted role of a university in research, and the historical backlog in the development of indigenous African languages, it also stipulates that universities need to take the initiative in the development and use of African languages in higher education. Alongside this is also the accepted view that currently, English and Afrikaans, because of their state of their intellectualisation at present as a result of the privileges they enjoyed in the past political dispensation, will continue to be languages of tuition for a while (LPHE, 2002: par. 1). Whilst this is acknowledged as a trend in South African universities, the policy also makes provision that these languages should not act as a barrier to access and success in tertiary education, especially to those students who have these languages as their additional languages (LPHE, 2002: par. 5).

The LPHE notes the disadvantages faced by students speaking African languages. It states that indigenous African languages have purposefully not been used in HEIs as LoLT in the

past and that they have not been fully developed as academic or scientific languages therefore students entering university engage in that environment in their second language. It does not help that, because of the schooling system, these students are also not academically proficient in English or Afrikaans (par. 5). In this context, the LPHE makes the following provisions¹⁰ regarding African languages in higher education are as follows:

- a) ... [The] current position of English and Afrikaans is acknowledged ... but that it will be necessary to work within the confines of the *status quo* until such time as other South African languages have been developed to a level where they may be used in all higher education functions.
- b) ... [Consideration] should be given to the development of other South African languages for use in instruction, as part of medium to long-term strategy to promote multilingualism...
- c) The promotion of South African languages for use in higher education will require, amongst others, the development of dictionaries and other teaching and learning materials...
- d) ... Language should not act as a barrier to equity of access and success. In this regard, the Ministry [of Education] would like to encourage all higher education institutions to develop strategies for promoting proficiency in the designated language(s) of tuition, including the provision of language and academic literacy development programmes.

(LPHE, 2002: par. 15.1, 15.2, 15.2.1 & 15.3).

In essence, the LPHE (2002) recommends for universities to make provisions in assisting students speaking languages other than those of tuition with academic literacy; to make provisions regarding the academic role of indigenous African languages against other languages within the institution; to should undertake projects that focus on the development of all South African languages such that they can be used in across disciplines, as well as their use as formal academic languages at higher education level; encourage multilingualism

¹⁰ Only those provisions that are relevant this research, in regard to indigenous African languages, have been listed here.

by identifying and promoting the learning of at least one additional language or supportive language of tuition; and provide a comprehensive plan regarding the development and implementation plan of relevant languages in each institution as to when they would be fully developed to be used as mediums of instruction in specific disciplines. All these recommendations point to the need for the intellectualisation of African languages so that they can be used at university to ensure equity of access and success to students speaking indigenous African languages.

The Report of the Ministerial Committee on the *Development of Indigenous African Languages as Mediums of Instruction in Higher Education*, 2003 (the Report) was appointed by Prof Kader Asmal, the Minister of Education at the time to look into the state of African languages with regard to higher education, as well as action that could be undertaken in facilitating their intellectualisation and research in university, particularly their use as mediums of instructions. In essence, the purpose of the Committee was to look pursue the recommendations of the LPHE regarding steps that could be undertaken in the development of African languages for use in higher education.

The Report starts by contextualising the language issue in South Africa in the past. It paints a pre-colonial picture of Africa with numerous languages, where indigenous languages were sufficient in communicating different kinds of knowledge within societies and across societies, as well as complex indigenous knowledge on critical, decisive and involved areas such as “astronomy, medicine, philosophy [and] history” (The Report, 2003, par. 12-14). It is in the context of this history that the Report of the Committee suggests that multilingualism and intercultural communication should be one of the fundamental features of development and revival in Africa.

The Report further verifies the fact that contact with Europe did not benefit the multilingual character of Africa. Instead, the European languages and culture dominated and eventually took over in the important spheres of life in the content, including education, with African languages and cultures only assigned to less important aspects of life. The Report suggests that the role of universities is to find a way of developing African languages in such a way that they can eventually function fully alongside English and Afrikaans in the South Africa

HEI milieu. The result of this would be the birth of a multilingual national identity where the two extremities (intellectualized, powerful English and Afrikaans, and the underdeveloped and less powerful African languages) are replaced by a linguistically and culturally diverse society. The potential that the fully developed and technologically advanced languages have in advancing the development of the underdeveloped African languages should be exploited to the full. In this way, both languages, and the South African society as a whole, will be fully enriched.

The Report gives a view that what is prevalent at South African universities is not nearly adequate to bring the indigenous African languages to the fore, and have them used fully as mediums of instruction or to support tuition in the presently dominating LWC at universities. The common practice in South African universities (and as I have experienced it as a student in isiXhosa and a teacher in at least three institutions of higher learning) as far as languages are concerned is that:

- a) There are programmes in place that provide support in academic literacy for those students whose home language is not the language of learning and teaching;
- b) African languages are taught in a scientific manner, and in English in most universities. There is a focus on grammar of the form rather than the function of the language;
- c) There are programmes that teach indigenous African languages as additional languages and, by and large, their teaching is also scientific and generic with more emphasis on the structure of the language than communicative competence. It is only approximately in the last ten years that there was a move to more communicative competence, and teaching of these languages in the context of the vocation in which it will be used by those learning them. Again, only a few universities are leading in this regard; and
- d) Indigenous African languages are not being promoted, developed or integrated in the academic acts of the universities and, except for some few universities, there is no organized plan to do such (Maseko, 2008).

The Report notes that the present prevalent conditions are not conducive to the growth of the African languages. It confirms the view of many other scholars (Alexander, 2005; Bamgbose,

1991; 2002) that for the languages to grow there should be wide literacy in them because languages grow as they are used, and they get used as they grow. It also states that it should not be enough that these languages are declared official languages but that they should also receive recognition for their status. Their use at all levels of education is also of paramount importance as this encourages investment in the language. Lastly, it states that with the era of technology, the use of languages in technological (and other so-called intellectual disciplines, I might add) is also significant to enable their growth.

In the context of the existing legislative framework (as given above), the report concludes by suggesting criteria for the selection of indigenous African languages for development and use by each higher education institution. Each higher education institution is required to develop a language policy with an implementation plan which needs to be reviewed periodically for its effectiveness. The development plan of these languages should be within the provisions of the language policy of each institution. The Report suggests which specific indigenous African language/s each institution should focus on. Over and above the general other legislation, this would require that it be done in the context of the general provincial and regional legislation that exists on language. The linguistic composition of the region where the higher education institution is situated should also be taken into consideration.

The Report provides a guideline by allocating each of the indigenous African languages to an institution which should then promote and develop these for use in higher education. The focus of this study is on isiXhosa, therefore it will provide here those higher education institutions which were suggested as those that should take the responsibility of developing isiXhosa. They are the Universities of Cape Town (UCT), University of Fort Hare (UFH), Free State University, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU), Rhodes University (RU), Stellenbosch University (SU), University of South Africa and University of the Western Cape (UWC).

The above suggests that there is clearly policy guideline in higher education context to intellectualise indigenous African languages for use to support teaching and learning, as well as use, in long term, as mediums of instruction. The motivation primarily is to ensure

meaningful equitable access and success of students who have English or Afrikaans, the present LoLT in HEIs, the majority of whom are the historically disadvantaged African students.

2.6 Conclusion

The chapter highlights the relationship that exists between language and education. In essence, we discuss the importance that language plays in acquisition of knowledge that is imparted through education. We have emphasised that quality education can largely be achieved if the first language of a child plays a role in the learning process. This is largely because cognition that is required for a child to attain high level thinking can easily be facilitated through their first language, and that any other additional languages (and knowledge) can easily be learnt in one's first language. Therefore, many scholars, as discussed above, argue that a child first language should play a significant role, as a subject, as LoLT and as a cultural base throughout the education process. It has been argued in the chapter that in Africa, many children access education beyond primary school in a language that they only use at school, and that their first language plays a very minimal role, which could be the reason for their underperformance at school and at higher education institutions. A language that can be used in educating a child, through all levels of education, has to be an intellectualised language. The second part of the chapter highlights the fact that most African languages are not intellectualised – their corpus is deficient, especially in modern domains. We argue, therefore, that African languages have to be intellectualised, as part of language policy and planning. Universities, as agents at the forefront of social enquiry, and who are usually at the forefront of the formulation of solutions to problems entrapping our society, should play a leading role in piloting the use indigenous African language in supporting learning. We have discussed that terminology development can be an effective intervention strategy to intellectualise African languages, and to promote its use in HEIs. This can, we argue, play a significant role in facilitating access and success of historically-disadvantaged children, in the South African context. The legislative framework for language in higher education has also been discussed, focussing on provisions that recommend the development of dictionaries, terminologies and materials to support students who do not have English and

Afrikaans as their mother tongue. It is believed that this is a process that can positively contribute to access and success of historically disadvantaged students in these institutions.

The chapter illustrates, therefore, that when students' language, culture and experience that they bring into the classroom is ignored and is not part of classroom interaction, then students are starting from a disadvantage. Everything that they know and bring into the classroom from their homes is dismissed as inappropriate insignificant in the learning environment. As indicated above, students silence and non-participation is often taken for lack of academic ability or effort, and students themselves believe such.

CHAPTER THREE: A HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO ISIXHOSA

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter argues for the role of African languages in learning and teaching at different levels of education, particularly at university. It has been discussed that language use and practices at universities do not benefit students who speak languages other than English and Afrikaans, the common LWC in South African HEIs. The challenge faced by these students is that the universities do not take seriously the link between the cognitive development of a child and general language learning, and how students use language to learn all other areas of the curriculum, e.g. computer science, geography, and political science. Language learning in South Africa generally prepares students in second language learning, but students are required to engage with the curriculum in a manner that requires abstract thinking, a skill that is not developed in second language learning and teaching (Heugh, 2005). The consequence of this is underperformance, failure, repeat of grades and exclusion of these students from the university systems (Boughey, 2005:230). I argue, therefore, that to counter this predicament, in the short to medium term, students' indigenous languages have to be used at least to support teaching and learning which is mediated in English or Afrikaans. Indigenous African languages, at the same time need to be prepared and intellectualised such that they can be used, in the long term, as medium of instruction.

Opponents of the use of indigenous African languages in higher education, in advancing their arguments, state that,

African languages do not possess the scientific and technical terms needed for understanding today's complex world. It would therefore be a handicap for [students] to concentrate too heavily on their first language (Obanya, 2004:23).

In refuting this argument, Obanya states that it is a myth that African languages are not capable of coming up with equivalents for the ‘modern terms’ from powerful languages. He declares that,

All human languages are capable of coping with their immediate realities and can easily expand their repertoire to absorb new experiences. African languages have proved over the years that they can do this and have done so through digging deep into their internal linguistic resources, by borrowing and adapting from other languages, and by coinages (ibid.).

As indicated above in the statement by Obanya (2004), and as supported by empirical evidence (Pahl, 1989; Pinnock, 1994; Miti, 2009; Jokweni, 2004; Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh, 2004), the lexical, syntactic, phonological and morphological structure of any languages allows for new terms to be adopted into the language, using the general rules of terminology development. The grammar of a language, its lexicon, and that of the other language/s which it is in contact with, facilitates the creation and adoption of new terms into the language. These processes and strategies for terminology development will be discussed in the next chapter.

The purpose of this chapter is to look at the history of the development of African languages, using the development of isiXhosa from the pre-colonial times as a model, in order to support Obanya’s declaration. I will outline, in chronological order, distinctive periods that are perceived as important in the development of isiXhosa. I will start with the pre-literacy¹¹ period, and review the oral word as a forerunner to the written word, and how the oral word and indigenous knowledge was used as a source in naming concepts that were carried from other languages (and other disciplines) into the language. This section will be followed by an account of the work of the missionaries as they converted the oral word into print. This period is then followed by the work done during the period of the Union of South Africa by some notable linguists in isiXhosa. The third section is followed by development of African

¹¹ Literacy in this context refers to the ability to read and write.

languages during the apartheid period and, finally, I discuss the efforts that were undertaken to drive the language development process during the post-apartheid era. Only selected works will be discussed to illustrate that isiXhosa is capable of being used in CDs, especially education. I want to argue that the scepticism expressed by those against the use of indigenous African languages is unfounded. Using these languages in education helps with further development, and its presence in the CDs, and the benefits that can be derived from it by speakers of the language (and other African languages) in terms of access and success in higher education can help in changing attitudes belonging to the sceptics. Obanya (2004: 23) states that

Using a language in education is one way of ensuring its technical development. As orthography is developed to meet the needs of literacy, appropriate terms emerge to cope with teaching-learning needs in a variety of formal disciplines. Literacy ... can lead to the emergence of literature in a particular language. With a large corps of users (created by the educational system) societal use of the language can be further enhanced.

3.2 Orality as a predecessor to literacy

As indicated earlier, the focus of the study is on isiXhosa. IsiXhosa is a southern African language, but it is predominantly spoken in South Africa. It is from the isiNguni language family (together with isiZulu, isiSwazi and isiNdebele). The languages in the isiNguni language family are mutually intelligible, especially isiZulu and isiXhosa – in terms of the syntax and large part of their lexicon (Peires, 1981). I will not dwell at the differences between the languages, nor will I entertain the debates as to whether these are languages or dialects, as this is not the interest of the study.

The people speaking isiXhosa have inhabited the south-eastern coast of South Africa since the 16th century, as cattle herders and pastoralists (Jordan, 1973; Peires, 1981; Pinnock, 1994). The language is presently spoken predominantly in the Eastern Cape Province of

South Africa but is now the most widely distributed language in South Africa. It is still dominant in the Eastern Cape where approximately 77 percent of the total population speaks it. IsiXhosa is one of the eleven (11) official languages of the Republic of South Africa, and has the second highest speakers in the country, after isiZulu (source Statistics South Africa...). It is one of the three official languages in the Eastern Cape Province, as well as in four other Provinces (the Western Cape, Northern Cape, Free State and KwaZulu Natal Provinces). The language was also one of the official languages in the former homelands of Transkei and Ciskei.

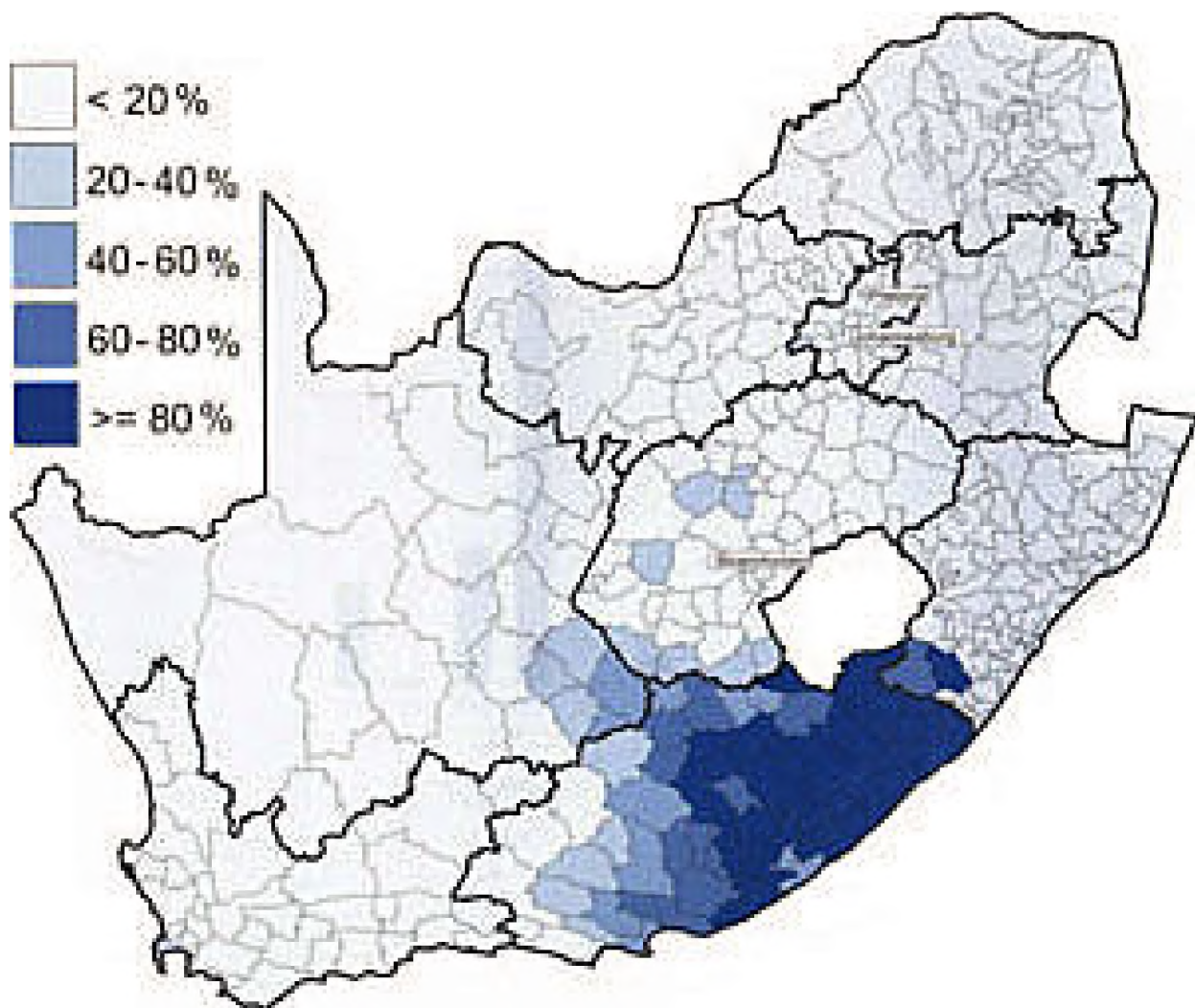


Figure 1: Area of South Africa where isiXhosa, home language to 17.5 percent of the total population, is a dominant language. Source <http://www.south-africa-tours-and-travel.com/language-of-south-africa.html>

Long before the African languages were written down, their users had an inherent and a perfect knowledge of the grammar structure and sound systems of these languages. Writing in 1850, Appleyard, who worked extensively amongst the Cape Nguni in the Grahamstown and Peddie areas, and led the first translation of the Bible in isiXhosa, is in awe of the exceptional structural organisation of the oral language of amaXhosa, which he expresses thus

In all grammatical variations of form, Kafir (sic) language is eminently distinguished by system and regularity. It is ... correctly spoken by all classes of the community, which is not the case, perhaps, with any of our European tongues. As a very general, if not invariable rule, a Kafir (sic) will never be heard using an ungrammatical expression... (Appleyard 1850: 67-8).

He states further,

The origin of the Kafir¹² (sic) languages is wrapped in mystery. How came (sic) these people or their ancestors, centuries ago, to express them in this way, and to adopt this system of alliteration. No one can tell; but whatever their language is; and whatever may have been its origin, the Kafirs (sic) themselves are not an *intellectually* (original emphasis) childish race... (Appleyard 1850: 67)

From the perspective of language and knowledge, the above statements suggest two issues. The first one is that, even before contact with the West, isiXhosa was characterised by a regular and systematic structure, features characteristic of developed languages. This has been the case as long as these languages have been in existence (Jordan, 1973; Miti, 2009).

AmaXhosa, the people speaking isiXhosa, have also had this knowledge about their language, since their known existence. Like most indigenous African languages, isiXhosa has a complicated concordial agreement. This, in simple explanation, means that a part of a subject noun (called subject concord) has to appear in most phrases in a sentence to make that sentence grammatically and semantically correct. Nouns are grouped according to their noun

¹² Although the term “kafir” came to be used in South Africa pejoratively and as a racial slur towards the native population, I have selected to keep it here in order to give the historical and political context in which the texts were written. Therefore, in the context of this contribution, “Kafir”, in all its variations is used to refer the native population of South Africa and, specifically, those living along the eastern territory of the country.

prefixes (which determine their subject concords. Therefore, nouns in different groups have different concords). For example, a noun like *abantwana* (children) will have a concordial agreement *ba-* with the qualificative, a verb, etc.; while *izikolo* (schools) will have a concordial agreement *zi-* (Satyo, 1998). The following sentences serve as an illustration:

Abantwana abaninzi abathetha isiXhosa abakwinqanaba lokuba bafunde basezikolweni kodwa abakuqondi oko bakufundiswa ngesiNgesi ngoko bayatshona (tr. Many children who speak isiXhosa are at school going-age are at school but they do not understand what is taught in English so they fail).

Izikolo ezininzi ezinabantwana abathetha isiXhosa zifundisa ngesiNgesi kuba zingazi ngenzuzo ezinokuzifumana xa zifundisa ngesiXhosa (tr. Many schools which have children speaking isiXhosa teach English because they do not know of the benefits the children could enjoy if they (schools) taught in isiXhosa).

Until the 1800s this linguistic knowledge, amongst other things, had been kept by word of mouth and passed skilfully from one generation to the other. The linguistic knowledge was couched in traditional knowledge and culture which formed a basis for indigenous education. Jordan (1973: xi), in referring to transmission of knowledge states that

... [The] ethos of traditional society was enshrined in oral, legal, religious and literary tradition through which the community transmitted, from generation to generation, its customs, values and norms.

If one looks at the spheres of life as quoted from Jordan above, one can argue that the pre-literate amaXhosa, like in most African communities, used the spoken word in high function domains of the time,

... in conducting formal proceedings at the courts of chiefs and kings, in diplomatic exchanges between representatives of tribal groups, as well as in informal conversation (Makalima: 1981: 15).

Oral literature, an important part of oral tradition, was valued as an important activity in transmitting important knowledge in children's education, as well as assisting them to form and develop concepts that were useful in young people's intellectual growth. Makalima (1981), in his work titled *An assessment of the educational implications of the development of Xhosa [sic] as a written medium from 1820 to 1950 – a historical didactical analysis* examines how the pre-literate amaXhosa used the oral "education" in the form of rhymes, fairy tales, myths and legends, *izibongo* (praise poems), proverbs and riddles in enhancing cognitive development and conceptual understanding of an umXhosa child. The first benefit is that "the wide field of life experiences covered by these stories broadened the child's cognitive level" (ibid.). The second benefit is that the stories were "a mirror reflecting the whole life of the Xhosa [sic] people. In espousing this view, Makalima quotes Carl Meinhof (n.d.) who says about the "natives",

Whosoever wants to gain an intimate knowledge of the native ... will best do it by studying the fruits of his intellect: those productions which serve not only for his amusement but also for the education of both the young and the old, wherein his soul expresses itself, unstifled by foreign intrusion and unfettered from the burden of daily toil – i.e. his folklore (quoted in Makalima, 1981: 18).

The third benefit acquired from these traditional folktales is that they enthused the thoughts and mind of a young child such that they would be stimulated to look beyond the story, and tell their own, using the 'framework' given by the storytellers.

These oral traditions, over and above benefitting the cognitive development of the child, also taught the child about the historical heroes of amaXhosa, the natural environment, the norms,

behaviour and values of the society (Jordan, 1973). The above arguments are outlined in order to advance the view that, isiXhosa, even before it was written down, had the lexicon and the linguistic structure that could express succinctly the speaker's thoughts, no matter how abstract. It could also give a precise description of historical, political, legal and physical environment (plants and animals, both wild and domesticated). This fact is supported by Theal (1882: 9) when he states that "there is no difficulty whatsoever in expressing any idea in the Kaffir [sic] language." The report of the Eislen Commission also states that

... all Bantu¹³ languages are characterised by great flexibility and power as media of expression, capable of defining the most intricate nuances of abstract thought (quoted in Makalima, 1981: 24).

The terms below are an illustration of this capability of isiXhosa in the pre-literate times. These terms, in my opinion, are some of the most abstract thoughts, or are in the disciplines that would presently be considered as "intellectual domains," have been randomly selected from a variety of disciplines. The source is the first comprehensive dictionary of isiXhosa compiled by Dr Albert Kropf, one of the pioneers in the systematic writing of isiXhosa (named 'Kaffir' language in his works). His dictionary, published in 1915, remained the sole authoritative bilingual IsiXhosa-English dictionary until the publication of the first volume of *The Xhosa Greater Dictionary of Xhosa* in 1989. I have also used the works of Professor Colin Johnson, a botanist who worked in the former Transkei collecting names of wild flowers and documenting their use in this area. Johnson's work was published in 1985. Dlodlo's work (1999), on teaching Physics in isiNguni is also used. The terms in the dictionary were compiled from listening to the speakers and recording their speech.

¹³ Although the term Bantu fell into disfavour because of its use, during the apartheid years to discriminate between black Africans and others, I chose to use the term here strictly in a linguistic sense.

Term in isiXhosa	English equivalent	Definition of isiXhosa concept
Umoya	air	
Umongo-moya	Oxygen	The air that is of essence (to plants and animals)
Impiliso	Oxygen	
Umhlonyane	Artemesia afra or wormwood	Plant whose leaves are boiled to treat influenza and cold (isiXhosa concept has no relation to meaning)
Umnga	Acacia horrida, also known as mimosa thorn	A thorny tree, commonly used for fire
Umnga-manzi	Acacia afra	
Isivumba-mpunzi	Tulbaghia alliacea/wild garlic	Plant whose roots and leaves was used as enema for constipation
Impepho	Helichrysum odoratissimum	Aromatic, woolly plant that is burnt to 'clear air of evil spirits'
UCanzibe	Canopus star	The month has become to be known as May, when this large bright star is seen rising before daybreak
Isilimela	Pleiades stars	The stars seen in present June month, announcing the planting season
UMnyama	Eclipse	The darkness (associated with darkness brought by eclipse)

In summing up this section, it is important to reiterate that amaXhosa, and the people of Africa in general, were able, even before the introduction of writing, to give artistic utterances to their deepest thoughts and feeling, as well as concrete and abstract concepts that came within their experience. Like most societies of the world, amaXhosa used folklore –

myths, legends, songs, praise songs to preserve knowledge in their minds. They had folktales and other genres of folklore for explanations of natural and mythical phenomenon, and of inculcating values and morals to preserve social cohesion. These were informative, pedagogical and entertaining, and varied in terms of age group and occasion, just as the literature of the modern day.

AmaXhosa also lived harmoniously with plants and animals in their immediate environment. They were thoroughly knowledgeable about this physical space, and had a concept in their vocabulary to represent every creature and plant in their environment. They also knew and acknowledged, by caring for them appropriately, the value of this environment (Jordan, 1973, Peires, 1981; Pinnock, 1994). Besides the fact that this debunks the perception that African languages are ‘primitive’ and do have the linguistic and lexical ability to represent modern concepts, it should make sense for any attempt to reduce the language into print form to take the artistry of the language into consideration.

3.3 The role of the missionaries in the development of isiXhosa

The written form of many of the African languages owed its beginnings to the general interest in the missionary work which swept through Africa at about the end of the eighteenth century (Prah, 2009). Therefore, the written forms as we know them today are a result of the different Christian missionary groups that came from Europe. During this missionary period, up to five missionary societies (London, Glasgow, Wesleyan,) worked in South Africa. Their purpose primarily was to spread the gospel in the most distant parts of the habitable globe in the languages of the recipients of the gospel. Dan Crawford, quoted in Prah, wrote in 1899 that

[The] armoury of God, remembering the good word of promise, ‘There was given Him dominion ... that ALL LANGUAGES should serve him.’ ... So Christ claiming the tribesman, soul and body, as fruit of His passion, first of

all appropriates his languages, so that faith might come by hearing; and hearing by translated Word of God (quoted in Prah, 2009:9).

While amaXhosa have always used their language since they have been in existence, the reduction of speech sounds into writing only began in earnest from about the early part of the 19th century. The main purpose of the writing was to systemise the language so that missionaries learning the language would do so speedily in order to do their missionary work efficiently. It should be noted from the onset, therefore, that the model used in developing literacy in isiXhosa, and most African languages, was a model to benefit speakers of other languages, and not native speakers. This model was driven as the best to serve the purpose of the missionary work. The following extract, from the report of the Glasgow Missionary Society, attests to that:

[Mr John Bennie (a missionary amongst amaXhosa in the first half of the 19th century, known for his pioneering work in the early 19th century)] is still going on with the printing of his Caffre¹⁴ Vocabulary. According to the last account he is now about the 100th page of his laborious work – collecting and arranging all Caffre words – printing them in columns and giving their signification in English. This work when completed must be of immense advantage to all succeeding Missionaries. His progress during the year has been considerably retarded by a circumstance which has rendered, for the present, some of his labour useless, but which ultimately will facilitate the acquisition of the language, and cause all the Missionaries in Caffreland to speak with one tongue. In January 1830, the Rev. Messrs. Shaw and Young of the Wesleyan Society and Rev. Messrs Thompson, Ross, and Bennie, of the Glasgow Missionary Society, met with the Rev. Messrs. Brownlee and Keyser, of the London Missionary Society at Buffalo (present day East London), for the purpose of fixing the rules for writing the language of the natives... It is pleasure in the extreme thus to hear of the members of different

¹⁴ The term Caffre, used to refer to amaXhosa at different historical and political periods, is taken as was used, and spelt at these different periods. At about the same time different missionaries spelt it differently. Others spelt it “Kaffir”, others Kafir, while the homeland occupied by was referred as Caffreland, Kaffraria, and other spellings.

Societies, not only dwelling together in unity, but co-operating to carry on a plan for the general good (36th Year's Report of the Glasgow Missionary Society, 14th April, 1831, as quoted in Pinnock, 1994: 72).

Note that the extract does not refer to the benefit to be derived by the native speakers from this involved work. The succeeding missionaries are seen as benefactors and beneficiaries instead. The other aspect to note in the missionary development of isiXhosa is that of the dialect which they selected for development. The people known as amaXhosa, who speak isiXhosa consist of various societies such as amaMpondo, amaBomvana, amaBhaca, abaThembu, amaMpondomise, amaXesibe, amaMfengu and amaHlubi, amaNgqika (also known as amaRharhabe). When the missionaries came to South Africa they were first accommodated by, and settled among the amaRharhabe. The result of this coincidence is that the writing of isiXhosa originated amongst these people, and their dialect dominated others as the “standard form of literary isiXhosa as it was the one that was selected and adopted for development. It was then taken as the standard form of literary isiXhosa, and is still the dialect that is taught at schools today, and that is used in literature, etc. (Pinnock, 1994: 72).

As stated earlier, learning of the languages of the natives of the countries in which missionary work was to be conducted and was one of the major priorities for the missionaries. Learning the language itself, committing it into writing, translating the Bible into it, and teaching the gospel into the converts (the ‘natives’) was the ultimate goal of the missionaries. Therefore, it was realised from the onset that the conversion of the “unenlightened” into Christianity would have to go hand in hand with reading and writing the Word (Makalima, 1981: 37-40). These missionaries produced bilingual vocabulary lists (in isiXhosa and English), wrote grammar books, translated the Bible, and wrote hymn books and primers for the new converts. Records state that some of the early missionaries were more like travellers, and made their records through observation, and came into Bantu tongues with no preparation whatsoever, even sometimes forcing the structure of their languages onto the Bantu languages (Prah, 2009: 9-12). This was no different with the development of isiXhosa (Makalima, 1981: 35-37). Therefore, it makes sense then that some of this work showed many limitations in respect of linguistic knowledge as many of these missionaries had no language training whatsoever. However, even though these works were unsystematic, and

had serious linguistic flaws, they were highly valuable to the development of African languages, and isiXhosa in this case, as a written medium.

There were various attempts, from towards the end of the 18th century, at transcribing isiXhosa speech. Pahl (1989, xxxvi-xxxix) gives Colonel Jacob Gordon as one of the early reliable informants who pioneered the writing down of isiXhosa. He also makes mention of Andrew Sparrow, who lived in the land of the amaXhosa in the 1770s, as well as Thunberg, Levaillant and Barrow. The following, as quoted in Pahl, are eight (8) of the seventeen (17) words Barrow recorded between 1797 and 1798 amongst amaXhosa:

Barlow's transcription	Current standard orthography	Meaning
Eliang	Ilanga	Sun
Inquenqueis	Inkwenkwenzi	Stars
Amaanzee	Amanzi	Water
Imphoola	Imvula	Rain
Ooloanje	Ulwandwe	Sea/ocean
Zimbeenie	Zimbini	Two
Amashoomomabeenie	Amashumi amabini	Twenty
Ecoloo	Ikhulu	Hundred

From Pahl, H. 1989. The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa. pp xxxvii

As mentioned earlier, logical and sound foundation to the writing of isiXhosa from oral to written language was laid by the Christian missionaries. The most outstanding of these is by Van der Kemp, Boyce, Appleyard and Bennie.

Dr Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp is recorded as the first missionary to settle amongst amaXhosa. He is also considered as the first missionary to successfully transcribe isiXhosa words. This work was dated 1801, in manuscript form, and was later published in the

Transactions of the Missionary Society, Volume I, 1795-1802 (Pahl, 1989: xxxvii; Kropf, 1915). Pahl again indicates that the list of six hundred (600) words titled *Specimens of ye Caffra Languages* shows mother tongue interference, and is often dismissed in the literature of the time as a mere curiosity from an inquisitive mind, rather than a list that is assistive to student learning the language (ibid.). Nonetheless, it was amongst the first attempts, and a much lengthier vocabulary list than that of Barrow's seventeen (17) words.

The next missionary worth mentioning is William Boyce. Boyce is known for his contribution of a book titled the *Grammar of the Kaffir Language* published in 1834. The book is credited as the first comprehensive book on the grammar of a Bantu language in South Africa. He is also accredited as the first isiXhosa grammar author to conceive the isiXhosa noun class system (Miti, 2009: 46).

John W. Appleyard, a minister and a missionary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, is acknowledged for his publication of a grammar book titled *The Kaffir Language; comprising a sketch of its history; remarks upon its nature and grammar*. His grammar work was an extension of that of Boyce's. Appleyard also translated the complete Bible into isiXhosa – a second Bible into a Bantu language, following after Moffat's 1857 Setswana Bible (Miti, 2009: 47-49). Appleyard's version is still the version used in isiXhosa-medium churches, although it is updated according to ongoing developments in the orthography of the language. He has also contributed over forty (40) of the isiXhosa hymns in the Methodist hymns and prayer book, *Umbedesho namaculo amaWesile*, which first appeared in 1837. The book is still used and hymns sung to this day during worship during isiXhosa Methodist Sunday services in South Africa.

John Bennie is remembered and honoured as the father of isiXhosa language and literature (Pahl, 1989: xxxiii; Pinnock, 1994: 72-78). He came to South Africa in 1821 with the Glasgow Missionary Society (Miti, 2009: 48) and settled amongst amaXhosa, He had a good insight, for a 'foreigner' on the structure of the language and any problems encountered, as we understand them today, are to be understood in that context. The first printed material in isiXhosa, titled *'In komo zon ke ze zi ka-Tixo* (current orthography: *'Iinkomo zonke zezikaThixo*') – tr. 'All cattle come from God', is accredited to him. This was published in 1823 by Lovedale Press (Makalima, 1981; Pahl, 1989; Pinnock, 1994: 73). This was a

reading sheet, with twenty five (25) lines of text, and a column of words, presumably for spelling and pronunciation, alongside the main text.



bum bi
pam bi
dun ga
tën da
gom so
kam be
kan ti
vim ba
fun da
zem ka
sën ga
ham ba
lin da
nam pa
nan ga
wam bi
yim bi
can da
qon da
tëm ba
jin ga
kan da
kon xa
tam ba
yon ke

IN KO MO zon ke ze zi ka-Ti-
xo: un gum ni ni zo yë na. Kun-
ga bi ko nüm tu o zi ci ta yo. I pi-
we gu ye i mi fi si, ne mi ti yon-
ke zi ya pi la ga yo; a pi we na-
man zi e zi wa sè la yo. Yim vu-
me yom ni ni zo u ku ba zi kon-
ze ti na 'ban tu in ko mo; zi ya-
si kon za go ko. Za pi wa in ko-
mo ku-No wa, na ku ti gu-Ti xo
um ni ni zo, u ku ze si zi xë le, si-
pi le ga zo; zi xë li we go ko. Zi-
xë li we in ko mo, go ku ba e vu-
me le ne na zo um ni ni zo; go ko
si na so i si xa so e si ku lu e si pi-
la ga so. Zi ya ni ka i ma zi za-
ko we tu lo ma si e si wa sè la yo
a da li we yo gu-Ti xo. Si nen gu-
bo, nem va ba, ne zin to e zi nin-
zi ge zi kum ba zen ko mo ze tu.
Zi da li we in to e zi nin zi ga be-
lun gu ga ma tam bo en ko mo,
nem pon do za zo. En zi we lo-
ma ba la on ke e zi na wo in ko mo
gu-Tixo um ni ni zo.

4.

J. B.

Figure 2: First printed reading material in isiXhosa by John Bennie in 1823: 'In komo zon ke ze zi ka-Tixo.' (tr. All cattle belong to God).

The subject of the reading sheet was ‘cattle and God’. The belief is that the subject matter of the reading sheet was chosen as cattle because it would appeal to amaXhosa as livestock, and cattle in particular, were central to their existence. At the same time, the ‘gospel’ teaching, which was central to missionaries’ work, was that God is central to the existence of everything on earth, including cattle. Therefore, based on the subject of the first printed sheet of writing in isiXhosa and subsequent observations about the missionaries’ development of isiXhosa, one can argue that if there is a link between language and culture, then what was produced by the missionaries was about the language only, and not about the culture. In fact, the culture of amaXhosa was undermined, or deliberately excluded from these sheets, with a focus more on the language and Christianity (Miti, 2009: 53-59; Makalima, 1981). There was, therefore, intentional cultural imperialism that was common in the works that were published during this time. Everything about amaXhosa, except the language, was carefully barred from these manuscripts and books.

Bennie in the meantime produced other works, including a vocabulary list titled, *A Systematic Vocabulary of the Kaffrarian Language*, published in 1826), and a manuscript work titled, *A Dictionary of Kafferse and English*, a grammar manuscript dealing with various topics in 1832, as well as a hymn book in 1839. He translated several books of the Bible as well.

As can be observed from the narrative in missionaries’ work above, they have made indelible mark in the development of the isiXhosa language into print form. They clearly encountered challenges for a number of reasons, but largely due the fact that the work itself was groundbreaking and original.

3.3.1 The beginnings of literacy in isiXhosa

The aim of this chapter is also to further evaluate the role of the missionaries in the development of isiXhosa. The contributions of selected missionaries have been outlined above. It is clear from this, that the focus of the missionaries was to win African souls, through Christian biblical messages, “in the languages closest to [their] hearts and minds”

(Prah, 2009: 11; Makalima, 1991: 39), by learning the languages of the natives, teaching other missionaries to speak to them, and develop biblical materials for the natives. As indicated earlier, literacy (and education) went hand-in-hand with evangelism. Conversion of the unenlightened to Christianity, according to the missionaries, was closely associated with education and in that way education was exercised as a means to evangelise the people. Education in the land of amaXhosa had a specific function. Makalima articulates this well when he says

They [the missionaries] knew that a school, properly conducted, is an excellent nursery to the church... Schools were needed, not only to promote civilisation, but as instruments of evangelism (Makalima, 1981: 39).

What amaXhosa experienced in this regard was prevalent throughout Africa. Prah notes that

Literacy and evangelisation have gone hand in hand in the missionary endeavours of Westerners in Africa... Some of the African catechists who were 'model Christians' could recite prayers, preach and sing hymns with ease but could hardly read. Literacy was not an end in itself. It was primarily there to serve the purpose of evangelism (Prah, 2009: 11).

Accepting Christianity, then, became the only means of access to literacy and education, and therefore it became exclusive to *amagqobhoka* (lit. those whose heart had collapsed; whose hearts were pierced by the Word) and their families. This caused animosity in the society as there were always conflicts between the converts and *amaqaba* (the ochre-smearing people, the non-converted) as expertly portrayed in Mda's semi-fictional novel, *The Heart of Redness* (Oxford University Press, 2000). Conversion into Christianity therefore went simultaneously with the instruction in reading and writing in one's own language.

3.3.2 Challenges encountered in the writing of isiXhosa

As illustrated above, it was John Bennie who became known as the architect of the writing of isiXhosa. He learnt to speak the language, and converted the speech sounds into symbols. Subsequently he wrote the first isiXhosa reading sheet, *In komo zon ke ze zi ka-Tixo* (All cattle come from God) in 1823, the alphabet, the hymns, the grammar books, vocabulary and primers with the sole purpose learning the language in order to teach amaXhosa to read the Bible. The Bible itself was translated, as indicated earlier. There were obviously other missionaries who assisted in driving the process, as was shown above. There were many challenges encountered by the missionaries – both in the manner the language was written down, and in the manner in which the values, cultures and the way of life of amaXhosa. For the purpose of this thesis, I will not dwell on the socio-cultural challenges but will rather focus on those related to the structure of the languages. These, I might add, were inevitable considering that the missionaries were pioneers in this work, and considering that the majority of them were not trained linguistics, but relied on their hearing, and their inherent linguistic abilities to write what they heard. Further, those who had learnt the language from isiXhosa speakers did not get the benefit of “language trained teachers” as language speakers are not necessarily linguists (Makalima, 1981).

The challenges and problems were exposed during the process of writing the language and also later on, as isiXhosa scholars started to engage more, at a linguistic level, with these writings. A careful examination of these works brings up the following as challenges and problems, which will be examined using John Bennie’s work as an example:

- a) The symbols devised were derived from own language, and the writing of words was an interpretation, through their own sound system and syllables of how they *spoke*, of what they *heard*. There was little consideration of peculiar sounds that occurred in the new language, but were non-existent in their language. Therefore, sounds not familiar in the new languages, in terms of their mother tongue, were disregarded. One is lead

to deduce that the writing systems as well as the explanation of the grammar structure of the language (which was in language of the missionaries), were suitable more to the speakers of other languages learning to speak isiXhosa. Names of places in the Eastern Cape Province are examples of this. When *Nxarhuni* was written down, it was *Nahoon*, *Ngqurha* was *Coega*, *Ncanarha* was *Nanaga*, *Ngqushwa* was *Gnusha*, *Qumrha* was *Komga*, etc. Sadly, these places still bear these spellings. It is clear from these place names that the missionaries struggled initially to have a symbolic presentation for the clicks, which are non-existent in Germanic languages. This was in earlier writings, but in John Bennie's reading sheet the clicks are correctly represented as they are today. The other problem resulting from the process of recording the language in this manner was that the word division was more syllabic, again it was suitable to one learning the language as an additional language. In Figure 2, in the *In komo zon ke ze zi ka-Tixo* reading sheet, the word division should be as follows: *Inkomo zonke zezikaThixo*, that is, the words should be syntactically separated. The third aspect was the unmarking of the nasals at the beginning of words. Again in the spelling sheet, *nguye* on the third line is written as *gu ye*, *ngomso*, the fifth word on the spelling column, is written as *gom so*. On the overall, all the obtrusive mistakes, as we have come to understand now, can be attributed to home language interference.

- b) It was stated earlier that the native speakers of isiXhosa were just that, speakers of the language, and not linguist experts. The speakers of the language knew well what was wrong in speech, but not necessarily why it was wrong – in other words they were not learned and able to explain the grammatical phenomenon of isiXhosa. It is recorded that in many instances the missionaries ventured to teach themselves, and therefore the mistakes that the “teacher” had would then be passed on to the “learner”, and so on, to the point where they are fossilised (Makalima, 1981: 42).

It needs to be noted that even though there were problems displayed in the early writings of the missionaries, these are nothing compared to the benefits that isiXhosa received during this period. The missionaries – Bennie, Appleyard, Ross, van der Kemp and Brownlee laid the foundations for the written word in isiXhosa. The problems that have been enumerated above did not retard the development of isiXhosa, but rather they acted as a springboard which these missionaries and others that follow in their footsteps, including the African isiXhosa scholars,

used in furthering the development of isiXhosa, and standardising it. They certainly pioneered, notwithstanding their shortcomings, in observing, learning, devising an alphabet and a system of orthography, writing down and understanding the grammar and vocabulary of a language that has never been written down or described (Makalima, 1981: 44; Fivaz, 1993: 91). In this process, they printed materials, for their own use and for education of the isiXhosa speakers, materials that were to be used as a basis for the development of isiXhosa. The understanding of the impact of this groundbreaking work of the missionaries has been conflicting though. There was a sense, from other quarters, that the work was the beginning of a new epoch in the history of amaXhosa, while others felt that this was going to be short-lived. One would understand the conflicting views from the quotations below. The first, on one hand, portrays the exhilaration experienced by John Bennie at the printing of his texts in 1923. Makalima (1981: 44) quotes that

John Bennie himself recognised the historic significance of this step when he remarked that a new era had commenced in the history of the Bantu people.

The second, on the other hand, portrays a dismissive attitude, where leaders of Missionary Societies encouraged publications in isiXhosa with the firm belief that literacy in isiXhosa was transitional and that English would soon take over. Kropf, in his preface (dated December 1899) to the *Kafir-English Dictionary*, quotes as one of his motivations in publishing the work, a comment by Andrew Smith, an attendee of the United Missionary Conference held in King William's Town in 1889 as saying

... the lexicon should be printed, if only as a memorial of the Kafir languages which would soon be supplanted by English (Kropf, 1915).

It remains a mystery then, whether the motivations of different missionaries, and publication of the materials in this era, especially that which was used in schools owned by churches (the only schools during this period), has had any lasting effects on the function of African languages in schools at present. Could the present scenario regarding the didactic nature of

the teaching materials in isiXhosa, the attitudes towards isiXhosa by speakers of the language and others, the lack of interest in reading except for those materials to support learning in the classroom, the lack of development of African languages in technological and scientific domains be the result of the legacy of the origins of the development of isiXhosa? There is no doubt in my mind that our colonial past, the “interests” of the missionaries in developing African languages, and the apartheid “orchestrated” development of indigenous African languages played a huge role in the present state of African languages (Alexander, 2002).

3.3.3 How missionary work enriched the lexicon of isiXhosa

The writing of the materials in isiXhosa triggered the need for printing presses which were then set up in the Eastern Cape in King William’s Town, Grahamstown and Mount Coke (Makalima, 1981). The development of the educational and religious material meant that the language had a greater chance of expansion, and of gaining prestige. I have indicated in Chapter 2 that languages gain prestige by being used in education.

Translation was one of the methods used in the development of isiXhosa into a written language. The Bible was translated; the *Lord’s Prayer*, other prayers and hymns were also translated. Translation as part of corpus development contributes significantly to the expansion of the lexicon of a language. Makalima notes this about the translation work undertaken by the missionaries:

Not only did these translations enrich [isiXhosa], but [isiXhosa] actually also acquired a considerable range of new idioms and phrases, in much the same way that phrases like ‘Tell it to Garth’ and ‘to kill the fatted calf’ have become part of the English language (Makalima, 1981: 69).

The process of the production of materials in isiXhosa meant that the isiXhosa language had to create terminology that did not exist before in order to represent concepts in the Bible, for

instance. For example, the concept of “Trinity” did not exist in pre-literate Africa. When it was translated into isiXhosa, the term used to represent the concept was “(UZiqu-zithathu¹⁵ (tr. The three-bodied (God), or *uMilo-ntathu*). In this context concepts that already existed in the languages (*isiqu/iziqu* – body/bodies, *imilo* – form; and *-thathu* – three) were combined and a new concept was represented by the new term. Compound nominalisation is one of the processes used in creating new terminology.

In other instances the concepts in the target language (isiXhosa) could shift meaning, and represent new concepts (from the source language) and have a new meaning in the target language. An example of such a term is *umyezo* which is a concept representing an orchard in isiXhosa. In the Bible translation, its meaning has shifted as it used to mean ‘the garden of Eden.’ Other similar terms include:

IsiXhosa term	Original isiXhosa meaning	New isiXhosa meaning
Unogumbe	<i>Ugumbe</i> is a stream which washes out the ground. <i>UNogumbe</i> is the name given to the great floods that occurred during Nxele’s time, which caused great landslips and destruction (Kropf, 1915: 135).	Term used in the Bible to refer to the great floods of Noah’s time.
Ngcwele	Referred to water that is limpidly clear.	In the arrival of the Bible the meaning was extended to mean purity of life, and used as an equivalent to holiness, <i>ubungcwele</i> , the abstract

¹⁵ This is from conversations with the researcher’s grandmother whose father worked on an ad-hoc basis with the Methodist missionaries in Clarkebury Mission station, near eNgcobo in the Eastern Cape.

		ubu- denoting the abstract meaning of holiness.
Ngcwalisa	To make bright, to make shine	Original meaning shifted to mean ‘to sanctify, or to make holy’.

IsiXhosa also derived a great deal of benefit from the bible translations. New concepts that were borrowings from the English terminology found a way into isiXhosa, in totally different contexts. New idioms and phrases were added into the language. The following are but a few examples:

IsiXhosa term	Original “English” biblical term and meaning	New isiXhosa meaning
<i>Imana</i>	derived from <i>manna</i> , the ‘food’ that fell from heaven for the Egyptians after they had been travelling in the desert for forty years	Something for free
Inqaba yaseBhabheli	The tower of Babel	Any complex situation where there is no agreement or solution
Umthetho wamaMedi namaPeresi	The law of the Medes and the Persians	Used to refer to a rigid, inflexible rule
EGomora naseSodom	Gomorraah and Sodom, as told in the Bible, are cities that were destroyed by God	A place where there is a lack of moral values

	for immoral and detestable things that occurred in them	
EzikaKhesare kuKhesare	In the Bible, this read “Give to to Caesar what is Caesar’s...” Luke 20:25.	Give to people what is rightfully theirs

The isiXhosa lexicon also grew tremendously through foreign words being transliterated with such sound and phonological changes as required in bringing it into harmony with the isiXhosa speech. IsiXhosa is peppered with such concepts. Examples are as follows:

Testament *Itestamente*

Matthew *UMateyu*

Manna *Imana*

Yoke *Idyokhwe*¹⁶

School *Isikolo*

The poetic artistry of amaXhosa came through in the translation of the Bible, as well as in speech. Here I wish to give terms (proper names) that amaXhosa use when referring to God¹⁷:

USobukhosi Source of authority

USobulumko Source of wisdom

USokwazi-konke The Omniscient (the one who knows all)

¹⁶ It is interesting to note that the term for yoke in isiXhosa is *ixhathi* but this has been completely replaced by the new English derived concept, and it does not appear anywhere else, except in isiXhosa idiom, *azitsali ngaxhathi linye* to refer to people or things that are not working in unison.

¹⁷ Note that most of these terms are prefixed by so-, a term used to refer to ‘father of,’ ‘source of,’ or expert in.

USomakhholwa	Father of believers
USomandla	Source of power
USonini-nanini	Eternal (whenever)
UMveli-ngqangi	First to appear
USimakade	Everlasting
UGxalaba-libanzi	Broad-shouldered
USifuba-sibanzi	Broad-chested

The discussion above illustrates that when two languages come into contact, and when there is a need for the speakers of the languages to communicate with each other, possibilities of language development are enormous. As we can see from the above, there are different processes, strategies and approaches derived from various factors that surrender the languages to be translatable, that is, that make it possible for the language and terminology in to be developed, even in context where languages have never been developed. Further, where new knowledges come into existence, the language will draw from within (language structure and cultural knowledge) in coining terms that represent concepts from the new knowledge. This is an indication that where there is a demand for language development, language will develop, and the more the language develops, the more it will be used. The development of isiXhosa as a written language, in the context of Christianity as a discipline, is an illustration of this.

3.3.4 Effects of the writing of isiXhosa on amaXhosa

As discussed in the preceding sections, Christian missionaries actively undertook the responsibility of studying, describing and writing isiXhosa. As was the case with most of the European missionaries, they believed that their duty was ‘to bring light’ to the ‘heathens’ whom, they assumed, did not know that God existed (Miti, 2009: 53; Batibo, 2009: 123-131). As the process of studying, describing and writing down isiXhosa continued, the Bible,

Christian literature, and other materials were translated and developed in the language. Therefore, although the principal objective of the missionaries' efforts was to develop the language in order to spread the gospel to amaXhosa, they inevitably provided orthography and massive linguistic and general educational material in these languages.

Speakers of isiXhosa derived enormous benefits for the development of their languages. As they became literate, they had direct access to texts written in these languages, without the missionaries as intermediaries. This had profound consequences on the people, consequences that impacted positively on the language, culture, and nationalism associated with the language. On the language front, the early African writers started to undertake translations of Christian works and hymns initially and, later, to compose hymns themselves. The most notable of these early writers were Ntsikana¹⁸ and Soga¹⁹. In their translations and compositions, the nuances of the language, its metaphors and idioms started to surface in a meaningful way. One could argue that their involvement in further development brought naturalness in the translation process, a process that was still employed in the language development.

Christianity, as introduced by missionaries also, by and large, discouraged indigenous cultural expression and, as a consequence, the only factor that bore resemblance to local people was merely the language. The early literates among the amaXhosa soon realised that their acceptance of the European Christianity required turning their back on amaXhosa custom. The result was that they began to draw parallels between the 'European religion' and their religion that was practised long before the arrival of the missionaries. This led to the 'Africanisation' of the church as the natives came to realise that the religion of the missionaries only differed from theirs in the form in which it was practised. In translation, concepts that were 'foreign' in isiXhosa were domesticated, rather than translated literally. In

¹⁸ Ntsikana (1789-1821) was a diligent and untiring evangelist and a remarkable hymn writer whose hymn, *UloThixo omkhulu ngosezulwini* (tr. Thou art the Great God – He who is in Heaven) is still sung in isiXhosa churches up to this day. He is credited with seeing visions and uttering prophecies. It is claimed that he was inspired by missionaries but he argued that they had no influence on his faith.

¹⁹ Tiyo Soga (1829-1879) was educated at Lovedale and was the first umXhosa to be ordained a Christian minister. He wrote many hymns, the most popular of these being *Lizalis'idinga lakho*, *Thixo Nkosi yenyano* (tr. Make good thy promise, Lord God of the Truth). This hymn is sung at many ceremonies and is regarded as the second unofficial national anthem, after the official *Nkosi sikelel'i-Afrika*.

personal conversation with Rev Andile Mbete (November 2010) of the Methodist Church of South Africa, he states that the indigenous people, in getting critical awareness of the Christian values, started to ask questions, and wondered how this ‘God’ differed from *uMdali*, the Creator. According to him, amaXhosa believed that all the powers that ‘God’ possessed, were similar to the powers of *uMdali*.

UMdali nguye owenza ukuba le ngca nale mithi ikhule, nguye owenza ukuba iimazi zeenkomo zizale zinike amathole, nguye onika ubomi kumntu, kodwa mkhulu uhloniphekile kangangokuba akanako ukubonwa ngeliso lenyama. Asikwazi nokuthetha ngqo naye, zizinyanya ezisithethela kuye. Wahluke njani ke lo wenu kowethu?

(tr. The Creator is the one who makes this grass and these trees to grow, he makes the calves to calve, he gives life to human beings, but he is ‘immense’ and highly regarded as a result he cannot be seen with the naked eye, or visualised. We cannot even talk to him directly, and it is the ancestors who mediate on our behalf. How does yours then differ from ours? (Mbete, 2010)

Such a movement could have possibly brought terms such as *uMdali*, *iNkosi* (Chief) as equivalents to God.

The period of evangelisation in the land of amaXhosa was characterised by conflict that was the result of frontier wars that largely dispossessed amaXhosa of their land through armed force (Peires, 1981). It is also during this period (1840s – 1880s) that mission education intensified, producing articulate and vociferous isiXhosa scholars such as Isaac W. Wauchope, Tiyo Soga and William Gqoba (Opland, 2003: 9-11). They wrote in journals that were produced through the missionary printing station, which could reach a wider audience about subjects that were at stake, and that were of national interest. In a poem, a preferred genre at the time, published in 1882 in *Isigidimi* (a newspaper in isiXhosa) Wauchope calls

amaXhosa to respond to the military pressure of the English by using the ‘pen’ as a sword. The poem is titled *Zemk`iinkomo magwalandini* [tr. There go your cattle, you cowards]:

<i>Zimkile! Mfo wohlanga,</i> ²⁰	They’ve gone! Compatriot,
<i>Phuthuma, phuthuma;</i>	Chase them, chase them!
<i>Yishiy`imfakadolo,</i>	Lay down the musket,
<i>Phuthuma ngosiba;</i>	Chase them with a pen;
<i>Thabath`iphepha ne-inki,</i>	Seize paper and ink,
<i>Likhakha lakho elo.</i>	That’s your shield.
<i>Ayemk`amalungelo,</i>	There go your rights,
<i>Qubula usiba.</i>	Grab a pen,
<i>Ngxasha, ngxasha nge-inki;</i>	Load, load it with ink;
<i>Hlala esitulweni,</i>	Sit in your chair,
<i>Ungangeni kwaHoho</i>	Don’t head for Hoho (forest)
<i>Dubula ngosiba.</i>	Shoot with your pen.
<i>Thambeka umhlathi ke,</i>	Impress the page,
<i>Bambelel`ebunzi;</i>	Engage your mind;
<i>Zigqale iinyaniso,</i>	Focus on facts,
<i>Umise ngomxholo;</i>	And speak loud and clear;
<i>Bek`izinto ungalwi,</i>	Don’t rush into battle;
<i>Umsindo liyilo.</i>	Anger speaks with stutter.

(as quoted in Opland, 2003: 10)

Some missionaries may not have acted on their fears, but they feared that literacy in indigenous languages could agitate nationalism. Sanneh states that

²⁰ This poem appears in *Isigidimi*, 1 June 1882, and in Opland quoted above written in the old orthography. I have rewritten it here using the standard current orthography.

If some missionaries welcomed the vernacular esteem promoted by the act of translation, others feared and opposed it. In [other parts of Africa] vernacular scriptural translation was discouraged, largely because the authorities suspected it of fermenting the nationalism they were attempting to suppress (Sanneh, 1992: 96).

In linking this section of the work with a motivation for mother tongue education as discussed in this thesis, I wish to argue that comprehensive literacy and access to mother tongue empowered people such as Wauchope to critically engage with the information and knowledge that was presented to them. They were able to competently identify and articulate their dissatisfaction, empower themselves appropriately as well as provide solutions. They “had recourse to the European technological media to promote [their] struggle for freedom” (Opland, 2003: 10). The ability to be confident and aware of self, and how that self should interact with ‘otherness’ that is brought by formal schooling, and the ability to harness own cultural and linguistic knowledge to enrich new knowledge acquired through classroom and ‘out of the classroom learning’ are all perceived as important manifestations of quality education that can only be achieved through mother tongue education. These early isiXhosa scholars, who were also prolific English writers, attest to that through such writings as quoted above.

The missionaries clearly made a notable contribution to the development of isiXhosa. This was done at a time when there was minimal global interest in the study and development of African languages in general. Even though evangelism was at the forefront of development of these languages, missionaries made a remarkable contribution not only to the linguistic studies in isiXhosa, but also to the expansion of its corpus that was a consequence of the two cultures coming into contact, as well as the new discipline, i.e. Christian religion. AmaXhosa were not only introduced to literacy in their own language but began a process of self-, cultural, and national responsiveness and consciousness. This started a process where amaXhosa owned the ‘new’ knowledge that was presented to them, and used it in a manner that benefitted themselves and the amaXhosa and the indigenous population at large.

Miti encapsulates the effects of the study and development of African languages by Christian missionaries as follows:

It empowered Africans not only in the spheres of religion but also socially and politically; African cultures were no longer considered heathen, but rather began to be used as expressions of Christianity through vernacular Scriptures; and the idea that Christianity was a Western religious export to African began to be challenged, as Africans, studying the Scriptures in their own tongues, saw parallels between (Western) Christianity and their indigenous religious beliefs. Thus, it can be said that Africans attained cultural and national self awareness through the grammars, dictionaries and vernacular translations of the Scriptures (Miti, 2009: 55).

3.4 The development of isiXhosa in the pre-1948 period

The missionaries laid a formidable foundation for the development of isiXhosa. The various wordlists, religious materials, educational reading material and dictionaries were obviously an indication of their extensive, thorough and systematic study of the language, even if with limitations presented by their own mother tongue and general lack of international interest in scholarship concerning the language. The early literates amongst amaXhosa broke away from the missionaries' religious and didactic materials and started to articulate in newspapers²¹ matters of national interest as well as pleas to preserve folklore, legends, news and sayings of amaXhosa (Opland, 2003: 12). All the while, the language was developing. In terms of education, the language was taught and assessed at a level no higher than the primary school (Makalima, 1981: 112).

²¹ The following newspapers are seen as important in the development of isiXhosa in domains outside of religion and didactics: *Umshumayeli-ndaba* (1837-1841), *Isibutho samavo* (1843-1844), *Ikhwezi* (1844-1845), *Isithunywa senyanga* (1850), *Indaba* (1862-1865), *Isigidimi samaXhosa* (1870-1888), *Imvo zabaNtsundu* (1884-1998) (Opland, 2003, Makalima, 1981; Jordan, 1973).

Sadly, the momentum of the development of, and teaching and learning *from, in and with* isiXhosa did not continually grow within the education environment. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, very little was done to stimulate the study of isiXhosa. As a matter of fact, there was a concerted effort to discourage mother tongue education, or the study of isiXhosa as a subject in schools (Makalima, 1981: 112-113). The black parents' perception, that using isiXhosa as Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT) would lower the standard of education was used as a mitigating factor against the introduction of mother tongue education in isiXhosa. Referring to the parents' rejection to the introduction of Sesotho during the same period, Mawasha claims that

Traditionally Blacks have always been sensitive about standards in education and the use of English has always been regarded as a safeguard against the lowering of the standard of education generally... (Mawasha, 1977: 61).

The opposition to mother tongue is, in my opinion, not founded, as parents are never presented with pros and cons of mother tongue education when they are required to make this choice .

Needless to say, the development of isiXhosa stagnated during this period. As we have indicated earlier, language development, that is, language intellectualisation, can only be accelerated if a language is used as LoLT, especially in higher levels of education, and in modern and scientific domains. Hartshorne states that up to 1935, i.e. the period of the Union of South Africa, English dominated both politics and education. He states that in the Cape Colony (which forms a large part of the present day Eastern Cape Province) English dominated both as a medium of instruction and as a subject beyond the first four years of schooling, and isiXhosa was only used as mother tongue in the first four years of schooling (Hartshorne, 1995: 306-316). Beyond the first four years of schooling it was taught as a subject where the focus was more on grammatical knowledge of the language. By 1935 isiXhosa was taught as a subject throughout the education system, and at tertiary education it was taught and examined in the medium of English making it impossible to develop a meta-language in it. The examiners were often non-native speakers who seemed to have inherited

the structural and descriptive linguistics reflective of the work of the missionaries who pioneered the development of isiXhosa – it was demanded that pupils of isiXhosa have a thorough understanding of grammar, and this was studied outside of the context in which this language was. Translation also played a big role in the teaching of isiXhosa. According to Makalima, the pupils as well as the language itself derived very little benefit, if any at all, from this method of teaching of isiXhosa. If anything at all, it would have benefitted the speakers of other language as course objectives seemed to be tailored to promote second language learners (Makalima, 1981: 122-123). This environment was not fertile for the productive development of isiXhosa.

It should be noted here that during this time the mission of the Afrikaner, through the Nationalists, to control South Africa was being constructed. Their commitment to mother tongue education and separate schooling, as well as their demand that Afrikaans be taught as a second language to Africans were articulated in 1942 (Hartshorne, 1995: pp). It is also around this time that another milestone in the development of isiXhosa was achieved. In 1943 isiXhosa was accorded the status of first language for the first time in the schooling system. Focus on syllabi for the purpose of first language was on language use and different genres of literature, and less on grammar.

During this period the early literates in isiXhosa began to produce a large body of literature which varied in themes – ranging from Christianity, challenges of urbanisation, to conflict between western and traditional way of life. Native speakers of isiXhosa were encouraged to write, perhaps not so much with the intention of promoting the culture of reading for enjoyment, but by knowledge that their works stood a good chance to be published for use in schools (Pahl, 1989: xxiv). Some of the great literary works of isiXhosa emerged during this time, and they were often used at school as prescribed set-work books when isiXhosa was taught as a first language. Some of these are Sinxo's *UNomsa* (1921) and *Umzali wolahleko* (1939), Ndawo's *UNolishwa* (1931), and Jordan classical novel, *Inggumbo yeminyanya* (1940). It is in these works that isiXhosa metaphors and idioms were expressed through the voice of the mother tongue speakers.

A challenge arose when grammar had to be taught in isiXhosa. Up to that point, the only isiXhosa grammar books were in the medium of English, with grammar concepts explained in English as well. The Department of Education responsible for 'native' education then realised that the only terminology available to teach grammar was in English, therefore there was a need to develop grammar terminology in isiXhosa from that which was available in English (Makalima, *ibid.*). The result was a booklet, *Xhosa Grammatical Terminology* (1948) which contained translations of English terminology (used for isiXhosa grammar by missionaries and other subsequent scholars) into isiXhosa. In my research I was unable to find a copy of this booklet and would suggest that it is no longer available. According to Makalima

This small book, although useful at the time, did not cover the entire field of grammar and language. Unfortunately, this was the only book of its kind to have been published in the period up to 1950... (*ibid*)

One commends the efforts of the authors of this booklet (Jolobe and Arosi), but one wonders whether the challenges in the comprehension of the grammar concepts in isiXhosa today is in anyway related to the fact that these concepts were themselves not original concepts in the languages, but translations from another language. Using English as a source, whose concepts about isiXhosa grammar and description of isiXhosa grammar were designed for non-mother tongue speakers in my opinion undermined the richness of the language. I am suggesting too that this manner of development resulted in the language being engineered in a highly artificial way. The result of such 'artificial' language development is that the targeted users of the terminology and the speakers reject the language, and either stick with the English or create their own equivalents which then replace the 'artificially' coined concepts. Makalima (1981: 130) notes that the pupils to whom the grammar concepts were targeted rejected them and that

...[Some] candidates wrote their answers in [isiXhosa] with the grammatical terms rendered in English, e.g. *Yi-noun*; *yi-copula*; and *yi-sentence*, while others used a hotchpotch of [isiXhosa] terms that they themselves had coined

such as *siSibizo* (it is a noun); *siSibanjalo* (it is a copula), and *siSivisangcinga* (it is a sentence).

As indicated earlier, I have failed to access the book with the grammar terminology and therefore am not able to evaluate the appropriateness of the terms contained therein. Having said that, the terms that have been given by Makalima as examples of terms coined by the students themselves are terms that are being used up to this day.

There were also academicians of note, at the same time, who relentlessly and diligently pursued scholarship of isiXhosa, in an effort to standardise the work of their predecessors. Amongst them were C. M. Doke, E. Westphal, H. W. Pahl, G. P. Lestrade, A. C. Jordan and W. G. Bennie. They described further, in a comprehensive way, the language and taught it at tertiary education, even though still in English, again retarding its intellectualisation. Of Doke, Herbert has this to say

Doke was one of the first Africanists to free African language study from the constraints of classical and European models and to develop a method for linguistic analysis based upon structures within the African languages themselves. ... [His] works on linguistic historiography, lexicography, and grammatical descriptions of languages of Southern Africa remain valuable references for the analyst today (Herbert, 1994: 2).

The challenges that pioneers such as J. Bennie faced, regarding orthography in isiXhosa, were meticulously explained, and new spelling, word division and orthography devised and introduced in 1935. There were however challenges of implementing it, especially those that involved the three letters that were not part of the Roman symbols (i.e. b, r and sh) that were only used much later on by the Lovedale printing press. The other great development that was undertaken by these scholars was the development of diacritic marks to mark, amongst other things aspirated sounds. Through diacritic marks, distinction could be made between words such as:

Tata (father) an ejective sound vs *tátá* (take) an aspirated sound.

Diacritics were complicated to understand and use, especially by the majority of isiXhosa speakers and a new, and less complicated orthography was devised, together with W.G. Bennie, a direct descendent of J. Bennie, and other scholars of isiXhosa, D. D. T. Jabavu and S. E. K Mqhayi in particular. The current standard isiXhosa orthography is based on this approach (Pahl, 1989; Makalima, 1981).

Although during this period there was no massive development in the actual production of literature or translation in isiXhosa, the period itself was an important landmark in the history of isiXhosa in education. The language, for the first time, was taught as a subject, in the language and as a first language to native speakers. There were challenges associated with , for example, the production and publication of isiXhosa literature to meet such demand, and the revision of the orthography, involving the isiXhosa speakers who were scholars in the language, for effective and competitive teaching of isiXhosa up to standard 10. The next phase, the period between, 1948 and 1976 is another era that had an important effect in the development of isiXhosa as a written language.

3.5 The development of isiXhosa during the apartheid period

This period, known as *apartheid* (separateness) because of its segregationist policies, is characterised by racial and linguistic inequalities, and Afrikaans dominated both politics and education. Afrikaans was synonymous to white supremacy, and the speakers of native languages were required to be grounded, through education, in this concept of separateness and the misconception that they were not equal to the white race (Alexander, 2002).

English and Afrikaans were decreed as official languages and had to be taught throughout the schooling system as subjects, and mother tongue education was commended, not necessarily for pedagogic reasons, but as the basis of ‘native’ education and teaching (Hartshorne, 1995:

309). The extended use of mother tongue education during the apartheid period from four to eight (8) years, although viewed with scepticism, and rightfully so, ironically intensified the development of isiXhosa as a written language. A series of strategies were put in place to support mother tongue education, and these were also resourced by the apartheid government (Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh, 2004: 182). Heugh gives the following four strategies that saw the accelerated development of isiXhosa and other indigenous African languages:

1. Legislation regarding the extended use of the mother tongue in schools (1953 Bantu Education Act).
2. Elevation of the status of [African languages] in education.
3. Terminology development.
4. Textbook production.

(Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh, 2004: 182).

As indicated earlier, the 1953 Bantu Education Act instituted mother tongue education for the first eight (8) years of schooling. Essentially this meant that African children would receive their entire primary education in their mother tongue. I do not wish to discuss the vehement opposition expressed by various African elite to the apartheid mother tongue policy, suffice to say that these were justifiable, even if unfounded, as they believed that even mother tongue education might be considered educationally sound for primary schooling, in the apartheid context there seemed to be a sinister political intent. For this reason, there was doubt as to the desirability of mother tongue education. According to Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh,

... [There] was suspicion that the use of the mother tongue was a strategy to delay access to English, commonly viewed at the time as the gateway to modernity. The uncertainties ... criticism ... resulted in indifference and muddled thinking led by individuals who knew nothing or very little about education (Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh, 2004: 183-184).

The introduction of the 'independent homeland' system by the apartheid government, the manifestation of its segregationist policies, resulted in the establishment of the language-based homelands and for the first time African languages were granted official status where they were predominantly spoken. This was the second important aspect, as far as isiXhosa is concerned, in its development as a written language. IsiXhosa, in the case of the homelands of Transkei and Ciskei where it was predominantly spoken was the language of education at primary school, and of administration. There was a concerted effort for terminology to be developed to fulfil the functions bestowed to these languages. Even Verwoerd, the architect of Afrikaans, argues that these languages need to be developed for education, parliamentary and legal function so that they can be enriched and modernised as practical tools of communication for the modern-day world. He stated that

How can an honest guardian bring up a nation if he not willing to lead it through the mediums of its language? How can the guardian help it to care for its own heritage and rights if he wishes to wean it away from its own language? (as quoted in (Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh, 2004: 187)

This statement, paternalistic and condescending in manner, even if it made pedagogic sense, was dismissed as political deception and trickery and was part of the apartheid's policy of divide and rule (Alexander, 2003).

The development of isiXhosa during this time was viewed in this context by the speakers of the language, that it was nothing more than ensuring their oppression and continued economic dependence. The terminologies were created though, for use in the classrooms, for various subjects that, for the first time, were to be taught in isiXhosa. Subjects in which terminologies were developed include Nature Study, Hygiene, Social Studies, Arithmetic and Mathematics for Standards three to six (the present grades five to eight). Language Boards and Language Committees were set up to translate terminology into isiXhosa. This work culminated in the publication of orthography and terminology lists that contained terms in various subjects. This was supposed to counter the challenges of the shortage of grammar terminology in isiXhosa, as discussed in the section above, as well as the protests of the

teachers who, in opposition to mother tongue education, cited the unavailability of terminology in various subjects as a hindrance to effective teaching. Interestingly, this is mentioned as a hindrance even today. I will not discuss the terminology in this chapter, as Chapter 5 of this work is dedicated entirely to the process of the further intellectualisation of isiXhosa.

The decree, issued in 1974 by then Minister of Education, Botha, that Afrikaans be used as LoLT in black schools from standard five brought an abrupt stop to mother tongue education in isiXhosa and other indigenous languages in South Africa. The teachers and pupils launched a campaign against this policy, which then resulted in what has become known as the 1976 Soweto Uprising (Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh, 2004)..

After 1976, the African schooling system reverted back to the English-medium system from standard three onwards. The terminologies and books that had been developed over the years fell into disuse as the pupils and the public had no exposure to it.

3.6 The development of isiXhosa from the 1990s into the post-apartheid period

This period is characterised by language-in-education policies that emphasise unity in diversity, democracy, social cohesion, equity and equality. The national language policy explicitly promotes multilingualism in all spheres of life, as well as accelerated development of all the official indigenous languages so that they can support education in these languages as medium of instruction.

Official structures are also in place, with the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) as the guardian of language rights and as a facilitator of the development of indigenous languages. The eleven National Language Bodies and Lexicography Units, representative of the eleven official languages all fall under PanSALB. These are undertaking language development for each language, albeit in a haphazard manner. Bamgbose and many other

sociolinguistic scholars (Alexander, 2000; Kaschula, 2004; Reagan, 2002; and Webb, 2002:182-3) concur that many African countries have sound language policies but nonetheless lack sound implementation plans. Kaschula goes on to say that language policies in Africa are characterised by lack of “...political will to drive the process...” and as such “...much lip service has been paid to the implementation processes” (Kaschula, 2004:11).

Various institutions, in consultation with PanSALB or independently, have undertaken responsibility for developing terminologies in indigenous languages to support teaching and learning in modern domains within schools and universities. For the purposes of this thesis, I am going to mention those endeavours that originate from universities, and particularly those whose intention is to support the learning and teaching of isiXhosa. The Language Centre at the University of Stellenbosch has developed a comprehensive trilingual (English-isiXhosa-Afrikaans) terminology list in the subjects of Sociology, Social Work, Psychology and Law for use by students in these disciplines, particularly those speaking isiXhosa. The Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA) at the University of Cape Town, under the leadership of well-known language activist, Professor Neville Alexander, are the proponents of mother tongue education and have developed and published a comprehensive trilingual dictionary of Mathematical and Science terms for use in the foundation and intermediate phase of schooling. Rhodes University’s African Language Studies Section in the School of Languages, through the South Africa-Norway Multilingualism Project (SANTED) have successfully piloted the development of Computer Science and Political Science glossary lists, and Geography terminology for first year level classes. These lists are in no way near exhaustive and development continues. In this thesis I will present an extension of the Political Science terminology lists as initiated at Rhodes University. This will form further empirical evidence in support of the intellectualisation of isiXhosa as outlined in this thesis.

The concern that has been expressed by authors like Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh (2004) is that there is a vast amount of work that has been undertaken in developing isiXhosa in scientific domains, albeit at school level. The language development taking place during this period that is supported by the Constitution, does not seem to view this work as an important point of departure. One understands that there were challenges and problems that surrounded the

development of these terms but arguably, these are not the main reasons that they are being overlooked at this point where the political landscape is right for the promotion of mother tongue education. My contention is that the political era of apartheid in which they were developed is that which makes them to be sidelined for consideration to be re-evaluated and brought into the education system today. Further to this, it is my view, as portrayed in this thesis, that this process will not only require political will, but continued evidence to convince speakers of the inherent educational value of learning in the mother tongue.

3.7 Conclusion

The missionaries are, rightfully so, considered as the pioneers of the writing of isiXhosa. They studiously converted the speech sounds of the language into symbols, and took on the task of describing the language such that it could be learnt by others. This formed a basis for the scholarship and study of this language not only in the country, but across our borders. This also formed a basis for the study of these languages by their speakers and the ‘enlightenment’ brought by education of the missionaries started a movement amongst the speakers of these languages of self awareness in the context of the otherness which they brought with them. There were numerous problems and challenges, as outlined above, associated with the development of isiXhosa by missionaries, that could, in my opinion be the basis of the challenges that we still experience in education today. These challenges, though, should not stand in the way of the development of African languages, and the benefits that could be derived by their speakers if they were to be used to support learning and teaching. In the words of renowned linguist, Pahl

[IsiXhosa] is one of the tenaciously enduring elements of [ubuXhosa], for it has maintained a firm foothold on Southern African soil, growing like an evergreen, deep-rooted tree, and has manifested itself as a dynamic, vibrant, virile language adaptable to, and developing in harmony with, the changing environment in that it sprouts new words and expressions to accommodate new concepts and cultural items and, to an even greater extent, absorbs and *xhosaizes* foreign words and terms (Pahl, 1989: xxxii).

This process *has* to be captured so that it lives forever. The intention of this chapter was to portray this process against a historical background, which traces the intellectualisation of isiXhosa from the arrival of the missionaries up to the present day.

CHAPTER FOUR: PROCESS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF TERMINOLOGY FOR LANGUAGE INTELLECTUALISATION

4.1 Introduction

Proponents against the use of indigenous African languages in education cite, amongst other reasons, their lack of scientific and technological terminology required for study at tertiary level. Yet in Chapter three we have seen that isiXhosa, like all African languages possesses a sound system, grammar structure and lexicon that are at the level of most other languages. When the European Christian missionaries undertook to introduce print in the language, they wrote the language down, and started a process of the description of the grammar of the language. The process of the introduction of print in isiXhosa was the beginning of the intellectualisation of isiXhosa. As discussed in Chapter three, the process lent itself not only to the writing of the grammar of the language, but also to the production of dictionaries, glossaries, wordlists and literature in the language.

As discussed in Chapter three, the focus of missionaries' development of isiXhosa was on production of religious materials for evangelisation and in education. However, in the process an entirely new religious and other terminology in the language emerged. The lexicon of the language was expanded in these new domains. The language grew, as new uses in the language emerged in various domains, in the different historical periods. The evidence of such has been given in Chapter three.

If one looks at the extent of the development of isiXhosa that has taken place over the years since the eighteenth century, one can argue that the reason given for neglecting the use of isiXhosa in higher levels of education is a mere pretext. It is my contention that isiXhosa is underdeveloped, and lacks scientific and technological terminology, and that this is not through any fault of its own. As it has been illustrated in the previous chapter, it can also be developed, like any other language. This is similar with many of the indigenous African languages throughout Africa. Many African scholars (Alexander, 2003; Bamgbose, 1991;

Miti, 2009) blame this on the lack of courage, will and commitment on the part governments and the Africans in general. They concur that if the governments and the people understand the positive effect that mother tongue education has on achievement of quality education, then resources and skills should be harnessed to systematically, scientifically and seriously develop African languages. The argument, therefore, is that isiXhosa and other African languages, like all languages *can* be developed and *has* to be developed for the benefit of their users.

Motivation for the scientific development, that is, intellectualisation of isiXhosa has been provided in Chapter two, together with the relation between language and cognitive development of a child. Early efforts of intellectualising isiXhosa, from oral to written language, creating and standardising terminology in various domains, have been discussed in Chapter three. In this chapter I have shown that terms are often created in a non-systematic manner, with no clear methodology or approach. At times this leads to discrepancies and inconsistencies that impede and hold back, instead of facilitating the actual process of creation of terminology for the purposes of language development. The objective of Chapter four is to examine the key concepts around term creation, and consider the process, approaches and methods, and strategies that are critical in terminology development. IsiXhosa and other languages in the isiNguni language family will be used as examples to illustrate the critical points of the issues raised.

4.2 Terminology development - explanation of terms

For successful terminology development, those undertaking the task of the development of terms, the terminologists, need to understand the concepts associated with the subject so that the process can lend itself to the creation of terms that can be adopted into the language, that can be accepted and used by the speakers, and that are appropriate for the discipline in which they are created.

The key terms around the subject of terminology development include the following:

- Corpus planning and terminology development; and
- Cognitive, linguistic and communicative dimensions in terminology development.

4.2.1 Corpus planning and terminology development

Corpus planning is a subcategory of language planning, a subject discussed in detail in Chapter two. It is revisited in this section of the work because terminology development is one of the activities of corpus planning. In contextualising corpus planning, perhaps it is essential to briefly look again at language planning by providing its definition.

Language planning, as defined by Tollefson (1991: 16)

...refers to all conscious efforts to affect the structure or function of the language varieties. These efforts may involve creation of orthographies, standardisation and modernisation programmes, or allocation of functions to particular languages within multilingual societies.

Language planning has three sub-categories – status planning dealing with selection of a language or languages for use for official and educational purposes, acquisition planning dealing with increasing the numbers of speakers of the selected language, and corpus planning dealing with codification, elaboration and standardisation of language with regards to scientific and technical development for use in various sectors of government, education, commerce, etc; and language planning should happen at all levels of society – in education, governmental and non-governmental sectors (Alexander, 1991; Bamgbose; 1991).

Furthermore, the process of reducing isiXhosa into writing, as outlined in Chapter three, is a practical example of language planning, even if it was not systematically planned. I wish to focus below on the three areas of corpus planning, that is, language codification, elaboration and standardisation.

In status planning, a language whose status is elevated, often, would have had a low status previously. It could be that it was never written down before, or that its lexicon is limited only to non-controlling domains (Cooper, 1989; Bamgbose, 1991: 139-140). In language codification a linguistic code through which communication can be facilitated has to be devised. This is established by developing a fitting writing system for the selected language. Language codification involves establishing the orthography of the language, and describing the grammar and the lexical structure of the language (ibid.). This stage of language planning is also known as language graphisation (Ferguson quoted in Van Huyssteen, 2003: 30). In describing the process, Bamgbose states that the codification of form involves

... establishing the selected norm by adopting an appropriate script, working out the orthography, describing the phonology, grammar and lexis [of the language] (Bamgbose, 1991: 140).

One can argue that this stage in isiXhosa was initiated by the missionaries, as discussed in Chapter three. The missionaries devised a writing script for the language and took time to describe the grammar and other important linguistic aspects of the language, even though the description itself was through another language i.e. English.

The following stage in language planning is the elaboration of function. This stage involves the modernisation and extension of the lexicon of the language, and the creation and development of scientific and technical terminology such that the language is able to cope with the demands of multifaceted and intricate communication required from it. In the African context Batibo states that

The promotion of the major African languages to assume more public functions and the emergency of global communication society in the world have given rise to a number of developments. The most conspicuous

developments include: the expanded domains of language use; the enhanced state of multilingualism; the interlingual phenomenon (translation, code-switching, massive borrowing, etc.); and the creation and new usage of terms (Batibo, 2010: 14).

In other words, promotion of these languages as official languages requires that they be used effectively in all possible domains such as technology, law, medicine, politics, commerce, etc. Gonzalez (2002) quoted extensively in Chapter two refers to this stage as the language intellectualisation phase, a stage that is essential and significant for language development and states that the language needs to develop in literature and in the science domains. In defining this stage, Bamgbose states that

...it involves expanding the language to cope with use in different domains, particularly developing adequate vocabulary for technological and scientific concepts (ibid.).

This has been the challenge in South Africa pertaining to the official indigenous languages. These languages have been marginalised previously and consequently, have had low status. In the democratic dispensation, they have been selected out of a number of languages to become official languages. As is often the case, languages with low status have underdeveloped terminology and it is also true in the South African context, and particularly with isiXhosa. Appropriate language planning demands that once a language has been selected into an official status, its underdevelopment in terms of terminology needs to be addressed and its lexicon needs to reflect its literary, cultural, scientific and technical achievements (Gonzalez:2002).

Language standardisation is also seen as an important facet of corpus planning. Many of the scholars of Sociolinguistics refer to standardisation as part of corpus planning (see 2.3 in Chapter 2). Language standardisation can be seen as a deliberate intervention by society to normal development of a language. It is a process where rules are established for

distinguishing a systematic way of writing a language variety of language, which then becomes a standard variety. Once a language is established as a standard variety, it becomes a language that is used in education and is taught to both mother tongue and non-mother tongue speakers, is used in all forms of media, in literature and is described in grammars and dictionaries. It is also used as a basis on which further language development, for example in the form of terminology development, takes place (Cooper, 1989: 137; Hudson, 1980: 32). As can be inferred from the above, terminology development is an important aspect of language codification, elaboration, and standardisation. All these facets of corpus planning are part of and parcel of language intellectualisation which is the subject of this thesis.

Batibo (2010: 14) sees terminology development as a process of capacitating a language by creating, recording and institutionalising lexical items in it and refers to it as terminology planning, a subcategory of corpus planning. He states that

... [it] is informed by the new domains of language use, level of adequacy of terms in given domains, policy and decision making, the implementation strategies and the evaluation of capacity and extent of use (Batibo, 2010: 14).

As considered in various parts of this work, for African languages to function effectively, especially in the functions they have acquired after democracy, they require terminology development to enable them to intertranslate with the 'powerful', ex-colonial languages, and with English and Afrikaans in the South African contexts. Therefore, as Madiba rightly argues

... [Terminology] development in the African languages of South Africa should be seen as a response to development or changes in domains other than language. The socio-cultural, economic and political contexts in which these languages are used have changes radically. The functional role of these languages has been transformed ... as a result of the new democratic changes that have taken place in the country, thus opening up South African society

and enabling the participation of all citizenry in national development (Madiba, 2001: 59).

The relationship between language and development and mass participation, which Madiba raises above, has been discussed in this chapter. It should suffice to indicate here that it is clear that the accomplishment of the above can only be possible through the concerted effort of terminology development in the languages that have been selected as official standard languages, otherwise the terminology gap between ‘powerful’ and ‘less powerful’ languages widens further as we can observe in African languages, and these languages, as a consequence, are sidelined in the controlling domains such as economics and politics.

For terminology development to be successful it needs to follow certain scientific, educational and technical processes that consider the principles of term creation. The discussion below looks at the fundamental principles that need to be taken into consideration in the process of development of terms, a fundamental process in language development as indicated above.

4.2.2 Cognitive, linguistic and communicative dimensions in terminology development

Terminology development, the creation of terms for the purpose of expansion of the lexicon of a language in modern and scientific domains, is an involved process. It is an involved process in that terms are created, recorded and institutionalised – so they form a corpus of the language in which they are developed (Batibo, 2010: 14-17). There are basic principles that have to be adhered to if the terms created are to accurately represent the term for which the equivalent is sort, and also if they are to be adopted and used by the speakers.

The first aspect in the process of term creation is for a terminologist to understand that a term created must be a representation of a concept, rather than a word. A concept is that which remains in one’s memory about an object in order to aid its identification (Van Huyssteen,

2003: 98). In other words, a concept exists independently of a term, but needs a linguistic term for its coding in a comprehensible manner. A term, on the one hand, is the naming unit for a concept. To exemplify, the term *inqwelo-moya* [lit. air wagon i.e. aircraft] represents a concept of ‘*inqwelo enokubhabha phezulu esibhaka-bhakeni*’ [tr. ‘a wagon that is capable of flight high up in the sky’]. In other words, “a term must be concept based rather than word based” (Batibo, 2010: 15). Batibo goes on to say that the motivation for such is that a word could have many meanings, and in creating a term based on the word, one might miss the intended meaning of the term. Furthermore, a meaning of a term might differ depending on the context, the discipline, etc. He illustrates this by using the example of an English word, ‘flight’ which in English has several meanings although represented by one (1) word whereas in Kiswahili each of those words is represented by a different word. This is similar in isiXhosa in that ‘flight’ can be any of the following:

<i>Ukubhabha</i>	‘the act of flying’
<i>Uhambo ngenqwelo-moya</i>	‘a journey by aircraft’
<i>Amanqwanqwa</i>	‘stairs’
<i>Ukundiza</i>	‘the flying act of plane’
<i>Ukundanda</i>	‘the act of flying with wings fluttering’
<i>Ukubaleka</i>	‘flight as in fleeing’

One of the ways that can be employed in ensuring that a term provided as an equivalent is term rather than a concept is examining the word in the different contexts in which it occurs. This enables one to also examine the various disciplines within which the term could occur, and therefore provide an appropriate term that best represents the concept. The Rhodes University South Africa-Norway-Tertiary-Education Programme (RU-SANTED) Multilingualism Project has used this method in creating terms for the Computer Science, Geography and Political Science Terminology lists. Another method, which will also be illustrated later, is using WordSmith tools (see Chapter 1) and establishing the concordance of a word. In WordSmith tools one can use the concordance tool by typing up a term or a formative of a word and then look through a text to find the different contexts in which a term or a formative of a word occurs, that is, one establishes how a word/term is used in relation to

words in its immediate environment. To illustrate this, I have provided below an example of a text where I have sought the prefixal formative *njenga-*, a comparative adverb of manner in isiXhosa.

CONCORDANCES OF NJENG- IN ISIXHOSA AS OCCURRING IN TEXT TITLED “IBHAYIBHILE – INJONGO YAYO NENTSINGISELO YAYO” EXTRACTED USING WORDSMITH TOOLS						
Wordsmith Tools --- 23 April 2010						
N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word No.	File	%
1	bhakuki ngokucacileyo, njengo Yeremiya, wakub	12,2 10	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	57		
2	libalekiyo engqondweni njengaleya apho kuchaz	15,7 20	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	74		
3	isimo seeVangeli ezine njengokuba sizazi. Isi	17,6 05	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	83		
4	uYesu angasiwa kuwo njengo Mesiya wamaYud	21,0 21	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	99		
5	intandathu ebhayibhilei njenge encwadi ezinobun	9,27 3	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	44		
6	elungileyo nenothando. Kwan jengokuba iNdalo i	15,3 97	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	72		
7	di ekufuneka zamkelwe njenge encwadi ezinegun	1,76 5	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	8		
8	bi koThixo UHezekile, njengo Yeremiya, wayen	12,4 23	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	58		
9	o loo nto kukho iintetho ezin jenge zi, “uThixo ophi	5,41 1	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	25		
10	wadi ezinjalo zaveliswa, njengoko siza kubona, z	17,6 77	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	83		
11	hi uSathana ubonakala en jengom tshutshisi wee	15,4 45	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	73		
12	to zonqulo. Ixabiso lazo njenge bali lesizwe alilikh	9,93 1	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	47		
13	i kubaprofet ababesele, njengoo -Eliya no-Elisha	10,4 10	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	49		
14	zabahedeni amaKaledi. Njengokuba abantu bahl	12,2 84	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	58		
15	elwe kuloo ngngqi yake njengesibona nenkokeli	6,16 7	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	29		
16	a wakhe uMoses kuba njengokuba wayehiwe u	10,0 98	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	48		
17	sincede ukuba simbone njengoko wayenjalo kan	21,2 97	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	100		
18	ileyo umvakalisa uYesu “ njengo Nyana kaThixo” (i	19,1 63	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	90		
19	anjalo kuthi namhlanje kwan jengoko wayenjalo	950	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	4		
20	e yedwa bangaphakathi obun jengobu kumkani ob	19,7 41	c:\wsmith\pam- co~1\ibhayi~2.txt	93		

Table 1: Concordances of NJENG- extracted from a text using Wordsmith tool.

The Wordsmith tool will be discussed in detail in Chapter six when I utilize it to extract the terms to be created for the Political Philosophy 1 course. I am showing it here just as a tool that can be used in ensuring that in the creation of terms one can make certain that the equivalent term is a representation of the concept corresponding to it by looking at different contexts in which that term occurs in the source language.

In terminology creation one has to ensure that a term created precisely represents the concept corresponding to the term, and for this to occur one is to consider the following three (3) dimensions: the cognitive, the linguistic and the communicative dimension of the term. In expounding this Van Huyssteen (2003: 99) states that

The terminologist describes the concepts of any one discipline in three ways: by definition, by their relationship to other concepts – as expressed by the conceptual structure and realised linguistic forms, and by linguistic forms themselves, the terms, phrases and expressions chosen for their realisation in any language.

In summing up in the context of the three dimensions outlined above, one can argue that the cognitive aspect in the creation of a term looks at accuracy in the description of the concept. In describing a concept, one would start by looking at the features, the characteristics and even the functions of a concept. This is the cognitive dimension in term creation. Once that has been achieved, then one can look at the equivalent term to represent that concept in a manner that is appropriate to the orthography, the phonology, syntax, morphology and semantics of the language. This aspect is the linguistic dimension. The third aspect, the communicative dimension looks at the appropriateness in relation to other concepts within the discipline and to the targeted users.

The above provide a theoretical guideline and principles for terminology development. What follows is a discussion on the principles, criteria, method and strategies that can be adopted for the selection of terms.

4.3 Principles for terminology development, criteria, methods and strategies for selection of terms

This section will be discussed under three subheadings, i.e. principles of terminology development, the criteria for the selection of terms; and methods and strategies for the selection of terms.

4.3.1 Principles for terminology development

The first fundamental focal point under the principles of terminology development is that of concept *versus* the term. This has been discussed above under Terminology. I wish to add two points, as a means of emphasis. It is important to note in terminology development that one creates names for concepts, rather than describing the meaning of concepts (Batibo, 2010; Jokweni, 2004). Jokweni states that

... terminology has an onomasiological (naming) approach. It has to do with creation of names for the concepts, not meanings (Jokweni, 2004: 171).

In African languages, terms are by nature descriptive (Pahl, 1989) as it is common for concepts to be given names which *describe* their function, shape, characteristics, etc. One can argue that most scientific and technical terms have a Greek or Latin root and that they have been absorbed into the English language (Crystal, 2002). If one were to look at the etymology of a term, would it not render a name that is descriptive of the term in the first instance, even if the meaning has evolved over time?

The second fundamental point is that, in order to expand the terminology of a language, terminologists need to consider carefully the sources from which they derive their terminology. Batibo (2010: 15) states that the language for which the terms are sought should start with internal sources, i.e. the language itself, before borrowing or moving to the external sources. In other words, in creating a term in isiXhosa, one would look for a term within the language, then move to isiMpondo or isiBhaca which are the varieties of isiXhosa, for example, if the internal sources have been exhausted. If that fails Batibo suggests that the other closely related languages could be used as sources, for example, isiZulu, isiNdebele or isiSwati (languages which, together with isiXhosa, are in the isiNguni language family). If this fails to bring results one can then move to other Bantu languages, before moving to foreign languages (ibid.).

The criteria for selection of terms and the approaches that can be adopted are discussed below. I wish to make a point here, that efforts of terminology development in African languages in South Africa have been politically motivated. In the past, focus has been on looking only within the language, and discouraging 'borrowing' especially from closely related languages or other Bantu languages. Madiba (2003) states that this has been because of the history of the development of these indigenous languages by missionaries where in their descriptions, they emphasised differences rather than similarities. The subsequent apartheid political system of 'divide and rule' or separate development served to galvanise this by creating language based homeland systems. Even language boards that were established worked separately from each other. Madiba (2001: 57) makes an interesting observation about terminology development in indigenous African languages in the 1970s. He remarks that

But what is interesting is that borrowing from languages such as Afrikaans was encouraged to entrench the dominance of Afrikaans, especially during the 1970s, and to counter the influence of English... [The] Language Boards and the SABC were influential in preventing borrowing across African languages and, at the same time, in encouraging borrowing from English and Afrikaans.

This process might have contributed to the development of indigenous African languages, and was favoured by some African language scholars but by and large it is clear that it was not motivated by scientific development of language, but by the politics of the time. As a consequence, although a large number of the terminology created made its way into the lexicon of the language, an equally large number of it was rejected (see 3.5 in Chapter three).

4.3.2 Criteria for the selection of terms

Having made the distinction between a concept and a term, and discussed the sources from which terms can be drawn, this section seeks to look, briefly, at the criteria that terminologists can use in contentedly selecting a term. Scholars in terminology development, (Madiba, 2001; Jokweni, 2004; Van Huyssteen, 2003) who have been consulted on the subject understandably view this as part of approaches and strategies for term creation, but I wish to discuss them separately, as Batibo does (2009, 2010).

The criteria for selection of terms, as discussed in Batibo seeks to provides options for those cases where there are alternatives that already exist for terms. He gives six (6) criteria that should be considered as priority in the selection of terms, and these are:

a) A term that is already in use by the majority:

Batibo states that terminology development, as far as possible, should make use of what is already in existence and only create new terms where there are none. If one considers the isiXhosa term for 'democracy', '*intando yesininzi*' [lit. the will of the majority], the equivalent term comes close in representing the concept that is carried in the (Greek) etymology of the word: *demos* 'people' and *kratos* 'power' (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1992). However the most common equivalent that is used in isiXhosa is the transliterated form of the word, '*idemokhrasi*.'

b) A term that is easy to remember:

Batibo defines a term which is easy to remember as that which is transparent and has few syllables. When television came into existence, a term coined to represent the concept is *'umabona-kude'* [lit. that which sees far, again in line with the etymology of the word] but this was never adopted by the users and the term that is widely used to represent the word is *'ithivi'*, a term derived from the English abbreviation for television, TV.

c) A term that has relevance of meaning to intended concept:

This is very common in isiXhosa as names of concepts are derived from its characteristics. A term for a 'motorbike' for instance is *'isithuthuthu'*, derived from the sound that the engine of the motorbike makes; a 'guerilla' depending on which side of the political spectrum you subscribed to during the apartheid years, the equivalent given to this term was *'abagrogrisi'* [lit. scary but hopeless bug], a term popularised in the government-sponsored media, as opposed to *'abalweli-nkululeko'* [lit. freedom fighters].

d) A term that has no socio-psychological inhibitions, for example, historical legacies:

A term like *'iqaba'*, used to refer to a non-Christian, and coined by missionaries to refer to such because those who converted to Christianity abandoned traditional practices, including the practice of smearing one's face with red ochre. Kropf,²² described *iqaba* as "one who habitually paints himself with ochre, fig. an ignorant person, a heathen." His description of the concept, and the equivalent term given are indicative of his views on the culture of amaXhosa, and his perception on the supremacy of the Christian religion. The term has a negative connotation today, and as such has been rejected by the language users, preferably using the term *'ongaguqukanga'* [lit. the one who is not converted] or *'ongengomKrestu'* [lit. one who is not a Christian] as an equivalent for that.

e) A term that is suitable depending on the educational levels of the targeted users:

Batibo remarks that it is preferable to use internal sources for lower domains of education, and foreign sources for upper domains. For example 'chlorophyll' has two

²²Kropf, A. 1915. Kafir-English Dictionary. Alice: Lovedale. Page 344.

entries in the *Oxford English Xhosa Dictionary* (Fischer, 2006: 95). One is *'intlaza'* derived from *-hlaza*, the stem for 'green' and 'vegetation' in isiXhosa. The second equivalent given is *'iklorofili'*, obviously a transliterated form of the English word. If we follow Batibo's recommendation, therefore, the first term would be used for lower levels of education while the second could be used for the higher levels. One would assume that at lower levels, the child would have a cognitive understanding of the concept represented by the term, and consequently of the term itself that at higher level of education it would be easy to understand the term derived from a foreign source.

f) A term that uses relevant methods of adaptation:

Where terms are 'borrowed' from foreign sources, they have to be modified such that they fit into the grammar structure and writing system of the language, e.g. isiXhosa equivalent term for 'summons' is *'isamani'*, for 'chemical' is *'ikhemikhali'*, 'politics' is *'ipolitiki'*. The most notable modification is that a term must have a prefix that is indicative of all isiXhosa nouns, represented by the first *i-* in all the examples given here; it must also have a vowel suffix, which by co-incidence is *-i* in the examples given here. The other distinct feature is that the plural is marked in the prefix of a noun, and not in the suffix as is common in English. 'Chemicals' in isiXhosa, for example, is *'**ikhemikhali**'*, with the bold letters indicating the prefix.

As we can deduce from Batibo's (2009, 2010) work, in terminology development terminologists should, as far as possible, make use of what is already available in the language, rather than create new terms that might not be adopted and used by the users, and as a consequence they would not be institutionalised in the language. New terms must only be coined where they are none existent and meticulous care has to be taken for successful coinage of terms. We can deduce from the above that in terminology development a variety of expertise is needed – language expertise, domain specific expertise, historical and cultural expertise. Batibo correctly remarks that terminology development should be a collaborative effort and as such linguists, experts in relevant area in which terms are being sought, an elder or any other person who is knowledgeable on the history and culture of the language concerned, should be involved at all times in the process.

4.3.3 Methods and strategies that can be adopted for the development of terms

Some of the strategies for term development, particularly in regard to the selection of term equivalents, have been discussed above. In this section I discuss methods and techniques that are common in the creation of terms. These will be discussed under derivation, semantic expansion, compounding, blending, acronymy, coinage, loan translation and borrowing.

4.3.3.1 Derivation

As a term-creation strategy, derivation, exploits internal sources (i.e. the language itself or its varieties) extensively. This is carried out by adding appropriate prefixes or suffixes to the verb or noun root, thereby creating a term. Below is a table illustrating the various prefixes of the different noun classes and the semantic content associated with each prefix (adapted from Kropf, 1915 and Batibo, 2009).

Noun class	Prefix	Description/Semantic content	Example
1a/2a	u-/oo-	Personifications	<i>Uceba/Ooceba</i> (councillor/s) Derived from verb <i>-ceba</i> (to counsel)
1/2	um-/aba-	Persons, humans	<i>umsebenzi/abasebenzi</i> (worker/s) Derived from verb <i>-sebenza</i> (to work)
3/4	um-/imi-	Inanimate objects, e.g. like trees, natural phenomena, plants, vegetation, etc	<i>umsebenzi/imisebenzi</i> (work/s) Derived from verb <i>-sebenza</i> (to work)
5/6	ili-/ama-	Collective objects, masses	<i>ilinge/amalinge</i> (experiment/s) Derived from verb <i>-linga</i> (to try)
7/8	isi-/izi-	Miscellaneous, and some borrowed nouns. No semantic significance attached to it	<i>isisombululo/izisombululo</i> resolution/s) Derived from <i>-sombulula</i> (to untangle)
9/10	i-/ii-	Mostly inanimate and non-human objects	<i>intlalo</i> manner of living Derived from verb <i>-hlala</i>
11	u(lu)-	Certain nouns derived from verbs. Only singular form.	<i>ukhetho</i> (election)

14	ubu-	Certain abstract and miscellaneous nouns. Only in singular form	<i>ubuntu</i> humaneness Derived from the nominal stem <i>-ntu</i> meaning human, person
15	uku-	Equivalent to the English infinitive “to”, or the gerund <i>-ing</i>	<i>ukuvota</i> to vote or voting

Table 2: IsiXhosa noun classes

As one can see from the examples given above, in derivation, new terms are created from words that already exist in the language. It might incorrectly seem as if derivation can only occur from a verb or noun, but it can also occur from other part of speech (Van Huyssteen, 2003: 108) as illustrated below:

Ubunyulu (purity)

Ubu- class 14 noun prefix
-nyulu relative stem (pure)

Uwele-wele (euphoria)

u- class 1 noun prefix
wele-wele ideophone denoting sudden and uncontrolled euphoria

Ubude (length)

Ubu- class 14 prefix
-de adjective stem meaning ‘long’

There are numerous advantages associated with this method of term creation. Van Huyssteen (2003), Madiba (2001) and Batibo (2010) argue that because derivation uses internal sources, it can be easily understood, accepted and adopted by the target people. This, therefore, makes the modern domains for which these terms are created easily accessible to the ordinary people. Another advantage is that the lexicon of the language is expanded further. Van Huyssteen (2003: 109) gives an example of a verb *-funda* (learn) isiZulu and many derivations. The verb has the same meaning in isiXhosa and I give below numerous isiXhosa derivations from it:

<i>Umfundi</i>	learner, students
<i>Imfundo</i>	education
<i>Isifundo</i>	lesson, teaching
<i>Imfundiso</i>	doctrine
<i>Umfundisi</i>	teacher (refers mostly to male teacher), minister
<i>Umfundisi-ntsapho</i>	teacher
<i>Isifundiswa</i>	the learned
<i>Isifundisi</i>	the ministry
<i>Ubufundisi</i>	the doctrine of the ministry
<i>Imfundimani</i>	a highly learned person

It is clear from the above examples that terms derived from internal sources not only expand the corpus of the language, but they are also transparent and provide access to upper domains using indigenous source. Grammar modifications are also natural.

4.3.3.2 Semantic expansion

Semantic expansion refers to the extension of the meaning of existing words so as to express an expanded or a specialised meaning so as to name a new concept (Batibo, 1992). Other scholars refer to this strategy as semantic shift.

I will provide, in the table below, examples of isiXhosa terms that have been created using the techniques of semantic shift.

Original term	Original meaning	New expanded meaning
Isiphaluka	A valley, stream or road branching off from a large one; a small village which is part of a larger one	Ward
Umbane	lightening	Electricity
Ibhunga	Council of a chief, private consultation	Legislative Counsel
Ichiza	Medicine made of herbs	Chemical
Inkundla	A place before the cattle fold where the councillors and the chief gathered to pass judgements	Court of law
Umgqatswa	One who is in a race, especially of horses	A political candidate
Ukunyula	To bring out from lower place, to make a choice	To elect a political candidate

Similarly to derivation, semantic expansion is also advantageous in language expansion as terms develop from within the internal sources, and are usually developed by the users themselves. Therefore, they are transparent in terms of meaning. The one caution, as expressed by Batibo (1996) is that one needs to learn the specialised meaning as new polysems of the relevant lexical item as terms can become over polysemous, and therefore, ambiguous at times. An example of such a term in isiXhosa is *ukuhlela* whose original

meaning is ‘to be distinguished from the rest’ and has been expanded to mean the following: ‘pick out and put in proper place’, ‘separate coarse from fine’, ‘sift grain’, ‘sort’, and ‘edit’. Meaning in such cases may not always be transparent.

4.3.3.3 Compounding

In this method of term creation a term is coined from two or more words. This technique is highly productive in African languages and compounds are easily acceptable (Batibo, 2010) and conform to general patterns of word derivations (see above). Terms formed in this manner have a new meaning different to the meanings of the words combined. Examples are:

- a) *Umphicothi-zincwadi-mali* *ukuphicotha+iincwadi+imali* (to examine thoroughly+books+money) = auditor
- b) *Ulawulo-melo* *ulawulo+umelo* (governance+representation) = democracy
- c) *Unyulo-jikelele* *unyulo+jikelele* (election+all round) = general election
- d) *Inkcitho-mali* *inkcitho+imali* (waste+money) = expenditure
- e) *Intlanganiso-cweyo* *intlanganiso+ucweyo* (meeting+secret consultation) = workshop

Although compounding can be easily accessible and adopted by the users, Batibo (2010:16) cautions that compounded terms need to be understood well, as in semantic expansion, because the meaning tends to be metaphorical, and not as transparent. They can also be very long and clumsy, as we can see in a) above.

4.3.3.4 Blending

Blending is a method where a term is created from two terms but some parts of the word, for example the first syllables, are compressed and blended together. Batibo (2009) gives Zimbabwe as an example of a term coined from blending. This term, he states, has its origin from “*Zi(nyu)mba za (ma)bwe*, meaning ‘the house of stones’ referring to the historical Stone Town which characterised the traditional city” (Batibo, 2009: 8). The term blending in isiXhosa can be used interchangeably with abbreviation and is commonly used where, for instance, a term like *unina* [lit. mother of] is contracted to *no-* and is used as a feminine personifying prefix while *uyise* [lit. father] is contracted to *so-* as a masculine personifying prefix. In the examples below I give the contracted term, the word combination and the meanings:

<i>Unozincwadi</i>	<i>unina+iincwadi</i>	lover of books/knowledge
<i>Unocanda</i>	<i>unina+ukucanda</i>	land surveyor
<i>Unondyebo</i>	<i>unina+indyebo</i>	treasurer
<i>Usomlomo</i>	<i>uyise+umlomo</i>	speaker (of parliament)
<i>Usodolophu</i>	<i>uyise+idolophu</i>	mayor

Blending is also common in isiXhosa in kinship terms, e.g.

<i>utanci</i>	<i>utata omncinci</i>	younger paternal uncle
<i>umanci</i>	<i>umama omncinci</i>	wife of younger paternal uncle
<i>udophakathi</i>	<i>ubhuti ophakathi</i>	middle brother
<i>usophakathi</i>	<i>usisi ophakathi</i>	middle sister

Both Batibo (2009) and Van Huyssteen (2003) do not consider blending as a popular method of term creation in African languages. I have also scanned numerous texts, and consulted speakers of the language, especially elders, and they could not advise me of any other terms, except the examples similar to ones above. Mbete (2009) in interviews with him gave me a name of a village in the Eastern Cape, named Tyolomnqa. The name, according to him is a result of blending in the following manner *ilitye* (stone) + *lomnqa* (of wonder), hence *tyolomnqa*. From this one can conclude that this strategy is not as commonly exploited as the others.

4.3.3.5 Acronymy

Acronymy is a technique where terms are created by using the first letter of the words, thereby creating an acronym. These ‘terms’ become popular as they present so much that the users at times do not even know or rarely remember the full names that these terms represent (Batibo, 2009). This is popular in other languages and acronyms like AIDS, HIV, TV, etc are common. In African languages this technique is not executed in the same manner as with other languages, as the first letter of a term is often a prefix, which is usually a vowel. I would like to assume that it is for this reason that it is not common for terms derived from internal sources. The technique is used, instead, by adding a prefix to the universally accepted acronym so that it conforms to the grammar structure of the language. Examples, which are self explanatory, are:

iHIV

i-AIDS

iTB

iTV.

The term, iTV has been naturalised in the language and is often written as a transliterated word where each English letter has been replaced by isiXhosa letters with the same phonetic sound. It is, thus, also written as *ithivi*.

4.3.3.6 Coinage

Coinage refers to a method of term creation where terms are a coined from “mere imagination or ideophonic means” (Batibo, 2009: 9). Other scholars refer to this technique as deideophonisation and terms created from the technique cannot be associated with any verb or noun stem but drawn commonly from ideophones, which is often associated with the object the action is to be named after (Van Huyssteen, 2003: 117).

Examples of terms are:

Itoyi-toyi civil disobedience (term has its origin in the South African liberation struggle)

Isithuthuthu motorcycle

Isijingijingi that which is in constant motion but without progress

What is common with this technique is that it employs another form of term creation, and that is compounding. As we can see from the examples above, in each case the stem of the ideophones is duplicated to create an onomatopoeic sound. Having said that, not all coinages are onomatopoeic. The following coinage is an illustration of this:

Amajingi-qhiwu Unsuccessful efforts, rambling and pointless speech.

4.3.3.7 Loan translation

Loan translation is a process where new terms are created by literally translating the meaning of the term in the source language into target language. Van Huyssteen (2003: 115) also refers to this technique as paraphrasing or calquing. Examples are:

Loan-word	Translation	Meaning
<i>Amajoni omzimba</i>	the soldiers of the body	immune system
<i>Isibulali sesinambuzane</i>	the killer of insects	insecticide
<i>Ingqesho yomhlaba</i>	the hiring of land	land tenure
<i>Umzi wemveliso</i>	a place of production	factory
<i>Umqoshelisi-zimali nempahla</i>	the one who gathers up money and property	liquidator
<i>Ingxowa-mali yamalungiselelo ekamva</i>	the money-sack for the preparation of the future	provident fund
<i>Ulawulo lwentando yesininzi</i>	governance of the will of the majority	democracy
<i>IZizwe eziManyeneyo</i>	nations which are united	United Nations
<i>ImiCimbi yeKhaya</i>	affairs of home	Home Affairs
<i>Umdibaniso woMzantsi Afrika</i>	the collision of South Africa	Union of South Africa

As Van Huyssteen (2003: 115) points out about isiZulu, many loan translations possess a qualificative, which in many instances is in possessive constructions. This is the same in isiXhosa. Note that in the above the possessives ‘of’ and ‘for’ are prominent. This technique, of summing up the meaning of the term, or giving its definition is popular in term creation in isiXhosa as the terms are commonly created by looking at the function, shape and characteristics, amongst other things, of the concept. This, therefore, often leads to terms being descriptive. Even though I have expressed this as my concern throughout this section, I am also aware that most English words have Latin, Greek or French roots, which, if one traces the etymology of the term, would discover that the term originally represented the meaning of the concept, even if meaning might have shifted over time. I have illustrated this above with the term ‘democracy’. In personal communication with Dalvit, he indicated that

with his Italian background, he can “make out” meanings of English terms that have Latin roots as Latin is largely based on Italian (Dalvit, 2007).

The concern I have here is that terms instead of meanings of the concept represented are given as equivalents. Besides the inconsistency, the clumsiness in length, the meaning represented in them, facilitates the understanding, and to some extent, the adoption of the terms by the users. Having said that, one should be cautious in using this method as it can lead to ambiguity (Batibo, 2009: 10) as with the following isiXhosa example, where I have seen all the terms below used as equivalents of the term ‘reception:

<i>Ulwamkelo</i>	the welcome
<i>Ulwamkelo lweendwendwe</i>	welcoming of visitors
<i>Indawo yokwamkela iindwendwe</i>	a place for the receiving of guests
<i>Indawo yokufikela</i>	a place whereupon you arrive.

4.3.3.8 Borrowing

Borrowing is a technique that is dissimilar to other techniques discussed above in that it does not make use of internal sources in creating terms. It instead uses external sources or foreign sources, as Van Huyssteen (2003) refers to them. Languages should technically be able to borrow from each other, but it is normally the less powerful languages that borrow from the powerful languages (Alexander, 2003). Although some terminologists prefer that the first source for term creation be the language itself, prominent African terminologists Batibo (2010), Jokweni (2003) and Madiba (2001) concur that this is the most popular form in term creation and terms usually emerge from the users of the language themselves. Having worked extensively in the intellectualisation of Kiswahili in Tanzania, Batibo (2010: 16) states that

Although borrowing as an external strategy, is not supposed to be given priority, Kiswahili has extensively used this strategy. It accounts for a [third]

of the new terms in Kiswahili. This is mainly because most users of the new terms, especially in the higher domains are already users of these terms in English.

Although I am not able to provide statistics for such, borrowing is also one of the most common strategies used in isiXhosa in the process of term creation, as evidenced by the corpus of the language. IsiXhosa has borrowed from English, Afrikaans and other indigenous South African languages, although the latter is not often welcome, especially by the scholars of the language and purists, who prefer borrowing from ‘furthest’ external sources. This, as has been discussed above, is probably as a result of the politics associated with the development of indigenous South African languages.

Below I provide just a few of the examples of borrowings in isiXhosa. Illustrations of borrowed terms, together with their meaning and languages from which the borrowings originate are given:

²³Borrowing	Meaning	Language of origin and original word
<i>I-ankore</i>	anchor	Dutch <i>anker</i>
<i>Ukubhedesha</i>	pray/worship	Dutch <i>beden</i>
<i>Ukulayisha</i>	to load up	Dutch <i>laden</i>
<i>Ukulayita</i>	to light	English <i>light</i>
<i>Urhulumente</i>	government	Dutch <i>goevernement</i>
<i>Irhuluneli</i>	governor	Dutch <i>goeverneur</i>

²³ The borrowings have been selected from texts to be used in Chapter four, and definitions have, as far as possible, together with their equivalents, been taken from Kropf's *Kafir-English Dictionary* (1915) and Fischer's *Oxford English Xhosa Dictionary* (2006).

<i>Idemokhrasi</i>	democracy	English <i>democracy</i>
<i>Izinga</i>	level (extent of)	IsiZulu <i>izinga</i>
<i>IRhawuti</i>	Johannesburg	Afrikaans <i>goud</i>

It needs to be pointed out that most of the borrowings from English and Afrikaans are themselves borrowing in these languages as I have illustrated with democracy in 4.3.2 above.

As can be seen from the above, borrowing in terminology development or language elaboration is a norm rather than an exception. Madiba (2001) and Batibo (2010) state although it can sometimes be seen as a short cut, if appropriate processes are followed, borrowed terms can, in the long term be fully adopted and indigenised or institutionalised in the language into which they are being borrowed. They can also facilitate language intellectualisation, that is, the creation of terms in controlling domains.

There are three processes or phases that are involved when a term is borrowed from one language into another (Batibo, 2009). These are the adoption phase, the adaptation phase and the institutionalisation phase. These will be discussed below:

- a) The adoption of a term into the language: Madiba (2001: 65) refers to this phase as a phase which encourages free use of borrowing. In this phase existing loanwords are incorporated into the language. It could be that a term like ‘metamorphosis’ is adopted by just affixing a class 9 noun prefix *i-*, which is normally prefixed to an adoptive. In the adoption phase the equivalent term then would be *imetamorphosis*. The phase above starts a process of adaptation, a next phase in borrowing, where a loanword is adapted to the morphological and phonological structure of the language. In the term given above as an example, affixing the noun into the noun class system of isiXhosa is a morphological adaptation. What follows is a phonological process where, amongst other things vowels are inserted appropriately between consonants to eliminate ‘foreign’ clustering of syllables to attain the isiXhosa CV-syllabic structure, replacing ‘foreign’ sounds with appropriate sounds representing those in the language,

and adding vowels to closed syllables (Batibo, 2009: 12). The borrowed, adapted term would, therefore, be *imethamofosisi*.

- b) Madiba refers to this next phase as the indigenisation phase. In this phase, once the phenomenon represented by the term is widely understood by the users, it then gets replaced by an indigenous term, created through derivation, for example. A term like *imethamofosisi* can then be replaced by *inguqulo-milo*.

- c) The last phase in borrowing is the institutionalisation phase, where a word is accepted as belonging to the language. This phase includes entering the term in the dictionary of the language, in glossary lists and using it in educational materials, in media, etc. This process is part of the standardisation phase, and will be discussed briefly in the next section where I look at processes that should be followed to standardise and disseminate the created terms for use (and adoption) by the users.

Borrowing, as we can see from the above, can be a very productive way of creating and increasing terms, in various disciplines, in a language especially if the terms are adopted, adapted and indigenised in an acceptable theoretical framework. Careless borrowing can be counter-productive, and can result if users reject the terms created from the process, causing further negative attitudes towards the languages which are already perceived as being unable to appropriately provide equivalents for terms from powerful languages and powerful domains.

Once the terms have been created using the strategies above, they need to be standardised, disseminated and adopted by the users. The adoption is the indication of the users' benefit from using the term, and their acceptance thereof.

4.4 Standardisation, dissemination and acceptance of term

4.4.1 Standardisation of terms

Language standardisation has been discussed extensively in 4.2.1 under Corpus planning and terminology development. Term standardisation, by extension, is the selection and promotion of terminology that has been approved by an authorised body, because it fits within the appropriate framework of terminology creation. These new terms are then promoted and used as standard forms (Batibo, 2009).

At present, the process of standardisation of terms created in official languages in South Africa is carried out by the Language Boards representative of each of the eleven (11) official languages; in the case of isiXhosa it is the IsiXhosa Language Body (XLB) that is responsible for the standardisation of newly-created terms in isiXhosa. Terms are created in various contexts – in government institutions, research institutions, language departments, by educational practitioners, organisations with interest in education, etc. The establishment of a body with the purpose of standardising new terminology is advantageous for facilitation of the intellectualisation of indigenous languages. Such a body can facilitate uniformity, conformity and commonality in these terms. They can also provide regular guidelines on terms creation strategies, especially in contexts where terms are created in less formalised contexts. This body can also create an inventory and also act as a source of collection of all terms created, with the purpose of disseminating them, or making them easily accessible to those who can benefit from it. This can avoid duplication of work that is common in the South African context. The XLB is set up to facilitate this process but except for the DAC terminologies that are discussed in Chapter 5, I am not aware of other words they have verified. It is also not clear what processes need to be followed in submitting work to them for verification.

4.4.2 Dissemination of terms

As indicated above, once terms have been standardised and perhaps amassed in an inventory, they have to be disseminated to the users by the authorised body, in the South African case, by the Language Boards or the umbrella body, the National Language Board under which all the Language Boards fall. Terms can be disseminated through discipline-specific or general glossaries, in educational materials, in appropriate environments where this terminology will be used, e.g. in government offices and libraries, in public seminars where users can engage with them, in literary publications, in all forms of media, etc. Dissemination of terms, especially in print form, gives an indication of the usability of terms, and assists with the modernisation of language. When the target people see the language in print, they start using it, and they start providing alternative terms to those provided or additional terms as the need arises.

The challenge in South African is that although there is a variety of terminology developed, including that which was developed during the apartheid years, these remain in library archives or in the shelves of the bodies or organisations that developed the. I am in possession of terminology, some duplicated, from the various provincial governments, from educational institutions, from projects piloting development of multilingual glossaries, from the early scholars of isiXhosa, etc. This terminology will be referred to in Chapter five of my thesis. There is a clear duplication of terminology in this work because it is, perhaps, not widely disseminated.

4.4.3 Acceptance of terms

Factors that facilitate the acceptance of terms are aligned to the criteria for the selection of terms, discussed extensively under 4.3.2. They are revisited here for the purposes of clarification. Batibo lists various factors that are favourable to the acceptance, use and

adoption of the created terms in Kiswahili. These are the approving authority, the habits of the users, presence or absence of transparency in terms, elaboration of semantic use, presence or absence of other competing terms, etymology of the word, memorisation and reproduction of the term (Batibo, 2009: 3).

On the one hand, the approving authority has a stamp of authority and in standardising the terms they are validating them and accepting them as appropriate in the language in all respects. The users, on the other hand, will adopt terms that are appropriate in their different contexts, and alternatives and registers should be provided to fit each context. Terms that are less opaque in meaning will be easily adopted as opaque terms tend to be blurred, and are generally avoided. Elaboration of semantic use is related to the previous factor in that meaning of a term has to be well communicated in a term, to ensure that it is understood by the users. If there are other terms representing the same concept, and that are in existence and are accepted by the users, it might be difficult for them to adopt the new term. The etymology of the word is important. If it has a distasteful origin to the language users, it will be difficult to use. The shorter terms are normally easy to memorise and reproduce.

4.5 Conclusion

Various legislative calls have been made for the promotion of multilingualism in education, and for use of African language instruction to promote education. A deterrent of their use is primarily seen as their inability to articulate concepts and terminology that is required in the education context. I argue in this chapter that one way for the promotion and use of African languages, is to develop terminology in them, as part of corpus planning under language planning.

The main conclusion drawn from this chapter is that isiXhosa, like all languages, has a potential and is capable of development. New terminology can be developed, using universally accepted and proven term-creation principles, and drawing from both internal and external sources. Strategies that are common in this process, with exemplification, have been

discussed. As we have seen, these strategies have resulted in the modernisation of isiXhosa over the years. It is necessary then, that the challenges identified, especially those associated with the creation of terms in high domains, the dissemination, use and newly-created terms in isiXhosa, be addressed to facilitate the intellectualisation of isiXhosa so that it can be used, at least in the short to medium term, in education. This, I contend, will not only grow the corpus of the language, but also will facilitate effective and quality learning.

CHAPTER FIVE: SAMPLE OF ISIXHOSA TERMINOLOGIES DEVELOPED FROM 1958 to 2008

5.1 Introduction

The value of using mother tongue to facilitate qualitative and effective acquisition and sharing of knowledge in education has been discussed extensively in Chapter two. Even though this is understood by the education planners in South Africa, as indicated by various legislative policies, isiXhosa and other indigenous African languages are not used to support learning beyond the first few years of schooling. The arguments against the use of indigenous African languages in education vary, but the most prominent is that African languages lack terminology and teaching materials to support such learning beyond primary education. In other words, the claim is that the African languages are not intellectualised.

While it is true that indigenous African languages are not intellectualised especially in modern domains, we have illustrated that their rich oral culture, their development into print form by missionaries and other subsequent scholars, and their development as LoLT for the first eight years of schooling during the apartheid era – all these are indications that they are intellectualised to some extent, and that they are capable of being further intellectualised for use to support learning beyond senior school, and directly into higher education.

Furthermore, their corpus can be developed such that they can support learning in all disciplines. This has been illustrated by strategies and methods commonly used in terminology development across languages (as a strategy for language elaboration, or corpus development and discussed in Chapter four), processes that have also been used in developing isiXhosa since the 1800s.

We have discussed in Chapter three that there was a concerted drive to develop material in indigenous African languages to support mother tongue education when the politically

motivated Bantu Education Act of 1953 extended mother tongue education from the initial four years to first eight years of schooling (Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh, 2004: 177-178). The first stage of Bantu education came to an end in 1975, and the focus moved away from African languages, except in the Bantustans. The shift has moved back to African languages, with post-apartheid policy supporting mother tongue education. However, its implementation is slow, with education planners blaming the inability of African languages to support such learning.

Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh are the only scholars who have done an investigation on the availability of terminology and schoolbooks in indigenous African languages. The outcome of their research was published in an aptly titled article, *Terminology and schoolbooks in Southern African languages: Aren't there any?* first as PRAESA's Occasional Paper No. 10 in 2002, and later as a book chapter (2004). In essence the study disproves the common argument about the lack of isiXhosa materials to support learning and teaching. Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh trace the development of materials in indigenous African languages during the first stage of Bantu Education (1955-1975), outlining the motivation for this, and providing samples of such materials. The conclusion of this investigation is that

... [There] was indeed considerable work accomplished in the area of terminology development and that despite many of the criticisms about the legitimacy of such work, many scholars of African languages today are of the opinion that while mistakes may have been made and there is a need to properly evaluate existing work, much of the criticism was, and continues to be, exaggerated. What the researchers had not expected to find was the wide range and level of complexity within the content of the textbooks examined. Contrary to expectation, the content of textbooks so far does not indicate cognitively impoverished curriculum for [pupils speaking African languages] in the primary school years before 1975 (Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh, 2004:199).

The above authors end off their investigation with the following remarks:

There may well be dubious and unacceptable material from the period 1955-1975, but what has been unearthed in this study is sufficient evidence to call for a thorough analysis, at least of the efficacy of existing terminology which covered a very wide range of educational subject matter. Such an analysis, and one which also includes the content of materials published in the past, may help us speed up the process of producing modern, appropriate and educationally useful textbooks for pupils of all language backgrounds today and for the future (Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh, 2004: 199-200).

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to present samples of terminology lists developed in isiXhosa between 1958 and 2008, to support mother tongue education during apartheid (1958-1972), and that developed after attainment of democracy to facilitate linguistic parity, access and success, and multilingualism in education. The focus though will be on the *Department of Bantu Education's Xhosa Terminology No. 3*, published in 1972. This material is in library archives and is not used, largely because of the historical context during which it was developed (Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh, 2004). This and other terminology lists cover various topics and will be selected randomly to illustrate the following:

- There *is* satisfactory material in isiXhosa that can be used to support mother tongue education, at least during the first eight years of schooling that has been developed during the Bantu education's extension of mother tongue education;
- Terminology development continued into the 2000's, but haphazardly and in an uncoordinated manner ;
- Terminology development strategies can be formalised and used to develop new terminology that is required in modern domains like information systems and technology, that were not taught during the apartheid years;
- Similar strategies can be used to develop neologisms (in isiXhosa) that are required in various domains owing to the demands of modernity; and
- Similar strategies can be used to develop "high register" terminology to support learning in higher education, making it possible for mother-tongue based bilingual

education to be extended to HEIs and, in long term, to use isiXhosa as a medium of instruction at university.

I will also present samples of other isiXhosa terminology lists developed in the 2000s in the Western Cape and Eastern Cape Provincial Parliaments. I have selected this list because the terminology covered is relevant to the discipline of Politics, which I will provide in Chapter six as a model for terminology development to support learning of the subject at university.

It needs to be noted that not all the terminology developed was perfect, and this was articulated in the introduction of each terminology list, and interested parties were, for that reason, requested to submit their comments regarding the list to the secretary of each language committee that was responsible for such development. The introduction of the terminology list published in the *Bantu Education Journal* of March 1959 states that

La magama apoposhwa ngezantsi, aziswa kuwonke-wonke ngenjongo yokuba ahluzwe, kuvezwe amadlala angaba akho kuwo. Zonke izimvo neengcaciso-magama ezizezinye ezithe zandululwa sesi saziso zakuqwalaselwa ngenyameko. Ke apha naphaya kunikwa amagama ngamagama, okanye amagama [amabini], kodwa wona ethetha nto nye. Kwakuba mnandi ukuba ukuba bona abanye abantu bathi ngawaphi na awona-wona magama asisiXhosa esisemgangathweni. Iititshala nabo bantu banomdla kulo msebenzi bacelwa ngembeko ukuba bathumele ezabo iimbono... Xhosa Language Committee...

(Bantu Education Journal, March 1959: 40).

[Loose translation] The terms proposed below are published and given to the public for comments, evaluation and criticism. All views and definitions of terms that are received and are resultant from this notice will be carefully considered. There are instances where various alternatives, or two words, are

given for one word. We would appreciate if people can indicate which of the word in the alternatives they regard as ‘standard’ isiXhosa. Teachers and other interested persons are humbly asked to send their views to ... Xhosa Language Committee...

In each sample of the list provided, I will give a context in which it was developed and also discuss the positive features and the limitations of the terminology, in the context of the principles, methods and approaches for terminology development as outlined in Chapter four.

5.2 Samples of terminology lists developed in isiXhosa from 1958 to 2003

Most of the terminology lists developed in the 1950s to support the extension of mother tongue education during the Bantu Education era in the 1950s was published in the *Bantu Education Journal*, a government publication pertaining to matters of Bantu Education. The lists were all published in three languages – English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa. These were accessed from the Cory Library at Rhodes University, Grahamstown. I list below the titles of texts examined for the purposes of this thesis, and that appear in the various volumes of the *Bantu Education Journal*.

- a) *Proposed scientific and general [isiXhosa] terms for the primary schools* (published in February 1958 by the then Department of Bantu Education);
- b) *Amagama apoposhwa ukuba asetyenziwe kwizifundo zenzululwazi, zendalo, zezibalo, zolondolozo-makhaya nezelizwe nezalo, nakwintetho yesiXhosa ngokubanzi kwizikolo zamabanga asezantsi* [tr. Proposed terms for use in science, nature studies, mathematics/arithmetics, home economics, history and in general isiXhosa for the primary schools) (published in March 1959 by the then Department of Bantu Education);
- c) *Amagama apoposhwa ukuba asetyenziwe kwizifundo zenzululwazi, zendalo, zezibalo, zolondolozo-makhaya nezelizwe nezalo, nakwintetho yesiXhosa ngokubanzi kwizikolo zamabanga asezantsi (asaqhutywa)* [tr. Proposed terms for use in science, nature

studies, mathematics/arithmetics, home economics, history and in general isiXhosa for the primary schools (continued) (published in April 1959 by the then Department of Bantu Education);

- d) *Xhosa terminologie en spelreëls No. 3/Xhosa terminology and orthography No. 3* (published in (1972) by the then Department of Bantu Education;
- e) *Multilingual Parliamentary/Political Terminology List* (published in 2008 by the National Language Services of the Department of Arts and Culture, South Africa);
and
- f) *Ingcaciso yesigama seKhompyutha* (Computer Science glossary) and Political Philosophy I glossary list (published in 2008 and 2009 respectively, by the RU-SANTED Multilingualism Project.

I wish to note here that the National Language Services Directorate in the Department of Arts and Culture has a Terminology co-ordination sub-directorate which in 2008, over and above the terminology list published indicated above, also published multilingual lists in Mathematics, Natural Science for Grades R to 6, as well as multilingual ICT terminology. The other terminology lists will not be examined here, but will be discussed in the concluding chapter of this research. The *Multilingual Parliamentary/Political Terminology List* is discussed here again, because of the relation to the Political Philosophy I terminology list to be presented as a model of terms developed, and that will be the subject of Chapter six.

In the following section I will extract some terms from each of the lists provided above, and discuss them as already indicated.

5.2.1 Proposed *Scientific and general [isiXhosa] terms for the primary schools published in 1958*

The terminology lists were the work of the 'Xhosa' Language Committee/Board convened specifically for the purpose of developing terminology in isiXhosa to support the Bantu Education Department's mother tongue education policy for geographical areas where

isiXhosa was spoken, especially in the former Cape Province (Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh, 2004: 188-190). These Committees published four Terminology and Orthography lists in total in 1957, 1958, 1959 and 1972 (ibid.).

This list, *Proposed scientific and general [isiXhosa] terms for the primary schools* published on pages 40-41 of the *Bantu Education Journal* in February 1958 is the first of the three lists that will be examined here from this period. It contains ninety two (92) terms, and contrary to what the title suggests, the focus is not necessarily on scientific terms but covers a wide range of subject areas, as will be evident from the sample provided.

What follows is a list of terms in English, and their equivalents in isiXhosa, as they appear in the Terminology List. These terms have been arbitrarily selected to illustrate certain points in the process of terminology development and the strategies and approaches used in creating a term. Discussion of these strategies used in developing terminology during these periods will be presented and discussed at the end, after all the samples of the terminology lists have been presented. All samples are extracted from these lists to illustrate the scholarliness of the approaches used in terminology development, as well the diversity, in terms of the scope of disciplines and levels of education, targeted.

Term in English	Equivalent in isiXhosa
1. Abdomen	<i>isisu (somntu); umnqe (wesinambuzane)</i>
2. Adaptation	<i>isilungelelaniso</i>
3. Esikhule-gqibi	
4. Air	<i>umoya</i>
5. Angle	<i>idolo</i>
6. Right angle	<i>idolo loxande</i>

7. At right angle to each other	<i>ukungqamana nge-dolo-xande</i>
8. Antenna	<i>uphondo</i>
9. Biennial	<i>esonyaka-mbini, unyaka-mbini</i>
10. Bulb	<i>ibhalbhu, unomanyamana, isitswele</i>
11. Bundles (vascular)	<i>imithambo</i>
12. Classification kingdom phylum class family genus species variety	<i>uhlelo</i> <i>icandelo</i> <i>udidi</i> <i>ihlelo</i> <i>uluhlu</i> <i>umlibo</i> <i>uhlobo</i> <i>uhlotyana</i>
13. Comb	<i>intlanga yobusi</i>
14. Compartments (in ovary)	<i>amakhumbi</i>
15. Drill	<i>ukuthamba</i>
16. Gas	<i>igesi</i>
17. Equator	<i>ikhweyitha, umda-mbindini</i>
18. Hemisphere	<i>isiqingatha-hlabathi</i>
19. Herb	<i>utyani, umthazana</i>
20. Hibernate	<i>ukulala ubusika bone</i>
21. Incisors	<i>amaluma</i>

22. Latitude	<i>isibanzi</i>
23. Longitude	<i>iside</i>
24. Milk teeth	<i>amazinto kantloyiya, amazinyo okuqala</i>
25. Museum	<i>imuseum</i>
26. Nitrogen	<i>initrogen</i>
27. Ovary (animal)	<i>isiyilelo seqando</i>
28. Ovary (plant)	<i>isizalo</i>
29. Ovule	<i>iqandana</i>
30. Ovum	<i>ukhozwana lweqanda, iovum</i>
31. Oxygen	<i>ioxygen</i>
32. Soil erosion	<i>ukhukuliseko lomhlaba</i>
33. Solute	<i>isinyibiliki</i>
34. Solution	<i>isinyibiliko</i>
35. Solvent	<i>isinyibilikisi</i>
36. Sterilize	<i>ukutshisa iintsholongwane, ukudlolisa</i>
37. Water vapour	<i>umphunga, umfutho wamanzi</i>
38. Wireless	<i>unomathotholo, iwayalesi</i>
39. Yellow	<i>tyheli, lubhelu, mthubi</i>

5.2.2 *Amagama apoposhwa ukuba asetyenziwe kwizifundo zenzululwazi, zendalo, zezibalo, zolondolozo-makhaya nezelizwe nezalo, nakwintetho yesiXhosa ngokubanzi kwizikolo zamabanga asezantsi* [tr. Proposed terms for use in science, nature studies, mathematics/arithmetics, home economics, history and in general isiXhosa for the primary schools]

This terminology list was published in two volumes. The first list *Amagama apoposhwa ukuba asetyenziwe kwizifundo zenzululwazi, zendalo, zezibalo, zolondolozo-makhaya nezelizwe nezalo, nakwintetho yesiXhosa ngokubanzi kwizikolo zamabanga asezantsi* [tr. Proposed terms for use in science, nature studies, mathematics/arithmetics, home economics, history and in general isiXhosa for the primary schools] was published in the March 1959 volume of the *Bantu Education Journal*. It contained English-isiXhosa terms from different subject areas, as suggested in the title, from letter A to D of the alphabet. There were about 500 terms in this list.

The second list was published, under the same topic as above, in the April 1959 volume of the *Bantu Education Journal*, and, as indicated, was a continuation of the list published in March 1959 and contained terms from letter D to Z. There are also two appendices, one containing abbreviations used to refer to money, distance, time, weight, capacity, square and cubic measurements and another containing terminology used to refer to numbers specific to Mathematics, together with exemplifications. I found the latter remarkable as abbreviations and acronymy in isiXhosa are often a challenge, as illustrated under 4.3.3.5 in Chapter four. The lists have a total of over 780 terms.

Generally, together the terminology lists are fairly extensive and detailed. Besides the fact that its length far surpasses the previous list, it is also in-depth. For example, where distinction needs to be made, an equivalent of a term is given as it pertains to a specific discipline, unlike in the 1958 List where a term was given with no distinction made in terms of its domain. What follows is a sample of some of the terms that appear in this list.

Term in English	Equivalent in isiXhosa
1. Abrasive	<i>isikuhlo</i>
2. Absolute	<i>olungenasithintelo</i>
3. Absolute rule	<i>ulawulo olungenasithintelo</i>
4. Absolve	<i>ukukhulula</i>
5. Accessory	<i>umkhwezeli</i>
6. Add	<i>dibanisa</i>
7. Addition	<i>udibaniso</i>
8. Administer	<i>lawula, phatha</i>
9. Administrative capital	<i>iziko lolawulo</i>
10. Administrator	<i>umlawuli wephondo</i>
11. Anemometer	<i>isilinganiso samendu omoya, isilinganiso samandla omoya</i>
12. Angular	<i>Bumbombo, butsolo, budolo</i>
13. Annex	<i>hlomela</i>
14. Annexation	<i>uhlomelo</i>
15. Annotate	<i>Ukwenza amanqaku</i>
16. Anopheles	<i>Ingcongcono yemalariya, ianopheles</i>
17. Anti-cyclone	<i>isigqithelaphandle</i>
18. Anti-serum	<i>ubuhlungu</i>
19. Anti-social	<i>ubundlobongela</i>

20. Antithesis	<i>ubunxambini</i>
21. Anti-toxin	<i>Isilwa-buhlungu</i>
22. Approximation	<i>isisondeliso</i>
23. Aqueous humor	<i>Amanzi eliso</i>
24. Area	<i>iariya</i>
25. Astronomy	<i>inkwenkwezilwazi</i>
26. Atmospheric pressure	<i>isixinzelelo somoya, isixinzelelo se-atmosfera</i>
27. Bacteriology	<i>ulwazi ngeentsholongwane</i>
28. Balance of power	<i>ukulingana ngamandla</i>
29. Besiege (v.)	<i>ungqinga</i>
30. Bill (parliamentary)	<i>umthetho oyilwayo, umthetho ocetywayo</i>
31. Biography	<i>ibali ngobomi, ibali lobomi</i>
32. Biographer	<i>umbhali ngobomi, umbhali webali lobomi</i>
33. Boom (commercial)	<i>ixesha lendyebo, iminyaka yendyebo</i>
34. Border (needlework)	<i>umqukumbelo, umphetho</i>
35. Border (floor)	<i>umqukumbelo, umphetho, ibhoda</i>
36. Border (land)	<i>umda, umlima-ndlela</i>
37. Bribe (n.)	<i>isicengo</i>
38. Bribe (v.)	<i>hlawula isicengo, thenga, nyoba</i>
39. Bribery	<i>uthengo, unyhwelezo</i>
40. Budget	<i>uqingqo-mali</i>

41. Cabinet (parliamentary)	<i>isigqeba sombuso, ikhabhinethi</i>
42. Candidate (political)	<i>ihungu elizigqatsileyo, umgqatswa,ozigqatsileyo</i>
43. Candidate (school)	<i>umviwa, umngeneli-luviwo</i>
44. Capacity	<i>umthamo, umbilini</i>
45. Capital (money)	<i>inkunzi</i>
46. Carbon	<i>isilahle, ikharbhon</i>
47. Carbon dioxide	<i>ikharbhon diokside</i>
48. Cardinal points east west north south	<i>amagumbi omhlaba impuma intshona umntla umzantsi</i>
49. Cause and effect	<i>unobangela nesiphumo</i>
50. Century	<i>ikhulu leminyaka, unokhulu</i>
51. Chloroform	<i>iklorofom</i>
52. Chlorophyll	<i>intlaza, iklorofili</i>
53. Circulate	<i>jikeleza, jikelezisa</i>
54. Circulation	<i>ujikelezo</i>
55. Circuit	<i>umjikelo, isekethe</i>
56. Circuit court	<i>umjikelo wejaji</i>
57. Citizen	<i>Isima-mhlaba</i>

58. Citizenship	<i>ubumi-mhlaba</i>
59. Coalition government	<i>uRulumente wemvumelwano</i>
60. Colonial	<i>yesithanga</i>
61. Colonise	<i>seka ithanga</i>
62. Colonist	<i>ummi-sithanga, umseki-sithanga</i>
63. Colony (land)	<i>ithanga</i>
64. Combustion	<i>ukutsha</i>
65. Commerce	<i>urwebo</i>
66. Commercial	<i>yorwebo</i>
67. Confederation	<i>Umanyano lwezizwe</i>
68. Confiscate	<i>thimba</i>
69. Consolidate	<i>zinzisa, bethelela</i>
70. Constituency	<i>iziko lonyulo</i>
71. Constitution	<i>imigaqo</i>
72. Convert	<i>igqobhoka, iguquka</i>
73. Cost	<i>ixabiso</i>
74. Cost of living	<i>indleko yentlalo</i>
75. Council	<i>ibhunga, iqumrhu</i>
76. Councillor	<i>iphakathi, ilungu, iceba, uCeba</i>
77. Court messenger	<i>unothimba</i>
78. Court-room	<i>inkundla</i>
79. Decimal	<i>eyesishumi, eyedesimali</i>

80. Decimal fraction	<i>iqhezu ledesimali, iqhezu lesishumi</i>
81. Decimal point	<i>ichaphaza lesishumi, ichaphaza ledesimali</i>
82. Decompose (arithmetic)	<i>chitha</i>
83. Decomposition	<i>uchitho lwamanani</i>
84. Deduct	<i>thabatha, nciphisa</i>
85. Deduction	<i>ukunciphisa, unciphiso</i>
86. Democracy	<i>ulawulo ngomelo, eyolawulo ngomelo</i>
87. Democratic	<i>eyolawulo-melo, eyedemokhrasi</i>
88. Depression (economic)	<i>imbandezelo, inkxwaleko</i>
89. Despot	<i>umbandezelo, umngonyameli</i>
90. Dicotyledon	<i>uceba-mbini</i>
91. Dictator	<i>uzwilakhe, uSomagunya</i>
92. Disarm	<i>beka izixhobo, hlutha izixhobo</i>
93. Disband	<i>chitha (umkhosi)</i>
94. Discount	<i>isaphulelo</i>
95. Dissolve (parliament)	<i>chitha</i>
96. Dispute	<i>imbambano, ingxabano, impikiswano</i>
97. District surgeon	<i>igosa lempilo, igqira lesithili, igqira likaRulumente, ugqira kaRulumente</i>
98. Divide	<i>ahlula-hlula, aba</i>
99. Doctrine	<i>imfundiso</i>
100. Dynamite	<i>idamanethi</i>

101.	Electric current	<i>umsinga wombane</i>
102.	Electric wire	<i>intambo yombane</i>
103.	Electrician	<i>ichule lombane</i>
104.	Emancipation	<i>inkululo, inkululeko</i>
105.	Embryo	<i>isibindi sembewu</i>
106.	Enfranchise	<i>nika ivoti</i>
107.	Enfranchisement	<i>uniko-voti</i>
108.	Evaporation	<i>ukutsha (kolwelo)</i>
109.	Evolution	<i>indaleko</i>
110.	Expenditure	<i>inkcitho</i>
111.	Flag	<i>indwe, ibhanile</i>
112.	Flour	<i>umgubo, iflawwa</i>
113.	Formula	<i>iformula, isitshixo</i>
114.	Fraction (decimal)	<i>iqhezu ledesimali, iqhezu lesishumi</i>
115.	Fraction (improper)	<i>untlokonkulu, iqhezu elintloko inkulu</i>
116.	Fraction (vulgar)	<i>iqhezu nje</i>
117.	Fraction (mixed)	<i>iqhezu-ngxube</i>
118.	Geologist	<i>umhlaba-sazi</i>
119.	Geology	<i>umhlabalwazi</i>
120.	Geography	<i>ilizwelwazi, ijografi</i>
121.	Governor	<i>iruhuneli</i>
122.	G.C.M.	<i>eyona fekta inkulu (E.F.K.)</i>

123.	Great Trek	<i>iMfunduko eNkulu</i>
124.	Headquarters	<i>isigqubo, isiziko</i>
125.	Hedge	<i>uthango</i>
126.	High treason	<i>ukungcatsha</i>
127.	Highest Common Factor (H.C.F)	<i>eyona fekta inkulu (E.F.K.)</i>
128.	Horizontal	<i>ethe tswi,</i>
129.	Hundredweight	<i>isentali (cwt.)</i>
130.	Hydro-electricity	<i>umbane wamandla amanzi, umbane manzi</i>
131.	Identity number	<i>inani lophawu</i>
132.	Imperial airways	<i>ii-imperial airways</i>
133.	Import duty	<i>irafu yeempahla</i>
134.	Importation	<i>ungeniso ngorwebo</i>
135.	Importer	<i>umrwebi-mngenisi</i>
136.	Income	<i>ingeniso, ingenelelo</i>
137.	Injustice	<i>intswelo-buhungisa</i>
138.	Justice	<i>imithetho</i>
139.	Legislation	<i>umiso-mithethi</i>
140.	Legislative Assembly	<i>iziko lokuqingqa imithetho, iziko lokuyila imithetho</i>
141.	Legislative capital	<i>ikomkhulu lokuqingqa imithetho</i>
142.	Liberty	<i>inkululo, inkululeko</i>

143.	Lowest Common Multiple (L.C.M.)	<i>esona siphindo siphantsi</i>
144.	Multiplication	<i>ukuphinda-phinda, uphinda-phindo</i>
145.	Notation	<i>ubalo lwamanani</i>
146.	Oxygen	<i>ioksijeni</i>
147.	Ovule	<i>iqandana</i>
148.	Particles (of matter)	<i>amasuntswana, iintlalutya</i>
149.	Particles (of water)	<i>amathontsana (amanzi)</i>
150.	Photosynthesis	<i>ifotosintesi</i>
151.	Plumule	<i>isithonjana</i>
152.	Principles	<i>imigaqo-siseko, imithetho-siseko</i>
153.	Quarter	<i>ikota, ikwata</i>
154.	Radiation	<i>ukusasaza, ukugqatsa</i>
155.	Rectangular	<i>buxande</i>
156.	Solution (of a mixture)	<i>isinyibiliko</i>
157.	Solution (of a problem)	<i>ukusompa iqhina</i>
158.	Solvent	<i>isinyibilikisi</i>
159.	Square	<i>isikwere (sk.) iskwere (sk.)</i>
160.	Square foot (sq. ft.)	<i>isikwerifuthi (sk. ft.) iskwerefuthi (sk. ft.)</i>
161.	Square inch (sq. in.)	<i>isikwerintshi (sk. in.) iskwereintshi (sk. in.)</i>
162.	Square yard (sq. yd.)	<i>isikweyadi (sq. yd.), iskweyadi (sk. yd.)</i>
163.	Sulphates	<i>iisalfati</i>

164.	Sum	<i>isibalo, isidibaniso</i>
165.	Transaction	<i>ulwananiso</i>
166.	Triangular	<i>bunxa-ntathu</i>
167.	Tube	<i>umbhobho</i>
168.	Tubules	<i>umbhojana</i>
169.	Vein	<i>unobuyisa</i>
170.	Volume	<i>umthamo, umbilini</i>
171.	Whole number	<i>inani elizeleyo, inani elipheleleyo</i>

5.2.3 *Xhosa terminologie en spelreëls No. 3/Xhosa terminology and orthography No. 3* (published in 1972)

The *Xhosa Terminology and Orthography No. 3* was published in 1972 by the Department of Bantu Education. Unlike the two lists discussed above, this list was not attached to the *Bantu Education Journal*, but was a publication on its own probably because of its size. For the first time, the terms are also provided in Afrikaans, in all probability, in response to the government's decree for introduction of Afrikaans as an additional medium of instruction in Bantu Education. It is extremely extensive in the subject areas and the different levels of education it covers and contains approximately 10, 000 (ten thousand) terms.

The first part of the list is the foreword which provides background information and facts on issues relating to the layout of the Terminology List. The second part provides a detailed orthography of the language focussing on topics such as the pronunciation of the isiXhosa alphabet, the writing of the vowels and consonants, capitalisation, word division, hyphenation, etc. Changes in spelling rules at the time are also discussed, particularly those

that are a result of the borrowing from other languages. I wish to mention here the distinction made between the rolled alveolar “r” (*iranti* – rand) – that is occurring in terms adopted from other languages, and the voiceless velar fricative “rh” (*irhafu* – tax). This has been identified as a challenge in my discussion of the lists above.

With approximately ten thousand words, the list is the most detailed, extensive and comprehensive of any of the lists that were published before in isiXhosa. It is a revised and enlarged edition of the 1958 and the 1959 list. It was the first where the focus was not only at primary, but aimed at secondary and post-secondary schooling. The domains covered included virtually all subjects taught at school and at training schools where isiXhosa was used as a medium. Terminology for use by authors and translators of school learning materials was also created and included in this list. Over and above formal education contexts, terms were also developed for use in other contexts such as news bulletins and other programmes in the media. As with the other previous lists, the [isiXhosa] Language Committee drove the process of the terminology development including its standardisation and the articulation, in writing, of rules pertaining to the grammar of the language, especially around the “coinage” of terms (*[Xhosa] Terminology and Orthography No. 3, 1972:5*). However, it is worth mentioning here that, for the first time, other role players were involved from the onset in the collection and development of terms. For example the broadcasters in the then state controlled *Radio Bantu* are reported to have played a major role. In summary, the first part of the foreword of this publication states that

Terms included in this list are intended in the first place for use in the *primary school* and have mainly been taken from the syllabuses for the various subjects of the primary school. Terms that were required after the introduction of the *new syllabuses* and the “new approach” accompanying them, were also incorporated as far as possible (e.g. for Mathematics and General Science). Terms that could be useful in training schools where instruction in some subjects such as Religious Instruction is given through the medium of [isiXhosa] have also been included. Likewise, terms that might be required by writers and translators of school handbooks as well as general terms for which an increasing demand exists outside the school are included... In co-operation

with *Radio Bantu* for instance, quite a number of terms were coined for use in news bulletins and other programmes [ibid.].

Where it matters, terms, in English (which is the head word) are marked in regards to their parts of speech and their subject area to appropriateness and lack of ambiguity of the equivalent term in isiXhosa. This also facilitated creation of registers in isiXhosa in different subject areas that are covered in the terminology list. Subject areas covered included Natural Science, Biology, Geography, Mathematics, Arithmetic, Music, Needlework and History. There is also extensive coverage of grammar-specific terminology. This terminology is used as standard terminology is grammar books up to this day, and is also used in classrooms and in universities where isiXhosa is taught as a subject.

What follows is a sample of some pertinent terms selected from the letter A from the ten thousand (10, 000) terms appearing on the list. I have selected only this letter, as a manageable corpus, to illustrate important issues related to terminology development. The rest of the terms selected from the list appear at the end of this work as appendix A. I also specifically selected those terms that I perceive as being in disciplines that are known as lacking in terminology in isiXhosa, and unless there is a reason, I try and avoid the terms that have been given as examples in the lists above.

Term in English	Equivalent in isiXhosa
1. a/c (account)	<i>a/k (iakhawunti)</i>
2. Abacus	<i>isihlohlo sobalo</i>
3. Abdicate	<i>ukudeda</i>
4. Abdomen	<i>isisu</i>
5. Abdomen (zool.)	<i>isisu (somntu), umnqe (wesinambuzane)</i>
6. Ablactate	<i>ukubukula</i>
7. Abolish	<i>Ukubhangisa, ukutshitshisa, ukunqumamisa</i>

8. Above sea level	<i>ngaphezu kokuthi tyaba kolwandle, ngaphezu kolwandle</i>
9. Absolute pronoun	<i>isimelabizo soqobo</i>
10. Absolute rule (government)	<i>ulawulo olungenasithintelo</i>
11. Absolve	<i>ukukhulula</i>
12. Absorb	<i>ukufunxa</i>
13. Absorb moisture	<i>ukufunxa amanzi</i>
14. Absorption	<i>ufunxo, ukufunxa</i>
15. Abstract	<i>engaphathekiyo, eqikelelwayo</i>
16. Abstract noun	<i>isibiso-bume</i>
17. Abstract (not concrete)	<i>engaphathekiyo, eqikelelwayo</i>
18. Abstract art	<i>ubuchule obufihlakeleyo</i>
19. Abstract number	<i>inani nje</i>
20. Abstract teaching	<i>imfundo ebumakanibe</i>
21. Acclimatisation	<i>uqhelo-mo, ungqinelwano</i>
22. Acclimatise (weather)	<i>ukuziqhelanisa</i>
23. Accounting	<i>ucalulo-mali, ucwangciso-mali</i>
24. Accumulation	<i>ukufumba</i>
25. Accuracy	<i>ukuchana</i>
26. Accuracy	<i>Chanile; onguwo; nqo</i>
27. Accuse	<i>Ukumangalela, ukube'ityala, ukutyhola</i>
28. Acetabulum	<i>usikrotyana</i>

29. Acquittal	<i>ukugwetyelwa</i>
30. Act (in play)	<i>Ukudlala, ukulinganisa</i>
31. Act (law)	<i>umthetho</i>
32. Act (n.)	<i>isenzo</i>
33. Actual cost	<i>Elona xabiso</i>
34. Ad libitum	<i>ngokukhululekileyo, ngokuthanda</i>
35. Addition	<i>udibaniso</i>
36. Addition	<i>udibaniso</i>
37. Addition puzzle	<i>qashi-qashi-dibaniso</i>
38. Addition sign (+)	<i>isidibanisi</i>
39. Adenoids	<i>amarhanana</i>
40. Adjectival clause	<i>igatya eliphawulayo</i>
41. Adjectival concord	<i>isivumelanisi seisphawuli</i>
42. Adjective	<i>isiphawuli</i>
43. Adjudicate	<i>ukugweba</i>
44. Adjudicator	<i>umgwebi</i>
45. Adjudicator	<i>umgwebi</i>
46. Adjunct (n.) (gr.)	<i>isongezo</i>
47. Adjunct note	<i>isiwezi</i>
48. Administer	<i>lawula, phatha</i>
49. Administration	<i>ulawulo</i>
50. Administrative capital	<i>iziko lolawulo</i>

51. Administrator	<i>umlawuli wephondo</i>
52. Admit (allow access)	<i>ukwamkela; ukungenisa</i>
53. Admit a charge	<i>ukuvuma ityala</i>
54. Adverb	<i>isihlomelo</i>
55. Adverb of interrogation	<i>isihlomelo sokubuzo</i>
56. Adverb of manner	<i>isihlomelo sendlela</i>
57. Adverb of place	<i>isihlomelo sendawo</i>
58. Adverbial clause	<i>igatya elihlomelayo; igatyasihlomelo</i>
59. Advocate (n)	<i>ummeli</i>
60. Advocate (v)	<i>ukumela; ukuxhasa</i>
61. Aesthetic	<i>yobuhle</i>
62. Affidavit	<i>Ingxelo efunjelweyo</i>
63. Affiliation	<i>ubandakanyo</i>
64. Algae	<i>ulwelwe</i>
65. Alimentary canal	<i>Ujelo lokutya; lolwetyiso</i>
66. Alias	<i>ogama limbi</i>
67. Alimentary canal	<i>ujelo lokudla; lolwetyiso</i>
68. Alliance	<i>umanyano loncediswano, Umanyano lokuncedisana, Umanyano lwabancedani</i>
69. Alluvial soil	<i>umhlaba wentili</i>
70. Altitude	<i>umphakamo</i>
71. Aluminium	<i>ialuminiyum, ialuminium</i>

72. Amalgamation	<i>umdibaniso</i>
73. Ammonia	<i>iamoniya, iammonia</i>
74. Amnesty	<i>uxolelo-mabanjwa</i>
75. Amoeba	<i>iamibha</i>
76. Amount (arithmetic)	<i>isimbuku, isambuku</i>
77. Amplifier	<i>iamplifaya</i>
78. Amplify	<i>andisa</i>
79. Amplify	<i>ukukhulisa; ukwandisa</i>
80. Anaesthetic (adj.)	<i>-lalisayo</i>
81. Anaesthetic (n.)	<i>isilalisi</i>
82. Analgesic balm	<i>Isidambisi-ntlungu</i>
83. Anemometer	<i>isilinganiso samendu omoya, isilinganiso samandla omoya</i>
84. Anglo-German War	<i>iMfazwe yamaJamani</i>
85. Angular	<i>bumbombo, butsolo, budolo</i>
86. Annex	<i>hlomela</i>
87. Annexation	<i>uhlomelo</i>
88. Annotate	<i>ukwenza amanqaku</i>
89. Anopheles	<i>Ingcongconi yemalariya, ianopheles</i>
90. Anti-cyclone	<i>isigqithelaphandle</i>
91. Anti-serum	<i>ubuhlungu</i>
92. Anti-social	<i>ubundlobongela</i>

93. Antithesis	<i>ubunxambini</i>
94. Anti-toxin	<i>Isilwa-buhlungu</i>
95. Aorta	<i>umxhelo; iaorta othumelayo</i>
96. Approximation	<i>isisondeliso</i>
97. Aqueous humour	<i>Amanzi eliso</i>
98. Arid	<i>inkqantosi</i>
99. Artery	<i>unothumela</i>
100. Artificial insemination	<i>Uqhamiso ngesandla</i>
101. Asphyxia	<i>Ufuthaniselo; ukufuthanisela</i>
102. Asthma	<i>Umbefu</i>
103. Astronaut	<i>Usomajukujuki</i>
104. Astronomer	<i>isazi-nkwenkwezi, ingcali yeenkwenkwezi</i>
105. Astronomy	<i>Inkwenkwezilwazi</i>
106. Atmospheric pressure	<i>isixinzelelo somoya, isixinzelelo se-atmosfera</i>
107. Autocracy	<i>umbuso kazwilakhe</i>
108. Autocrat	<i>Uzwilakhe</i>
109. Autonomic	<i>-zilawulayo; -ziphetheyo</i>
110. Autonomic system	<i>indlela yokuzilawula; isistim</i>
111. Axial skeleton	<i>intsika yophahla</i>
112. Axis vertebra	<i>izongo lentamo</i>

5.2.4 DAC's *Multilingual Parliamentary/Political Terminology List* published in 2008

The *Multilingual Parliamentary/Political Terminology List is Multilingual Parliamentary/Political Terminology List* The *Multilingual Parliamentary/Political Terminology List is Multilingual Parliamentary/Political Terminology List* is the product of the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) and was published online by the sub-directorate of the Department, the National Language Services in the Terminology Coordination Section. The compilation of the terminological corpus was completed in 2005, but it was launched in 2008. The Project itself was initiated by the isiXhosa translators in the National Parliament of South Africa, as well as those in the Provincial Parliaments of the Western Cape and Eastern Cape. The work first appeared in 2003 as a bilingual (English-IsiXhosa) glossary list²⁴ under the authorship of the above parliaments, and was endorsed by the IsiXhosa National Language Body (XNLB). This was motivated by the need from the translators to achieve uniformity, consistency and quality in their translation practice.

The term list was expanded to comprise nine other South African official languages²⁵ and was launched in 2008 under the title *Multilingual Parliamentary/Political Terminology List*. As the name suggests, terminological corpus is reflective of the common terminology used in everyday parliamentary speeches and other print materials generated from parliament such as Hansard reports, parliamentary proceedings, parliamentary papers and legislation (*Multilingual Parliamentary/Political Terminology List*, 2008: 3). There are just less than five hundred (500) terms in this list.

²⁴ The glossary list, titled *Isigama sesiXhosa esixhaphakileyo kwiintetho zePalamente* (IsiXhosa terms common in Parliamentary speech) was not published formally but is presently also available in booklet form, with terms and their explanations provided in English and isiXhosa.

²⁵ The languages appear as follows: English (as the head word), Afrikaans, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Siswati, isiNdebele, Setswana, Sepedi, Sesotho, Tshivenda and Xitsonga.

The quality of the terminology created in the different languages is reflective of the composition of the participants who contributed to the process of the conception of term equivalents. Each language group comprised of lexicographers, linguists, subject specialists and members of National Language Body (NLB) of each language who also, at the last stage of term standardisation, approved the terms.

The list is generally extensive, in terms of its subject matter, and covers common everyday terminology used in parliament, as well as the most obscure and abstract. As the title suggests, because parliament is used as a source for data collection, the terms are inevitably political terms. The following is a sample of terms that appear under the letter A.

English	IsiXhosa terminology
1. absolute majority	<i>isininzi esingathandabuzekiyo</i>
2. abstain from voting	<i>ukungavoti</i>
3. act n. <see also law; rule> {promulgated by parliament}	<i>umthetho wepalamente</i>
4. acting premier	<i>inkulumbuso ebambeleyo</i>
5. acting president	<i>umongameli obambeleyo</i>
6. act of parliament	<i>umthetho wepalamente</i>
7. additional appropriation	<i>ulwabiwo-mali olongezelelweyo</i>
8. ad hoc committee	<i>ikomiti yexeshana ikomiti yethutyana;</i>
9. adjournment	<i>ukuchithakala</i>
10. adjustment estimate	<i>uhlengahlengiso loqikelelomali</i>
11. administration {of an act}	<i>ulawulo lokuzalisekiswa komthetho</i>
12. administrator	<i>umlawuli</i>
13. affirmative action	<i>inkqubo yokunikezela amathuba kwabo babehlelelekile</i>
14. alternate member	<i>ihungu elililalela</i>

15. amend v.	<i>ukuhlomela; ukulungisa</i>
16. amendment	<i>isihlomelo; isihungiso</i>
17. amendment bill	<i>umthetho-sihlomelo ongekaphunyezwa; umthetho-sihlomelo oyilwayo</i>
18. Africanisation	<i>Ukwenziwa isiAfrika; isiAfrika</i>
19. African renaissance	<i>ukuvuselelwa kobuAfrika</i>
20. Afrocentric	<i>ngokwesiAfrika</i>
21. alternate member	<i>ilungu elililalela</i>
22. amend (v.)	<i>ukulungisa</i>
23. amendment	<i>isihlomelo</i>
24. amendment bill	<i>umthetho-sihlomelo</i>
25. amnesty committee	<i>ikomiti yoxolelo</i>
26. annual report	<i>ingxelo yonyaka</i>
27. anti-apartheid activist	<i>itshantliziyo elitwa ucalucalulo</i>
28. application {act}	<i>usetyenziso; ukusetyenziswa</i>
29. appropriation	<i>uhlahlo-mali; uhlahlo lwabiwo-mali</i>
30. appropriation act	<i>umthetho wolwabiwo-mali</i>
31. appropriation bill	<i>umthetho oyilwayo wohlahlo-mali; umthetho sihlomelo wolwabiwo-mali; umthetho wolwabiwo-mali ongekaphunyezwa; umthetho wolwabiwo- mali osaqulunqwayo</i>
32. arbitration	<i>Ulamlo</i>
33. arbitrator	<i>umlamli</i>
34. Attorney-General	<i>uMtshutshisi-Jikelele</i>
35. audit n.	<i>uphicotho-zincwadi</i>
36. audit v.	<i>ukuphicotha iincwadi</i>
37. Auditor General	<i>uMphicothi-zincwadi-Jikelele</i>

5.2.5 *Ingcaciso yesigama seKhompyutha* (Computer Science glossary) and Political Philosophy I glossary list (published in 2008 and 2009 respectively, by the RU-SANTED Multilingualism Project)

The glossary lists above are examples of lists developed at the university to support isiXhosa mother tongue students learning in the disciplines above. In providing support for the development of academic literacy amongst students, the Rhodes University's (RU) African Language Studies Section (ALS) in the School of Languages undertook a project to develop support teaching material for computer science and political philosophy first year modules. The focus is on using these as complementary teaching material. The two projects will be discussed separately below.

The RU-SANTED Multilingualism Project²⁶, under the technical expertise and guidance of Lorenzo Dalvit²⁷, translated into isiXhosa a list of English terms common in the foundation programme Computer Science class. The students in the foundation programme, offered by the Computer Science Department, are speakers of indigenous languages, many of whom have isiXhosa as their home language (Dalvit, 2010). The foundation programme in RU, as in most universities across South Africa, is specifically designed for students who have English (LoLT at RU) as an additional language. These students would not normally qualify to study at university but this structure has been set up because of requirements stated in the *Higher Education Act* of 1997 for historically white institutions to provide more access to historically-disadvantaged students. It is also required of these institutions to provide support so that these students are prepared to cope with the academic demands of a tertiary institution. The ALS work in co-operation with the Computer Science Department, is to

²⁶ The RU-SANTED Multilingualism Project was established at RU to facilitate multilingualism at the university. The Project received funding for four years (2007-2010) through NORAD and when it closed down, its programmes, like the development of support teaching materials, were absorbed into the African Language Studies Section.

²⁷ Lorenzo Dalvit was the ICT coordinator in the SANTED Multilingualism Project. This project is primarily part of his PhD research (2010). His interest on development of strategies to provide ICT education to speakers of isiXhosa at tertiary institutions inspired this project.

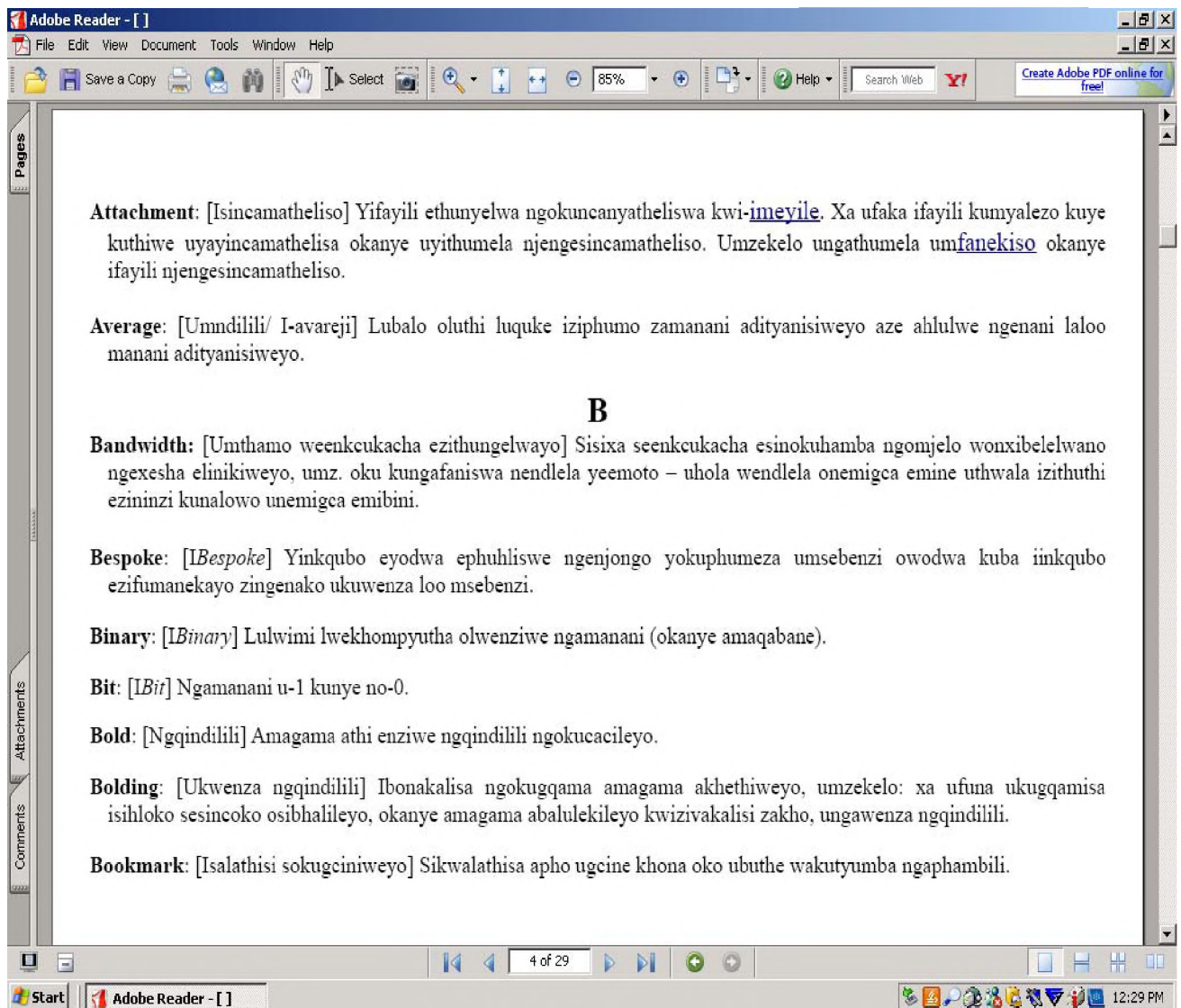
provide support for the students in this programme who take the Computer Literacy course, by providing them with complementary material in isiXhosa that will assist them in accessing knowledge in English.²⁸

According to Dalvit, the computer foundation course provides computer literacy skills to the participating students, as well as gives possibilities of joining the mainstream computer science studies (Dalvit, 2010). The booklet, used as a complementary teaching resource, is available on-line and in a print version. It gives an English term, provides an equivalent in isiXhosa, and gives a definition of the concept and examples that are culturally relevant where possible. There are at least one hundred and fifty (150) terms in the booklet, but the number is growing continuously because of the interactive nature of the booklet. The students are required to grade the translations, as well as suggest any other terms they consider important, but have not been included in the booklet.

As indicated earlier, the glossary booklet is focused on foundation students in the Computer Science Department at RU. Besides being a valuable contribution to the development of technological terminology in isiXhosa, and therefore, its intellectualisation, the booklet is a huge contribution towards the development of isiXhosa as a medium of instruction at university. It is used as an assistive tool, especially during tutorials.

The following is a Screen shot of a page from this booklet:

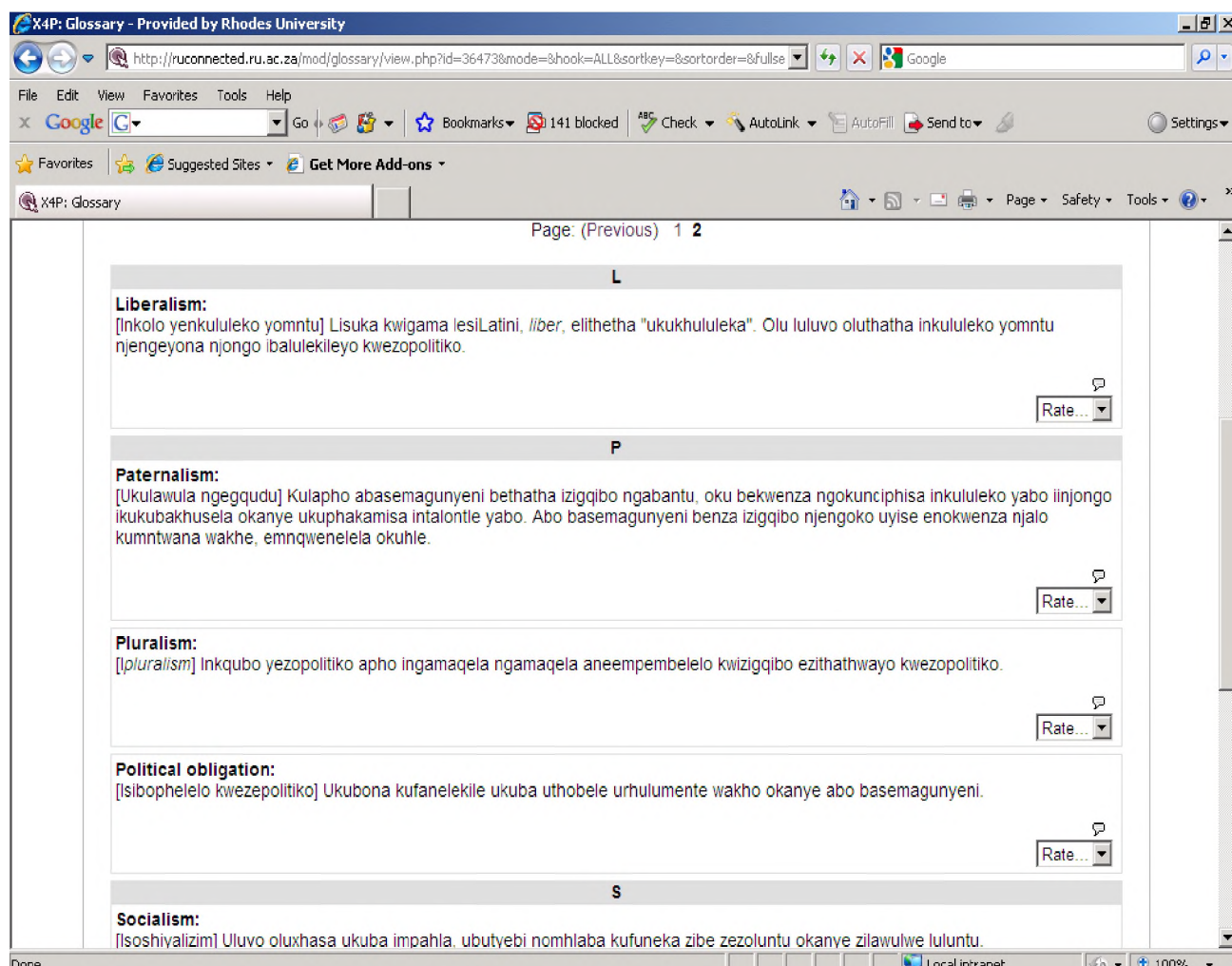
²⁸ Bangeni & Kapp refer to this as “language complementarity” – where English or any other LoLT is used complementarily with indigenous African languages in the teaching of “non-language disciplines”. The interdependence between languages when used in this nature adds positive benefits to learners, and scholars like Cummins (1986) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) maintain that in this approach there is no “conflict between the promotion of English and the recognition of its interdependence with other languages (Bangeni & Kapp, 2007).



The development of English-IsiXhosa Political Philosophy glossary list for a first year module course started in 2008. It came about because a Political Philosophy lecturer noted under-performance of isiXhosa-speaking students in her class and wanted to explore the possibility of providing support material in isiXhosa to support learning.

The model adopted in the development process was the same as that used in developing the ICT glossary. The thirty (30) key Political Philosophy terms developed were selected by the lecturer and students in the lecturer's first year class. The terms were those perceived difficult to understand in the opinion of students and the lecturer. The purpose of this work is to expand this list.

The process of the development of the Political Philosophy module of the first year course will be provided in detail in Chapter six. The objective here is to give an illustration, by way of a sample, of what has been done in the area. The following is a Screen shot of some sections of the glossary as it appears on the RU online learning tool, RUconnected:



5.3 Methods, strategies and approaches used in developing isiXhosa terminologies from 1950s to 2000s

The samples of terminology lists above is an illustration of terminology development work in isiXhosa that has been undertaken over the years in South Africa. Except for the *Multilingual Parliamentary/Political Terminology List* (2008), terminology development in all other

contexts has been motivated by the need to use isiXhosa in education contexts. In Terminology lists developed in 1958, 1959, and 1972 the stimulus was the extension of mother tongue education to ‘natives’ during the Bantu education era. As has been illustrated, the teachers and other role players demanded materials to support the newly-introduced mother tongue education, and the government responded by putting structures in place to facilitate the development of appropriate vocabulary. The first list, published in 1958 is insubstantial and strategies (to be discussed later) used in creating terms are adhoc and generally lacking in linguistic and cultural generalisation that is essential in term creation.

The second list which was published in 1959 is not only extensive and exhaustive, but also illustrates consistency in the manner in which the terms are created. The corpus is widespread, covering various modern domains as was demanded by the language-in-education policy of the time. There is also a clear indication of the revision of terminology from the previous list, standardising terms according to the new orthography of the time. There is an understanding that use of newly-created terminology is dependent on its adoption by the target users and so there is a ‘plea’ in the preface of the Terminology list for users to provide feedback on usability of terms, and to suggest alternatives if there are any. There is no record known to the researcher on how users responded to this plea, but the call is an indication of an important process in terminology development, which should then lead to the acceptance, adoption and subsequent use of terms by the target users.

The last list during the Bantu education era, which appeared in 1972, is the most thorough, in depth and all-encompassing in terms of domains included. There is, once again, an indication that the process of terminology development is developmental. To illustrate this, in the 1959 terminology list, the equivalent term given for “absolute” is “*olungenasithintelo*” (literally meaning “[that] which has no limitation”. Firstly, “absolute” in English is an adjective. IsiXhosa is an agglutinative language, therefore any adjectival phrase has to reflect a noun described by way of a concordial agreement. In the equivalent provided *-olu-* is an adjectival prefix and *-lu-* is representative of the class 11 subjectival concord, and “*-ngenasithintelo*” specifically refers to “[that] which has no limitation”. Therefore, “-lu” is representative of a noun that is not reflected in the term “absolute.” The 1972 Terminology List provides a

different equivalent for the term, “-phelele”²⁹ (lit. meaning “totality”) and this is consistent with the grammar of the language – illustrating that a descriptive concord should be prefixed to the term. “Absolute rule” is entered below the term, and an equivalent is provided as “*ulawulo olungenasithintelo*”, a descriptive copulative phrase where *ulawulo* is a class 11 noun representing “rule” and in “*olungenasithintelo*” *olu-* represents *ulawulo* which is a class 11 noun.

The discussion demonstrates the fact that, as discussed in Chapter four (see Batibo, 2010) terminology development is a process. One of the important steps in the process of evaluating the appropriateness of the terms is by gauging it against the grammar structure of the language. This is important in ensuring the precision of the terms. Although various collaborators are required in the process of term-creation, the step of ensuring the grammar appropriateness of the term requires the participation of linguists, lexicographers and terminographers who are knowledgeable in the linguistic structure of the language. The introduction of the *Xhosa Terminology and Orthography No. 3* elucidates that the Xhosa Language Committee at the time were at the forefront of standardisation of terms that were brought forward by various people. It is a known fact that the [Isi]Xhosa Language Committee was constituted by academicians like Prof Satyo, Prof Jafta, the late Prof Pahl, and the late Mr Tshabe, amongst others³⁰, at different times of its lifespan. Except for challenges associated with language elaboration through terminology development, on the overall the *Xhosa Terminology and Orthography No. 3* is thorough and extensive and covers efficiently a variety of subjects for different levels of education.

The DAC’s *Multilingual Parliamentary/Political List* is meticulous in its execution of term-creation rules, and in its consistency in application of linguistic rules, taking into consideration the various principles, approaches and strategies in the process of terminology development. The constitution of the collaborators as illustrated in 5.2.4 above, ensured efficiency in the process.

²⁹ The terms, *-phelele* and *-ngenasithintelo* provided as equivalents for “absolute” in the different entries are noted. Other inconsistencies will be discussed later in the chapter.

³⁰ Except for oral reports of individuals, I could not find records with names of people in the Committees even though I searched at length for these.

The RU-SANTED Multilingualism Project's terminology lists in Computer Science and Political Philosophy were also developed following the principles of terminology development. There were both linguists and subject specialists involved. The lists have not been verified by the National Language Body due to the fact that they were not fully extensive in terms of coverage of the corpus in the respective fields. The collaborative process in regard to this terminology development could be seen as a model that could be replicated elsewhere.

The development of the various terminologies given as samples in this chapter is an indication that for language to develop there has to be a demand for its use. Extension of mother tongue education during Bantu education required that materials be developed. The promotion of language parity in government in the post-apartheid South Africa required that terminology in African languages be developed to facilitate efficiency in the work of language practitioners in parliament. Promotion of multilingualism at RU meant that materials in isiXhosa had to be developed to support learning. The language development through demand, which led to terminology development facilitated language use. Language use ensured further language development which proves that language develops as it is used, and it is used as it is developed.

In the following section I explore, with examples, various terminology development strategies used in the samples provided, especially those taken from the *Xhosa Terminology and Orthography No. 3*, booklet.

5.3.1 Criteria used in selection of terms

As discussed in Chapter four in 4.3.2, Batibo (2010) distinguishes between six (6) criteria that should be used in selecting a term. He states that preference should be given to a term that is (a) already known and in use by the majority of the target speakers, (b) can be easily recalled, (c) has relevance to the concept it represents, (d) is free from socio-political inhibitions, (e) is appropriate for different levels of education and contexts, and (f) can easily

adapt to the target language's grammar structure. The extent to which these criteria were followed will be illustrated using, largely, the three terminology lists developed to support Bantu education.

The first list seems to steer away from using borrowed words, even if they were already in wide circulation in the language, but instead created “new” terms using internal sources of the language. Where borrowed terms are provided, they are used as alternatives to those already known to the majority. In illustrating the point, in the 1958 list the equivalent term for “planter” is given as “*ixhaxhawe*,” and “*iplantari*” is given as a synonym. The term “*ixhaxhawe*” is created from the sound associated with the planter when in action, a concept referred to as deideophonisation in terminology development. However, “*iplantara*” was already widely used in the language and the newly created term did not take effect (Tyatyeka, 2010). The 1972 terminology list seems to acknowledge this and offers “*iplantara*” and “*iplanta*” as equivalents for “planter”. It is clear that in creating a term, the terminologists created “new” terms, obviously using strategies for terminology development, even if there were equivalents that were already in use. There is a variety of other contexts where this occurs. “Angle” in the 1958 list in isiXhosa is “*idolo*” (lit. knee) while it is “*imbombo*”, (lit. corner) “*i-engile*” or “*ikona*” in the 1972 list. While the above can be given as illustrations of disregarding terms already in circulation, and creating new ones instead, it needs to be acknowledged, firstly, that there are also as many instances where terms already in existence were given as equivalents, even at an early stage. Secondly, there seems to have been a process in assessing the use and acceptance of created terms in the process of developing the Bantu education lists quoted in this work because where new terms were created, subsequent lists would enter a term that was already in circulation, and accepted by the target users. The above is an illustration of this.

Attempts were also made at creating terms that would be easy to remember, taking into consideration not only the length of the word, but also its relation to the intended meaning. Terms like “*umhlabalwazi*”, “*ilizwelwazi*” and “*inkwenkwezilwazi*”³¹ for “geology,”

³¹ *Umhlabalwazi* literally means “knowledge of the land” while *ilizwelwazi* means “knowledge of the country”. As one can see, the terms relate, in terms of meaning, to the original term, and this strategy can be used to generate more terms, e.g. psychology (*ingqondolwazi*)

“geography” and “astronomy” respectively ensure that these terms conform to the grammar of the language and are also sound cognitively. The terms reflect the characteristics of the concepts they designate and their lexical components provide an idea of the concepts they represent. Another example is the term “*ukuphinda-phinda*”, an equivalent term given for “multiply”. “*Ukuphinda*”, the verb from which the term is derived, means to “repeat”, “to fold over” or “to double.” The term is easy to remember and also renders itself for further derivation and productivity. The following are derivations from the term:

<i>Isiphindo</i>	multiple (n.)
<i>Isiphindwa</i>	multiplicand
<i>Uphinda-phindo, ukuphinda-phinda</i> ³²	multiplication
<i>Isiphindi</i>	multiplier

However the earlier lists also, in the efforts of the terminologists at the time to maintain linguistic purism, amongst other things, created terms that were at times lengthy (in terms of syllables), especially those that were a result of compounding. I can provide here examples such as “equator” whose equivalent is given as “*umda-mbindini*” and “germicide” as “*isibulali-mbewukufa*” in the 1959 list. “*I-ikhweyitha*” and “*isibulali-ntsholongwane*” are terms that are in the corpus of isiXhosa and refer to “equator” and “germicide” respectively, and these are also terms that were subsequently entered in the 1972 list. The first term, “*umda-mbindini*”, is a compound noun comprised of two nouns, “*umda*” (boundary) and “*umbindi*” (centre). As discussed in Chapter four, compound nominalisation is one of the strategies that can be used in creating new terms. Yet, this has to be done within the grammar structure of the language. In the case of isiXhosa, where formatives of the compound nouns are both nouns, one of the nouns *cannot* be in the locative form, as *-mbindini*, hence in my opinion “*umda-mbindini*” failed to be adopted into the language. Similarly, although compound nouns can be formed by joining together two or more lexical items, compound nouns with more than two lexical items are rare in isiXhosa. Such compound nouns are common in oral poetry (Satyo, 1998: 57-58). The second term, “*isibulali-mbewukufa*” is

³² *Ukuphinda-phinda* class 15 noun

derived from a verb (*ukubulala* – to kill) and two nouns (*imbewu* – seed, and *ukufa* - death). The term is long, awkward and bears no relevance to meaning of the intended concept and does not render itself easy to remember. As pointed out earlier, although earlier attempts to develop terminology is typified by such ‘awkwardness’, this is rectified in most terms that appear in the 1972 Terminology List.

Terminology development undertaken during the Bantu education era happened at the time in South African history when Afrikanerdom, through its *apartheid* policies and belief in white supremacy, dominated both politics and education (Hartshorne, 1995). This becomes apparent in the terminology that was produced at the time. The lists, are interspersed with terms that are politically motivated, especially those that are in the domain of social sciences. The supremacy of the Afrikaner is evident in the term-creation process. The following are examples:

Anglo-Boer War	<i>Imfazwe yamaBhulu</i> (lit. Boer War)
Agricultural officer (Bantu)	<i>umlimi</i> (lit. agricultural farmer but in the 1972 Terminology List No. 3 given as equivalent for peasant)
Agricultural officer (White)	<i>igosa lolimo</i> (lit. officer of agricultural farming)
National suicide (of amaXhosa)	<i>uNongqawuse</i> ³³

One other criterion that seems to have been used in selecting terms is the appropriateness of the term to educational level of its targeted users. Scores of terms have synonyms, one derived from internal sources and one from foreign sources. As discussed above, Batibo (2010) observes that a term derived from internal sources is better suited for lower levels of

³³ So named because of the aftermath of the prophecy of a young umXhosa girl, Nongqawuse. Her prophecy, that if they killed all their cattle, destroyed crops and emptied granaries, amaXhosa would be able to replenish their granaries and have their kraals filled up with even more cattle – their source of food and wealth. Most of amaXhosa adhered to the prophecy and, needless to say, it was never realised. AmaXhosa died in large numbers during this time (Peires, 1989). Interestingly, this term, uNongqawuse, is used as a metaphor to refer to something that can never happen.

education while that derived from foreign domains is suitable for higher levels. The understanding is that at lower levels of education, learners are still grappling with the understanding of concepts and deriving the term from internal facilitates this understanding. At higher levels of education, understanding has been attained, and borrowing expands knowledge further. The following terms are just a few examples where concepts in English are represented with terms derived from internal sources, and synonyms from external sources:

Acid	<i>isimuncu</i> (lit. sour); <i>i-asidi</i>
Alphabet	<i>oonobumba, i-alfabhethi</i>
Angle	<i>imbombo, i-engile</i>
Aorta	<i>umxhelo, i-aorta ethumelayo</i>
Archaeology	<i>ulwazi ngezakudala, i-arkiyoloji</i>
Haemoglobin	<i>isibomvisagazi</i> (lit. the cause of 'red' in blood), <i>ihemoglobhini</i>

The above is an illustration that the criteria used in selecting terms was on the whole aligned to the criteria used in selecting terms during a term creation process. There were sometimes instances where terminologists did not conform to these, but these instances were politically motivated, or were motivated by a desire to keep the language 'pure' from permeation by foreign lexical items. However, as indicated, terms that were accepted and adopted by the target users were subsequently standardised and reflected in the more extensive 1972 *Xhosa Terminology and Orthography No. 3*. What follows below is a discussion on methods and strategies used in creating terminology during the periods discussed in this chapter.

5.3.2 Methods and strategies used in creation of terms in lists provided as samples

In the discussion below I discuss methods that were used in selecting terms, or in developing terms to represent concepts that were newly acquired into the language. Certain principles are followed, particularly the morphological and semantic rules of the language that have to be executed to improve chances that the new terms will be accepted in the language.

5.3.2.1 Derivation

This was the most popular strategy used in creating new terms. Grammatical prefixes and suffixes were added to already established terms, to create new terms. In many instances verbs, nouns and qualificatives already in existence were given nominal prefixes to develop new lexical items. Examples are given in the table below:

English	IsiXhosa	³⁴ Derivation
Adjudicator	<i>Umgwebi</i>	<i>-gweba</i> (v.) to decide, judge, condemn
Administration	<i>Ulawulo</i>	<i>-lawula</i> (v.) to give orders
Administrator	<i>Umlawuli</i>	<i>-lawula</i> (v.) to give orders
Advocate	<i>Ummeli</i>	<i>-mela</i> (v.) [derived from verb <i>-ma</i> – to stand] to stand on behalf of another person
Antagonism	<i>Ubutshaba</i>	<i>Utshaba</i> (n.) enemy

³⁴ Descriptions and explanations under this column have been adapted from Kropf (1915), Fischer (1985) and Collins English Dictionary (1991).

Artery	<i>Unothumbela</i>	<i>-thumbela</i> (v.) to something send to
Asphyxia	<i>Ufuthaniselo</i>	<i>-futhanisela</i> (v.) to smother
Christian way	<i>isiKrestu</i>	<i>uKrestu</i> (n.) Christ
Christianity	<i>ubuKrestu</i>	<i>uKrestu</i> (n.) Christ
Fertiliser	<i>Isichumiso</i>	<i>-chumisa</i> (v.) [derived from verb <i>-chuma</i> – to grow abundantly, to be fruitful] to cause to grow, prosper and flourish
Filter (n)	<i>Isihluzo, intluzo</i>	<i>-hluzo</i> (v) to strain
Height	<i>Umphakamo</i>	<i>-phakama</i> (v.) to stand in an upright position
Length	<i>Ubude</i>	<i>-de</i> (adj.) tall, long, high
Vein	<i>Unobuyisa</i>	<i>-buyisa</i> (v.) to return something to

The derivation method was used extensively. Derivation from internal sources also facilitated not only easy adoption of the new terms by the target users, but it also facilitated the understanding of concepts represented by those terms. The terms quoted above are amongst the many that have been developed using this strategy, and that still remain to this day in the language, therefore facilitating actual lexical expansion of isiXhosa.

5.3.2.2 Compounding

Compounding was also used expansively. It was used largely, but not exclusively, as a method for terms or phrases that were compound. At times it was used carelessly and with no

consistency, as discussed in 5.3.1. Most of the time compound nouns were derived from internal sources, thereby facilitating easy adoption and understanding of the concept represented. The following are examples:

English	IsiXhosa	³⁵ Derivation
Adipose tissue	<i>Izicwili-mafutha</i>	<i>Izicwili</i> – that which is cut into small pieces + <i>Amafutha</i> – fatty substance
Admission of guilt	<i>Imvumo-tyala</i>	<i>Ukuvuma</i> – to confess <i>Ityala</i> – guilt, fault, offence
Angle swing	<i>Ujingi-engile</i>	<i>Ukujinga</i> – to hang, to be suspended <i>I-engile</i> – angle
Antiseptic (n.)	<i>Isinqanda-kubola</i>	<i>Ukunqanda</i> – to prevent <i>Ukubola</i> – rotting
Antitoxin	<i>Isilwa-buhlungu</i>	<i>Ukulwa</i> – to fight <i>Ubuhlungu</i> –poison, pain, venom
Apoplexy	<i>Mfa-cala</i>	<i>Ukufa</i> – death [metaphorically used to refer to paralysis and loss of consciousness] <i>Icala</i> - side
Apostrophe	<i>Isimeli-nobumba</i>	<i>Ukumela</i> – to stand for

³⁵ See footnote 11

		<i>Unobumba</i> – a letter [of the alphabet]
Metamorphosis	<i>Inguquko-milo</i>	<i>Ukuguquka</i> – to change from one state to another <i>Imilo</i> – growth of form
Quarterly	<i>Nyanga-ntathu</i>	<i>Inyanga</i> – month <i>Thathu</i> - three
*Psycho-analysis	<i>Ugoca-goco sayikhe</i>	<i>Ukugoca-goca</i> – to investigate, examine and search thoroughly <i>Isayikhe</i> – from “psycho”
psychologist	<i>Isazingqondo</i>	<i>Ukwazi</i> – to know, distinguish, understand <i>Ingqondo</i> – mind, intellect, capacity
Triangle	<i>unxantathu</i>	<i>-nxa</i> – side, part <i>Thathu</i> - three

The examples of terms created from compounding are an illustration of how this term creation method can exploit internal sources for lexical elaboration. Foreign sources here are used minimally, together with internal sources. What needs to be highlighted here is the inconsistency in hyphenation when creating compound nouns, though this is not important in my opinion. It seems to have been used in an arbitrary manner, but this does not necessarily impede the use of this approach as a model that can be adopted for compounding. The remark provided about hyphenation in compound nouns in the Orthography section of the *Xhosa Terminology and Orthography No. 3* does not offer a constructive guide either. It states that

The hyphen ... is used *optionally* in compound words and duplicated stems that would be unduly long and thus difficult to read without it... (1972: 37).

Hyphenation continues to be a challenge in isiXhosa orthography, especially where it pertains to compound words. The second point I wish to highlight is the combination of internal and foreign sources in creating a compound word, as is illustrated in the noun with an asterisk. I wish to argue that at times it would appear that the terminologists were casual in their term creation in that the morpheme “*sayikhe*” represents “psycho” which has been represented as “*ingqondo*” in the term created for “psychologist”. It would make sense, therefore, that “psycho” should have been represented as such, wherever it came up in a concept. The equivalent term for “psycho-analysis”, therefore should have been “*ugoca-goco-ngqondo*”.

5.3.2.3 Acronymy and abbreviation

Acronymy and abbreviation are difficult strategies to use in term creation in isiXhosa and Bantu languages generally. As discussed in Chapter four under 4.3.3.5, on the one hand, acronymy requires that terms be created using the first letter of each of the words in a term. Abbreviation on the other hand is the shortening of a word by omitting some parts of it (Van Huyssteen, 2003). In all the lists that I have examined I have not found any term created using acronymy. Where acronymy is given as a term, the created concept is the representation of the full term. Satyo observes the following concerning acronymy in isiXhosa:

[Into] enika umdla kukuba ii-akronimi zezinye iilwimi ziye zisetyenziswe njengamagama ngamaXhosa (1998: 59).

(loose translation) It is interesting to note that amaXhosa use acronyms from other languages as terms/words.

I have noted one example in the texts I have examined where this occurs. The isiXhosa equivalent for “Native Recruiting Corporation” has been “*uTebha*” or “*kwaTebha*”. The term is derived from the acronym TEBA which stands for “The Employment Bureau of Africa” an employment agency that recruited young African men to work on the mines. It is fascinating to note then, that this acronym is used as a word to represent a concept similar, in terms of function, to TEBA.

Abbreviation on the one hand is used, but maybe not as consistently and commonly as other languages, in term-creation. Here are examples of abbreviations:

Abbreviated term	IsiXhosa	Derivation
a/c	a/k	<i>iakhawunti</i> – account
p.a.	<i>nyk.</i>	<i>unyaka</i> – year
qt.	<i>kt.</i>	<i>ikwati</i> – quart
oz.	oz. (no equivalent given but full term provided - iawunsi)	-----
p.m.	p.m. (no equivalent given but full term provided – (ngenyanga)	-----
yr.	<i>nyk.</i>	<i>unyaka</i> – year
Dr.	<i>Dt.</i>	<i>idebhithi</i> – debit
e.g.	<i>umz.</i>	<i>umzekelo</i> – example
in.	<i>in.</i>	<i>i-intshi</i> - inch
ft.	<i>ft.</i>	<i>ifuthi</i> – foot
sec.	<i>zzw.</i>	<i>umzuzwana</i> – second
min.	<i>zz.</i>	<i>umzuzu</i> – minute

hr.	<i>yr.</i>	<i>iyure</i> – hour
wk.	<i>vk.</i>	<i>iveki</i> – week

While some abbreviations in English are the international abbreviations for the concepts, in isiXhosa in most cases abbreviations have been created from the terms created for those terms. There are other incidents where abbreviations are similar, largely because the term is derived from the foreign term, for example “*i-intshi*” and “*ifuthi*”. As one can see from the examples provided, this is possible, albeit difficult, especially as there does not seem to be consistency regarding the manner in which the letters are omitted.

5.3.2.4 Borrowing

Borrowing, similarly to compounding has been used extensively in creating terms in the isiXhosa materials developed during the Bantu education era. Borrowed terms were used as synonyms for newly created concepts or on their own. The earlier lists relied heavily on borrowing but progressively, synonyms derived from internal sources were provided for borrowed terms. Generally, the elements of the foreign term became indigenised and assume the linguistic structure of the language. For example, nouns are given an appropriate class prefix, and the morphological structure of the term, as far as possible, is given the CV-structure characteristics of isiXhosa. Verbs, on one hand, assume a terminative vowel –a, regardless of the terminative vowel in English. It should be noted that there is a sizeable number of terms that is borrowed from Afrikaans, as discussed in Chapter four under 4.3.1. It is interesting that some terms are borrowed from isiZulu, a practise that was vehemently discouraged (Makalima, 1985). The following are examples of borrowings (where a concept in English, Afrikaans or isiZulu has two isiXhosa equivalents, the borrowed term is given in bold font):

English	IsiXhosa
---------	----------

Account	<i>i-akhawunti</i>
accelerate (mus.)	<i>ukukhawulezisa, ukuaselerata</i>
Address	<i>iadres, idilesi, ikhelingi³⁶</i>
Afrikaans	<i>isiBhulu³⁷, isiAfrikaans</i>
Agent	<i>umenzi, iarhente</i>
Alkali	<i>ialkali</i>
amino acid	<i>iamino-asidi</i>
Apocrypha	<i>iapokrifu</i>
Apple	<i>iapile</i>
Aquarium	<i>umzi wezasehwandle, iakwariyam</i>
area (lxb)	<i>iariya</i>
Article	<i>iantikile</i>
Brick	<i>isitena³⁸</i>
Bridge	<i>ibrorho, iblorho, ibhulorho³⁹</i>
Butchery	<i>isilarha⁴⁰</i>
Calico	<i>ikeleko</i>
Calvinism	<i>ubukalvini⁴¹</i>
Carburettor	<i>ikhabareta</i>
Cardinal	<i>ikhadinali</i>

³⁶ *Ikhelingi* is adopted from isiZulu

³⁷ *IsiBhulu* is derived from the Afrikaans *Boer* while *isi-* is the prefix associated with languages.

³⁸ *Isitena* is borrowed from Afrikaans *steen*

³⁹ All borrowed from Afrikaans *brug*

⁴⁰ Borrowed from Afrikaans *slaghuis*

⁴¹ Note *ubu-* prefix that is resonant with abstract objects in this noun class

Christianity	<i>ubuKrestu</i> ⁴²
Climate	<i>iklimati, imozulu</i>
dribble (v.)	<i>ukudribilisha</i>
dryclean (v.)	<i>ukudrayiklina</i>
Ebony	<i>umsimbithi, iebhoni</i>
Embryo	<i>isibindi sembewu, iembriyo</i>
flag (banner)	<i>ibhanile, iflagi, iflarha, indwe</i>
Glucose	<i>iglukosi</i>
Mercury	<i>imekyuri, uphuncuka-bemphethe</i>
Office	<i>iofisi, inkantolo</i> ⁴³
picric acid	<i>i-asidi yepikriki</i>
Redifussion	<i>umsakazo</i> ⁴⁴
University	<i>iyunivesithi</i>

It is clear from the array of terms provided above that borrowing was used extensively in this process. While there are instances, some of which will be noted below, where there were inconsistencies, a conscious effort was made for the borrowed terms to be in line with the grammar structure of the language. It also needs to be emphasised again here that, while borrowing seems to have been used unnecessarily and sometimes inconsistently in the earlier on in the terminology development process, the approach in the application of this strategy became consistent and in alignment to the grammar of the language as the process gained momentum.

⁴² See footnote 18

⁴³ Derived from isiZulu

⁴⁴ Derived from isiZulu.

Amongst the matters noted in regards to borrowing are the following:

Prefix and vowel commencing words in source language

Nouns which have a vowel as an initial vowel are generally prefixed with a class 9 noun initial vowel *i-*. In some instances, the stem of the noun in (source language) where the initial vowel is *u-*, e.g “university” the initial vowel would be preceded by a bridging *-y-* as in “*iyunivesithi*”, “*iyunifom*” and “*iyuretha*” for “university,” “uniform” and “urethra” respectively.

There are instances, where the initial vowel of the source language is replaced with the isiXhosa initial vowel. The examples are “*ikhodiyani*”, “*idilesi*” and “*istedifodi*” for “accordion”, “address” and “eisteddfod” respectively.

Favouring borrowed words over indigenous terms

In many instances terms would be created even for concepts where there are equivalents in isiXhosa. These would be listed as “secondary” synonyms. The months of the year are examples for instance. Others examples are “*iaorta*” vs. “*umxhelo*” (aorta), “*iibhakteriya*” vs. “*iintsholongwane*” (bacteria) and, *ifatyi* vs. “*umphanda*” (barrel borrowed from Afrikaans *vaatjie*). While borrowing is regarded as the main strategy to be employed for language elaboration, one needs to note here that in this instance it might have taken away from the language, and the benefits associated with concept recognition if that concept is in your language, are lost in this case. I am emphasising the point here because as a language speaker and teacher of isiXhosa, it is common to assume that the language does not have the concepts in upper domains whereas they actually exist, but are gradually being eroded by the dominance of terms borrowed from other languages. In fact, this study, to some extent is motivated by that.

Unnecessary borrowing

There are instances where borrowing, which was not necessary, was employed. Example is “*iamplifaya*” for “amplifier.” My argument, that this borrowing is not necessary is because in the list, *Xhosa Terminology and Orthography No. 3*, above “*iamplifaya*” has a verb “amplify” as an entry, whose equivalent term is “*ukukhulisa, ukwandisa*” (“to cause to grow” and “to extend, to enlarge”). The grammar rules for nominalisation are simple in this case and the equivalent noun for “amplifier” would be “*isandisi*” or “*isikhulisi*” derived from the verbs provided for “amplify”. Other example is “*ukuakselereta*” for “accelerate”.

Inconsistency in the application of the spelling rules of isiXhosa

This is examined throughout the texts. Borrowed terms are sometimes prefixed with the class prefix, and spelt as they are in English. Examples are “*ialuminium*”, “*iiasteroid*”, “*iburgher*” and “*imargarine*”. This is problematic in isiXhosa as the sound system and the phonetic structure of isiXhosa and English are different. These could have been entered as follows: “*ialuminiyam*”, “*iasitiriyodi*”, “*ibhega*” respectively in order to bring these terms closer to the language.

On the whole, borrowing was used successfully in creating terms where these did not exist in isiXhosa. Rules associated with borrowing were used productively except for a few instances, perhaps associated with a developing language. Some of these are mentioned above. In the following section I wish to examine briefly some terms created through semantic change strategies.

5.3.2.5 Semantic expansion

There are a variety of terms that were in existence in the language, but whose meaning was extended to express the new meaning embodied in the concept of the new word. The examples of such words follow:

Original term	Original meaning	New expanded meaning
ikomkhulu	the king's home, the Great Place	capital town
-mthubi	the first milk of a cow after calving, which is yellowish in colour	yellow
inxax	a side, part	angle as in <i>unxantathu</i> (3-sided angle i.e. triangle)
uxande	an oblong-shaped building ⁴⁵	a square, a square shaped house
igqirha	one traditionally skilled in restoring and preserving health	a western trained doctor ⁴⁶

Many terms were also created using ideophones, e.g. “*qashi-qashi-dibaniso*” for “addition puzzle”(derived from *ukuthi qashi qashi* which means “to guess”) and “*umatshe-tshe-tshe*” for “express” (derived from “*ukuthi tshe* meaning “to pass unexpectedly and rapidly”).

A variety of terms have also been created giving a new meaning by using a metaphor, i.e. giving a new meaning by analogy to that of an already existing term. Examples include “*ichaphaza-msila*” (a compound noun made up of *ichaphaza* which means “a drop, a spot, a blot” and “*umsila*” which means a tail) for a “semi-colon” – a blot with a tail, and “*ukrweezulu*” for “skyscraper”, derived from *ukrweca* (to touch one slightly for attention) and *izulu* (heaven).

⁴⁵ Kropf, 1952: 467

⁴⁶ In the 1972 List *igqirha* and *ugqirha* are both entered as alternatives. At present, it is *ugqirha* is commonly used to refer to western trained doctor while *igqirha* is used exclusively for a traditionally skilled doctor.

5.4 Conclusion

In the chapter I have provided samples of various materials representing terminology development that occurred in isiXhosa from 1958 to 2008. There is no doubt that there is more material that this work does not cover. The purpose here was to illustrate that there is material available in isiXhosa that can be used in various domains and at different levels of education, to support learning.

The terminology developed that occurred between 1958 and 1972 and was published by the Bantu education is not only linguistically appropriate, but by and large it is also cognitively and communicatively apt. For this reason it should be seriously revisited. Furthermore, it is an illustration that all languages are capable of representing any new concepts that come into contact with it. Firstly, the language draws from its own sources and other foreign sources, using generally accepted principles of terminology development to create new terms. Secondly, there are various reasons that facilitate language elaboration, or creation of new terms in the language dictated by situations in which communication in the “new” terminology is needed. At the forefront of these is education. The extension of mother tongue instruction in African languages accelerated the development of African languages, and isiXhosa in particular, in various domains and at different levels of education. The newly created terms were standardised and institutionalised.

The development of isiXhosa and other indigenous African languages was halted by the student uprisings in 1976, where students were revolting against the introduction of Afrikaans as a second medium of instruction in African schools (Mahlalela-Thusi & Heugh, 2004). Although one can fully understand and appreciate the need for such action at that time, one cannot help but notice the lull that occurred in the development of African languages as the

focus was, once again, shifted to the development and use of English as a second language. The development of isiXhosa and other indigenous languages reaccelerated only after 1994, with the democratic society that affirmed South Africa's linguistic diversity, and opened up debates on the role of language in education.

This chapter, as indicated earlier, illustrates how isiXhosa was developed, using the strategies discussed. In Chapter six I present a model for the development of a terminology list for the Political Philosophy I module taught at Rhode University, Grahamstown, South Africa. This will provide an opportunity to concentrate on a single area of terminology development within an academic discipline, thus contributing towards the intellectualisation of isiXhosa.

CHAPTER SIX: DEVELOPING A TERMINOLOGY LIST FOR A POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY FIRST YEAR MODULE AT RHODES UNIVERSITY

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present a model towards terminology development, using corpus from text used to teach a Political Philosophy I module at Rhodes University, taught in 2008. I will use the processes and strategies discussed in Chapter four for terminology development. I will also apply strategies that were utilised in developing terminology discussed in Chapter five. In extracting corpus for term-creation I will use WordSmith Tools, a corpus analysis software. At the end of the chapter I will present a bilingual (English-isiXhosa) terminology list for the module and, through discussion of the process, a model that can be adopted in creating terminology for use in higher education domains. It is hoped that this model can be used in facilitating further development of isiXhosa in controlling domains and in ‘scientific’ disciplines, thereby facilitating appropriate acquisition of knowledge by speakers of indigenous African languages, whose underperformance and failure in HEIs and education institutions generally is related to language, amongst other issues. The section that follows contextualises the study.

6.2 Background: terminology development in the Political Studies Department at Rhodes University

Preliminary terminology development in the subject was initiated in 2008 by a Professor in the Political and International Studies Department. She lectures, amongst other courses, an undergraduate semester module on Political Philosophy. The Professor organised a meeting with the staff of the RU-SANTED Multilingualism Project⁴⁷ regarding the possibility of providing support teaching material in isiXhosa for her first year class. The request was

⁴⁷ RU-SANTED Multilingualism Project has piloted the use, in tutorial classes, of IsiXhosa-English Computer Science glossary in the Computer Literacy class offered to the Extended Studies Programme students at the university. While we were not able to assess whether students’ performance improved with the introduction of isiXhosa material, the one very important outcome of the pilot was that students’ attitude towards use of indigenous languages in higher education improved, with students using the material and expressing that they benefit from using it (Dalvit, 2010).

motivated by her observation, over the years, that a larger number of students where English (the LoLT at RU) was not their mother tongue, who enrol in her subject were not able to perform competently to be able to go onto second or third year of study.

The lecturer's initial request was that the RU-SANTED Multilingualism Project team assist in translating her first year lecture slides into isiXhosa, which she would then use alongside her English slides during lectures, as well as make these available to students for revision (see Appendix B). Due to capacity constraints, the RU-SANTED team was not able to respond to the appeal as was requested. Over and above the issue of capacity, the translation of the slides did not present a potential for a model of language intervention programme that could be replicated to other disciplines. RU, in its language policy adopted by Senate in 2005, takes seriously the issue of the introduction of other languages, especially the locally dominant isiXhosa, to support student learning. It meant, therefore, any language intervention programme had to be cognitively sound, as well as have the potential of being replicated in other disciplines when a need for such should arise. The African Language Studies Section of the School of Languages, to which the RU-SANTED Multilingualism Project was attached, had also developed glossaries in other disciplines, and the glossary development technique and process was familiar.

6.3 The process of the development of the initial glossary

6.3.1 The extraction of the corpus

Students taking the Political Philosophy I module at RU in 2008 were presented, as a resource, a textbook called *Puzzles in Contemporary Political Philosophy: An introduction* (2008) on which their lectures were based. The tutorial handout is largely mirrored on the textbook.

In initiating the development of a glossary for the module, we requested the lecturer to provide the SANTED team with terms that, in her opinion, were critical for students to grasp in the Political Philosophy I module. Over and above this, we also asked her to include those

concepts that students whose mother tongue is not English generally grapple with. The following is the list of terms that the lecturer forwarded to SANTED:

1. democracy
2. legitimately/legitimacy/legitimate
3. institutions
4. ethical/ethics
5. moral/morality
6. realism
7. (patriarchal) power
8. judicial independence
9. manipulation
10. equality
11. constitution
12. Civic Republicanism
13. Liberal Pluralism
14. neutrality/neutral
15. civil disobedience
16. liberalism/ libertarianism
17. pluralism/pluralistic
18. patriarchy
19. private property
20. anarchism
21. utilitarian
22. political obligation
23. reciprocation theory
24. autonomy
25. egalitarian
26. communitarianism
27. desert
28. feminism
29. revolution
30. meritocratic system
31. anarchy
32. monetarism
33. paternalistic
34. republican
35. idealist

There is no indication of how these were sequenced; whether in order of significance in the subject, or extent of difficulty as perceived by the lecture or students, or whether they are

terms representing concepts that students with other mother tongues grapple with. The note from the lecturer, accompanying the terms, only states that the terms had been extracted from the textbook, authored by the same lecturer, to support the course. The process of creating equivalent terms in isiXhosa started as soon as the terms were received.

6.3.2 The role-players

The team of people who participated in this initial development of the glossary consisted of

- the lecturer in the subject (her role will further be explained below when we discuss the actual process of the development of the glossary);
- linguists who specialised in the study of isiXhosa, and had vast experience in terminology development;
- educationists (one Italian speaking and had a broad understanding of Latin from which most terms were derived);
- Political Science post-graduate student (English speaking) and two (2) third year Political Science students (isiXhosa speaking); and
- IT specialist who prepared the text for online translation, as well as the translated glossary to enable for terminology developed to be loaded onto the RU online teaching support tool.

In developing discipline-specific terminology, RU-SANTED Multilingualism Project has always ensured that fitting role-players are involved, to ensure that the terms created represent the concept of the original terms aptly all-round, that is, that they are cognitively, linguistically and culturally appropriate.

6.3.3 Preparing for the translation of terms

The first step was to make sure that all role-players understood the concept represented by the English terms, especially in the context of political philosophy. Therefore, this process started by providing the definition of these terms in English, with the Political Science experts

playing a major role. Once all the definitions in English were provided, these were then forwarded to the lecturer for her approval. Where there were queries, these were also forwarded to her for clarification. This text below is a sample of terms, illustrating this stage of the process:

English term	Definitions of terms/the concept
Autonomy	To be able to take decisions according to your own will. This also applies to institutions or groups that mostly govern themselves even though they are under governance of other institutions.
Civil disobedience	A political protest where a group of people break a certain law deliberately with the aim of drawing attention to their political grievances.
Constitution	The supreme law in the state. All other laws are subordinated to the constitution and they should not conflict with it. If they do conflict, the constitution will rule.
Democracy	This word is derived from a Greek word meaning the rule of the people. In this system the power to govern derives from the people.
Egalitarian	A person who believes in the ideology that people should be given equal rights.
Equality	The state of people being equal and receiving same rights.
Idealist	A person believing in and striving to attain a perfect “state”, although that goal often is perceived as unattainable.
Judicial Independence	The principle that a judgement in judicial institutions shall be passed without the influence of others. This is based on the principle of separation of powers whereby the legislative (parliament) creates laws, the executive (government) enforces these laws and the judiciary (courts) uses these laws when passing judgement.
Legitimacy	It is when people see it as appropriate or acceptable to obey the government.
Liberalism	Taken from the Latin word <i>liber</i> meaning “free”. This is a doctrine that sees individual freedom as the most important goal in politics.
Paternalism	Where those in authority take decisions on behalf of their subordinates; they do this by restricting their freedom with the aim of protecting them or promoting their welfare. Those in authority make decisions as a father would do to his child wishing him well.
Pluralism	A political system where various groups have got an influence in political decision-making.
Political Obligation	To see it as your duty to obey the government or those in authority.

Socialism	An ideology which supports that property (livestock, capital, wealth and land) should be owned or regulated by the community. <i>Remark of speaker of isiXhosa: IsiXhosa has no single word representing “property”.</i>
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Once the feedback from the lecturer was received, the process of the translation of the terms, and the definitions started.

6.3.4 The translation

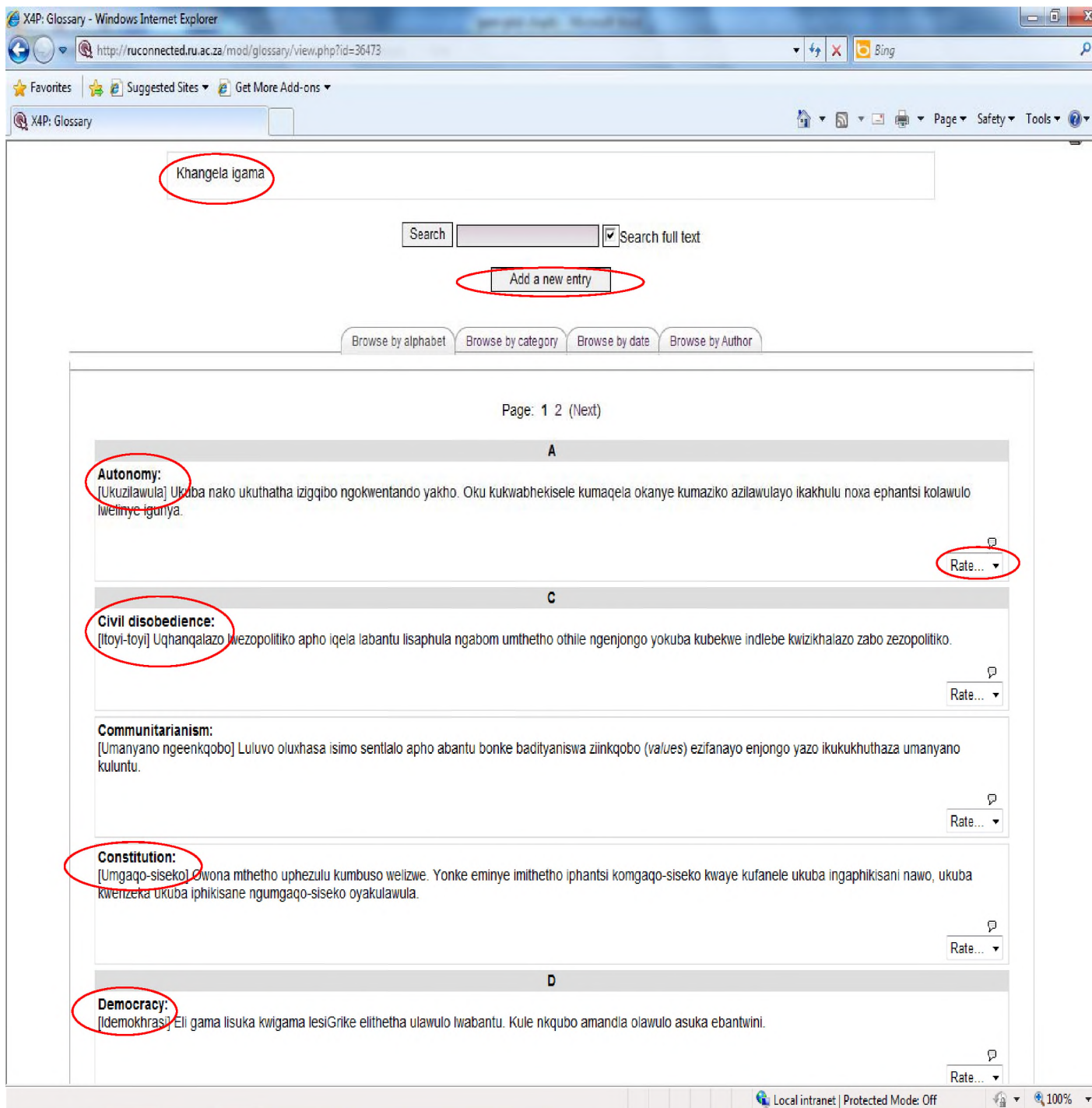
The translation stage is obviously the most important and complicated stage in the process of term-creation and, for that reason, requires a variety of skills and knowledge. The role players specified above all took part in the process, according to their expertise.

The first stage of the process started with text-processing, where the text, i.e. terms with definition was converted into a format that would enable the role-players to do the translation online, using the pootle software (an online translation tool).

The next stage, the execution stage, started by providing the translation of the English definition of each term in isiXhosa, and then providing the isiXhosa equivalent for the term. This process was very involved and long, sometimes taking an hour to reach consensus about the definition and equivalent of one term. The main objective of the stage was to ensure the correctness of the term and its definition in terms of its meaning, the language rules, its stylistic precision, its appropriateness to the discipline and culture of the target language.

Once translation was completed, the terms and they were then reviewed by language and discipline experts. These were people who were part of the process, but they reviewed the completed glossary independently, and presented their suggested changes to the rest of the team for endorsement.

The completed glossary was then prepared to be loaded online, where students would access it. RU uses RUconnected, an online learning facility where students can access support teaching material, and also post their work, amongst other things. This following is a screen shot of the glossary, as it appears online:



Screen shot of the part of the first page of the glossary list as it appears on-line. The terms and words circled in red form part of the discussion in the next section

6.3.5 Dissemination and standardisation of the glossary

The glossary was disseminated to students online, as explained above. All students doing Political Philosophy I have access to it. The glossary was not actively used in the classroom but students were asked to use it for independent learning. The glossary was also added as an appendix to the 2009 edition, and subsequent editions, of the textbook used in the Political Philosophy I course, called *Puzzles in Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction*.

The online version of the glossary has a key where students can rate the glossary (term and definition) from one (1) to five (5) with one representing the worst (see above). On the understanding that students speaking languages other than the LoLT use their languages amongst each other during informal classroom interactions like tutorials and in discussions outside the classroom, we also presented online an option for the students to provide preferred and other equivalents to terms represented in the glossary. The search button (where students insert the term they are looking for) also enabled the students to suggest terms that are not in the glossary, but which they viewed as important or difficult to understand during the course (also see circled above). Further development of the glossary was driven by student needs. New terms from students are collated, and are translated following the same processes outlined above.

The development of this glossary is seen as developmental and therefore, at this stage, we have used only internal structures for its standardisation and verification. The list is also not extensive enough to warrant presenting the glossary to the statutory approved verification bodies. The present study is an extension of this process.

6.3.6 Concluding remarks on the process of development of initial glossary in Political Philosophy I

The development of this initial glossary was motivated by the need to support those students in the course who did not have English as a mother tongue. There were no readily available resources in the subject area, in other words, there was no extensive, high-domain vocabulary in the discipline.

In the process of terminology development the team responsible for the creation of isiXhosa terms and translation of the definitions representing the concepts were able to draw from the language cognitively, linguistically and culturally appropriate terms and definitions. Various strategies, in line with the principles of terminology development, were exercised in the process, for example, derivation, compounding, semantic shift and borrowing, amongst others.

The first step in this process though was to look at terms that were already in circulation, making sure that the team did not create news terms, terms that would not be adopted and institutionalised. Terms such as these are “*idemokhrasi*” for “democracy” and “*umgaqo-siseko*” for “constitution” are examples of such terms. The majority of the newly-created terms were derived from the internal sources of the language. For example, “*ukuzilawula*” for “autonomy” is a class 15 noun derived from the verb “*lawula*” (rule), and the infix “-zi-” between the class prefix and the class stem is a reflexive concord. *Ukuzilawula*, therefore, represents the concepts of “being able to make decisions or rule by oneself”, which is in line with the definition provided by English. “*Ukulawula ngegqudu*” (lit. to rule with a knobkerrie) is an equivalent provided for “paternalism” is an metaphor referring to a domineering leader, who uses force, amongst other things, to control, often with the belief that what they are doing is ‘right’ for the people it is addressed to. This is an example of semantic shift.

The other example is the term “*itoyi-toyi*” for “civil disobedience”. “*Itoyi-toyi*” was a term used during South Africa’s liberation struggle to refer to politically motivated action directed at the apartheid government’s racially-segregated policies. This term is productive in that it can also be used as a verb (i.e. *ukutoyi-toya*), etc.

The challenge with some term-creation strategies is that some “terms” were representation of concepts, rather than terms. They were descriptive in nature, and the description would then be furthered in the definition of the term. This is a common strategy in developing terminology in African languages (Pahl, 1989), where terms are described according to their function, characteristics, etc., instead of being named. The examples of such “terms” are: “*oxhasa ukulingana kwabantu*” for egalitarian, which literally means “one who supports equality of the people”, and “*ukuzimela kwamaziko ezobulungisa*” for “judicial independence” which literally means “the independence of the institutions of justice” (see screen shot below).

X4P: Glossary - Windows Internet Explorer
 http://ruconnected.ru.ac.za/mod/glossary/view.php?id=36473&mode=&hook=ALL&sortkey=&sortorder=&fullsearch=0&page=0

Democracy:
 [Idemokhrasi] Eli gama lisuka kwigama lesiGrike elithetha ulawulo lwabantu. Kule nkqubo amandla olawulo asuka ebantwini.

Egalitarian:
 [Oxhasa ukulingana kwabantu bonke] Ngumntu oxhasa uluvo lokuba abantu kufuneka banikwe amalungelo alinganayo.

Equality:
 [Ukulingana] Isimo sokulingana kwabantu kwaye bafumane amalungelo ngokufanayo.

Idealist:
 [Ocamanga ngesimo esifezekileyo] Lowo ukholelwa, futhi ezama ngenene ukufumana isimo esifezekileyo nesigqibeleleyo kodwa amaxesha amaninzi sibe sibonwa njengesingenakufezeka.

Judicial independence:
 [Ukuzimela kwamaziko ezobulungisa] Ukuwiswa kwesigwebo kumaziko ezobulungisa ngaphandle kweempembelelo zabanye. Oku kusekelwe phantsi komqathango wokwahlulwa kwamagunya olawulo, apho icandelo lowiso-mthetho (ipalamente) limisa imithetho, elolawulo (urhulumente) linyanzelisa le mithetho, ze elezobulungisa (iinkundla) lisebenzise le mithetho xa liwisa isigwebo.

Legitimacy:
 [Okwamkelekileyo] Kulapho abantu babona kwamkelekile okanye kufanelekile ukuba bathobele urhulumente.

Send in my latest ratings

Page: 1 2 (Next)

Local intranet | Protected Mode: Off

These are generally challenges associated with terminology development in African languages that should not necessarily act as a hindrance for further development of the language.

The initial project of development of the terms was a pilot associated with the RU-SANTED Multilingualism Project work. The purpose of this Project, amongst others, was to create multilingual glossaries that would enable the piloting of the use of indigenous African languages to support learning in South African HEIs. The pilot was a success and this research project is looking at the expansion of this glossary in terms of quantity, using additional methods of extracting and creating terms. At this stage, one is also aware of other terminology development activities in isiXhosa over the last fifty years, as well as technological devices (for example, the WordSmith tools) that one can draw from to facilitate terminology creation, therefore these become valuable as we embark on the next stage of this project.

6.4 Further development of isiXhosa terminology in Political Philosophy: presentation of a model

The terminology presented above, even if limited, (only thirty five terms were given by the lecturer to be translated) offered to the Department of Political and International Studies, as well as other role players, the fact that African languages *can* be developed for use in controlling domains such as HEIs. The students' reception of this intervention, or its effect on their academic performance, is not the subject of this research. I wish to point out though that a lecturer teaching the Extended Studies Programme⁴⁸ (ESP) of the course reported students using the material in class, and thus stimulating debate in manner that has not happened before. The lecturer also reported that all students in the ESP passed the first year module (interview with Corrine Knowles, 2009). While one should be content with the use of these list by students who enter university through alternative means, it should be clear that terminology development in African languages for use in HEIs should not be seen as an intervention strategy solely for the benefit of these students. It should be seen as a means to redress general underperformance of students whose mother tongue is not English, the

⁴⁸ The Extended Studies Programme is a programme specifically designed to support students from disadvantaged backgrounds who, through alternative access, gained access they would not normally get to RU. These students are often students to whom English, the LoLT at the institution, is not their mother tongue.

dominant LoLT. It should also be seen as a human right, and a means to attain development that is associated with success at HEIs.

Three issues come up from the discussion above on the initial development of the Political Philosophy I terminology:

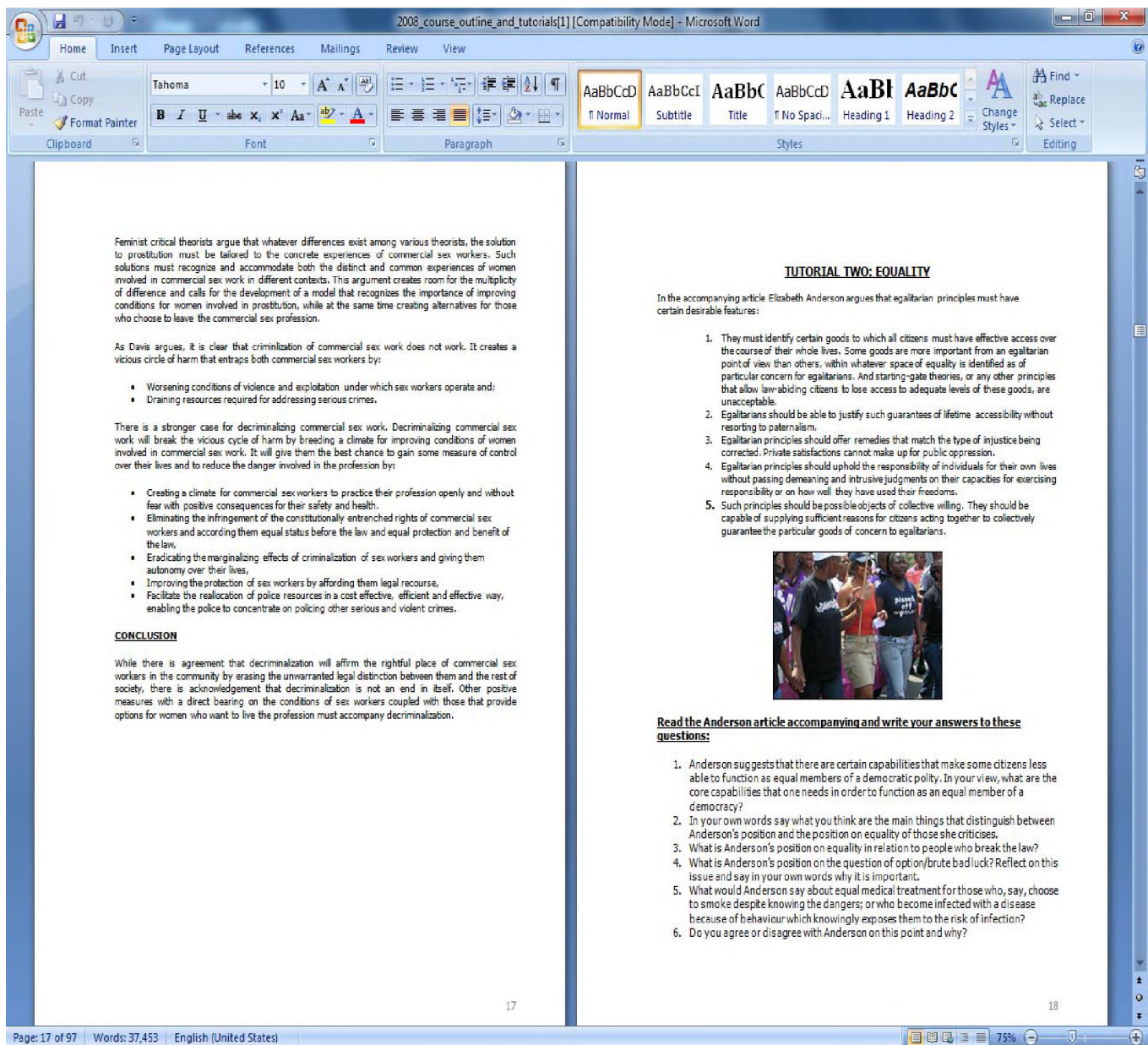
- a) There is a need for the development of terminologies to support learning in intellectual disciplines;
- b) Terminology development should be extensive, covering concepts important in a discipline; and
- c) As HEIs in South Africa are looking into language as one of the factors to facilitate access, success and retention of students who do not have English as mother tongue, models of terminology development that can be used to create terminologies across disciplines, should be designed so as to enable these to be replicated in other contexts.

It is for the reasons above that this section of the thesis is dedicated to designing a comprehensive model for the development of a terminology list for Political Philosophy. The model to be presented is for developing a term list, and not a glossary as was the case with the pilot project. I intend to create isiXhosa terms for a hundred high frequency words that appear (in English) in the Tutorial material handed to students in the course.

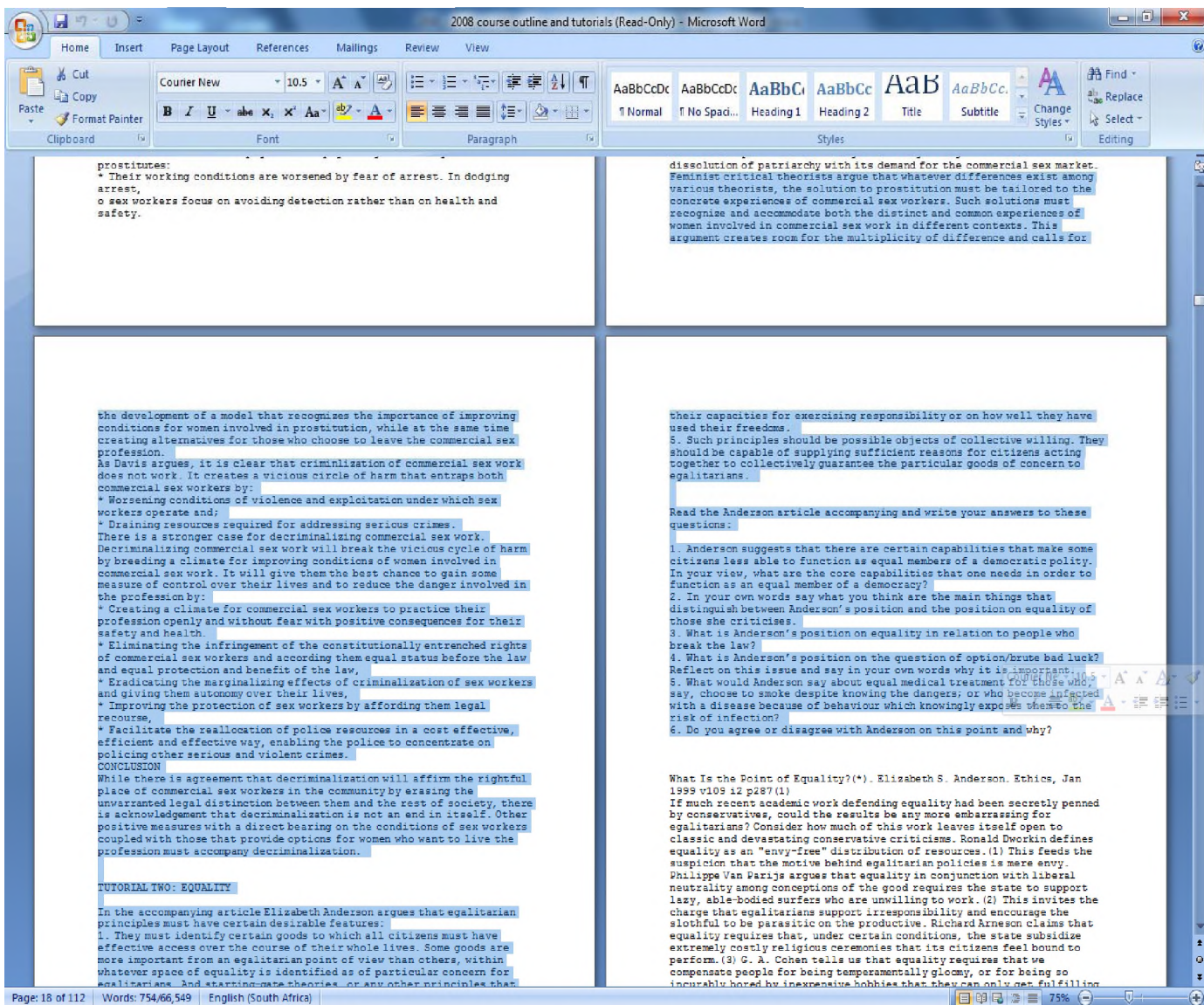
6.4.1 The extraction of the corpus

The corpus is extracted from the Political Philosophy I Course information and tutorial handout presented to all students doing the course at Rhodes University in 2008. The material was presented to me in Word-format. To generate corpus for terminology development, I used WordSmith tools, a software used to analyse texts, that can be used successfully for the creation of terminology lists. In WordSmith tools I have used its three basic programmes – the Wordlist, the Keywords and the Concord (Scott, 2004).

The Wordlist programme generates lists of words, from a text file. The list can be generated to list words that are in a file in their *alphabetical* order, or in order of their *frequency* in the file. In generating the Wordlist, the first step was to convert the Course information and tutorial handout file from a word-format to a text-file. This process is illustrated with some pages from the file.



Pages, in Word-format, from the tutorial handout.



Document in text-format, text highlighted in blue indicating text in word format in the screen shot above.

The next step is to generate the list. I have selected to create a word list illustrating, in alphabetical order, the words in the file, as well as their frequency. The alphabetical list enabled me to study further and understand the type of lexicon used in the text to be analysed. It also enabled me to see the manner in which words with the same root have been used in the file. The frequency word list has, on one hand, enabled me to understand the most frequently used terms in the text. A total of 3745 words was generated from the list. On the other hand, this includes words like articles (*the, a* and *an*), conjunctions, possessives and pronouns, for example which are, obviously not terms representing concepts.

The following screenshot illustrates fifty (50) words with highest frequency in the text analysed:

N	Word	Freq.	%	Lemmas
1	AND	1,418	2.11	
2	IN	1,291	1.92	
3	A	1,265	1.88	
4	THAT	1,172	1.74	
5	IS	1,051	1.56	
6	FOR	817	1.22	
7	IT	590	0.88	
8	AS	586	0.87	
9	ARE	581	0.86	
10	NOT	568	0.84	
11	BE	557	0.83	
12	THIS	533	0.79	
13	ON	440	0.65	
14	THEIR	398	0.59	
15	BY	370	0.55	
16	WE	361	0.54	
17	OR	357	0.53	
18	HAVE	333	0.50	
19	THEY	333	0.50	
20	AN	317	0.47	
21	WITH	317	0.47	
22	EQUALITY	307	0.46	
23	BUT	299	0.44	
24	WHICH	289	0.43	
25	FROM	275	0.41	
26	ONE	252	0.37	
27	IF	221	0.33	
28	WOULD	221	0.33	
29	WHO	211	0.31	
30	OBLIGATION	208	0.31	
31	BENEFIT	204	0.30	
32	LAW	202	0.30	
33	WHAT	199	0.30	
34	ALL	195	0.29	
35	EGALITARIA	194	0.29	
36	NO	194	0.29	
37	CAN	182	0.27	
38	THESE	180	0.27	
39	S	174	0.26	
40	I	171	0.25	
41	GRATITUDE	170	0.25	
42	ONLY	167	0.25	
43	OUR	164	0.24	
44	HIS	163	0.24	
45	THAN	163	0.24	
46	THOSE	163	0.24	
47	SOME	162	0.24	
48	OTHER	161	0.24	
49	STATE	158	0.24	
50	HAS	157	0.23	

One can see, from the text above that the word with highest frequency in the text is “and”. It appears over 1,400 times in the text, and constitutes about 2% of the total word count. The majority of the other words in the top fifty (50) do not constitute terms representing concepts. Only seven (7) of the 50 terms are terms representing concepts (circled in red in the screenshot). In other words, the high frequency of words in text for corpus extraction does not

necessarily and exclusively determine the importance and relevance of that word in the discipline, nor are they representative of concepts.

The next step in the process of corpus extraction was to “clean up” the text. This was done by converting the WordSmith frequency file into a normal text file, and deleting the words that do not represent concepts, and those that in my perception and that of the Political Science students, were not too difficult and were not conceptually challenging in the discipline. From this we then extracted, for term creation in isiXhosa, terms to be translated into isiXhosa. These terms were selected for their high frequency in the text and over and above this, there were also those that were selected according to their extent of difficulty in the discipline, as well as their representation of important concepts in the discipline. The list of the final terms has been verified with two senior Political Science students.

The following screen shot represents some of the final terms selected from the frequency list, as they appear in alphabetical order. The number on the left represents the number of the word as it appears on the WordSmith tool while the percentage number represents the percentage of the term constitutes out of the total number of terms in the original text.

The screenshot shows a Microsoft Word window titled 'termlist - Microsoft Word'. The ribbon includes Home, Insert, Page Layout, References, Mailings, Review, and View. The main content area displays a concordance table with the following columns: N, Word, Freq., %, and Lemmas. The table lists various words and their frequencies and percentages.

N	Word	Freq.	%	Lemmas
17	ABOLISH	3		
23	ABSOLUTE	12	0.02	
28	ABUSE	9	0.01	
36	ACCESSIBILITY	2		
48	ACCOUNTABILITY	2		
49	ACCOUNTABLE	2		
60	ACQUIRE	5		
166	AMENDMENT	3		
175	ANALOGY	3		
176	ANALYSIS	4		
178	ANARCHY	4		
196	APARTHEID	3		
199	APPEAL	31	0.05	
217	APPROPRIATE	28	0.04	
222	APPROVAL	3		
224	ARBITRARY	9	0.01	
253	ARRIVE	4		
266	ASSERT	2		
278	ASSOCIATION	6		
310	AUTHORITATIVE	29	0.04	
317	AUTONOMOUS	5		
318	AUTONOMY	6		
378	BELIEF	14	0.02	
385	BENEFACTOR	49	0.07	
391	BENEFICIARY	64	0.10	
438	BOUNDARY	5		
469	BUREAUCRACY	2		
485	CAMPAIGN	4		
502	CAPITAL	8	0.01	
503	CAPITALISM	24	0.04	
504	CAPITALIST	17	0.03	
574	CHOICEWORTHINES	2		
590	CITIZENSHIP	9	0.01	
592	CIVIL	38	0.06	
593	CIVILIZATION	3		
594	CIVILIZED	3		
598	CLASS	15	0.02	
613	COLLISION	6		
614	CODE	3		
615	COERCE	9	0.01	
624	COLLECTIVE	11	0.02	
645	COMMUNITY	18	0.03	
660	COMPENSATION	24	0.04	
667	COMPLIANCE	14	0.02	
672	COMPROMISE	2		
673	COMPULSORY	2		
720	CONSCIOUSNESS	2		
725	CONSERVATIVE	5		
726	CONSERVATIVES	5		
741	CONSTITUTION	6		
810	CONSTITUTIONAL	2		

The status bar at the bottom indicates 'Page: 1 of 2', 'Words: 400', and 'English (South Africa)'. The zoom level is set to 100%.

The next stage after the extraction and compilation of corpus was the generation of concordances of terms selected, using Concordance programme of the WordSmith tool. This programme provides all contexts in which a selected term appears in a text. In this manner, as a terminologist you are able to ascertain meaning of a term by analysing the different contexts in which the selected terms appear. In other words, it provides all examples in which a selected word is used, in the contexts of other words. I generated concordances of the five key concepts in the course – freedom, equality, justice, rights and political obligation. In the first four terms, the root of the term was selected, and consequently, the terms appear in

different variations (e.g. as nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc) while in the last term, I generated concordance for the phrase “political obligation”.

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word No.	File	%
1	1979). W. D. Ross, <i>The Right and the Good</i> (Oxf			59,762	8co-1.txt	90
2	1991, a group of animal-rights activists sued on			47,115	8co-1.txt	71
3	r of respecting property rights. Because property			30,030	8co-1.txt	46
4	legal process that puts rights at the top of the			46,648	8co-1.txt	71
5	h a law. "We don't give rights to some people -			37,985	8co-1.txt	58
6	ient warrant. He cannot rightfully be compelled t			2,359	8co-1.txt	4
7	surd to give animals the right to vote, it would be			38,795	8co-1.txt	60
8	ing to relief workers and rights activists who have			52,319	8co-1.txt	79
9	duties correlate to claim-rights, however, we cann			59,308	8co-1.txt	89
10	and amplifying the list of rights, the Supreme Cou			46,492	8co-1.txt	71
11	and the shopping list of rights will therefore be s			46,869	8co-1.txt	71
12	ligations. But if property rights precede governme			31,825	8co-1.txt	49
13	d should not have equal rights. The thought behi			39,981	8co-1.txt	61
14	ther violations of human rights. We admit that w			44,393	8co-1.txt	68
15	ity, and then only with a right of appeal to the co			38,129	8co-1.txt	59
16	tion may acquire those rights which never could			41,722	8co-1.txt	64
17	y given citizen waive his right to guaranteed heal			24,261	8co-1.txt	37
18	ome of the fundamental rights granted to human			37,754	8co-1.txt	58
19	"Drive to give "human" rights to apes leaves Sp			37,719	8co-1.txt	58
20	are on p. 62ff. 'Animal Rights'. Roger Scruton i			46,312	8co-1.txt	70
21	gues that a law granting rights to people but not			47,229	8co-1.txt	72
22	eson's criterion, it is all right to exclude the disa			26,197	8co-1.txt	40
23	s its parents. With what right can two people forc			12,850	8co-1.txt	20
24	ld there be of the use of rights to cancel duties a			46,566	8co-1.txt	71
25	ly appropriated, just as right-libertarians claim, e			30,618	8co-1.txt	47
26	it offers protections for rights and freedoms and			1,560	8co-1.txt	2
27	and should have equal rights, while humans an			39,969	8co-1.txt	61
28	efactor does not have a right to one's acting in			59,279	8co-1.txt	89
29	EEK FIVE (18 August) Rights The idea that			1,318	8co-1.txt	2
30	undary of the sphere of rights so that it runs pa			43,387	8co-1.txt	66
31	e, but also good or bad, right or wrong, wise or f			29	8co-1.txt	0
32	ithout violating anyone's rights (entitlements). Ju			29,919	8co-1.txt	46
33	er 4: 'The Importance of Rights' in An Introductio			1,481	8co-1.txt	2
34	uth Africa. Zimbabwean rights activists accuse p			52,451	8co-1.txt	79
35	ply. If one questions the "rightness" of a specific I			61,768	8co-1.txt	93
36	would say, inventing) a "right of privacy" nowher			46,531	8co-1.txt	71
37	red a theory of property rights because its conce			31,660	8co-1.txt	49
38	ements with others, the right to receive fair value			21,693	8co-1.txt	33
39	n individual's inalienable right to the social conditi			22,294	8co-1.txt	34
40	culture it is hard (though right) to accuse them of			47,968	8co-1.txt	73
41	t benefactors hold claim-rights to gratitude provid			59,197	8co-1.txt	89
42	on-human animals have rights too? If not, what i			1,387	8co-1.txt	2
43	to do rather than on the rights bearer's own subj			22,394	8co-1.txt	35
44	y do no wrong, but that "right" and "wrong" here			49,641	8co-1.txt	75
45	es not possess it: your right may be my duty,			46,828	8co-1.txt	71
46	es the law deter animal-rights activists. One of t			48,393	8co-1.txt	73
47	s freedom not entail the "Right to do Wrong"? F.			2,524	8co-1.txt	4
48	re done to them), (2) full rights to transfer the righ			30,136	8co-1.txt	46
49	fact 'duty,' 'obligation,' 'right,' and 'good' come			58,413	8co-1.txt	88
50	f duty in its members, if rights are to be anything			46,982	8co-1.txt	71

Screenshot of concordances of “right-”.

Concord - [FREE: 123 entries (sort: 5L,5L)]

File View Settings Window Help

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word No	File	%
1	etter way to understand freedom. Consider the st			20,743	8co~1.txt	32
2	a law granting rights to freemen but not to slave			47,246	8co~1.txt	72
3	a potential member of a free community—a com			49,224	8co~1.txt	74
4	dition of enjoying basic freedoms. In places whe			26,866	8co~1.txt	41
5	rtarian might argue that freedom of association e			20,627	8co~1.txt	32
6	tionings, but a person's freedom to achieve value			20,850	8co~1.txt	32
7	men such as, equality, freedom and security of			5,472	8co~1.txt	8
8	edatory practices in the free market, once peopl			13,419	8co~1.txt	21
9	inst others to stop their free fall into misery and			13,071	8co~1.txt	20
10	ws are infringements of freedom. If we value fre			770	8co~1.txt	1
11	action unless she would freely do so out of conc			57,566	8co~1.txt	87
12	lesbian people seek the freedom to appear in pu			9,024	8co~1.txt	14
13	equality preserves their freedom and equality ov			23,993	8co~1.txt	37
14	to be maintained, some freedom will have to be			30,972	8co~1.txt	48
15	eld up as the model of a freestanding obligation b			59,383	8co~1.txt	89
16	akowski, Roemer), real freedom—that is, legal ri			10,822	8co~1.txt	17
17	. Second, most of the freedoms that democrati			23,615	8co~1.txt	36
18	S Tutorial One FREEDOM PAGE 6			2,244	8co~1.txt	3
19	bed outcast status. The freedom to form relation			21,794	8co~1.txt	34
20	ize themselves, through freely chosen projects a			49,269	8co~1.txt	74
21	was born a citizen of a free State and a membe			506	8co~1.txt	1
22	hers. They are therefore free to participate in polit			20,366	8co~1.txt	31
23	voluntary agreements in free markets.(64) The fa			17,862	8co~1.txt	27
24	xchanged or transferred freely, as long as there			32,363	8co~1.txt	50
25	necessary limits to our freedom. All laws are in			764	8co~1.txt	1
26	WEEK TWO (28 July) Freedom Freedom is			701	8co~1.txt	1
27	mmunity, then, is to be free from oppression to			20,450	8co~1.txt	31
28	s violations of individual freedom. Libertarians te			20,505	8co~1.txt	32
29	ration of only those who freely consent, and thus			56,387	8co~1.txt	85
30	es equality as an "envy-free" distribution of reso			8,622	8co~1.txt	13
31	them of their elementary freedoms. Admirable th			46,423	8co~1.txt	70
32	ted equally in this envy-free sense and that suc			11,623	8co~1.txt	18
33	ion of resources is envy-free: no one prefers so			11,597	8co~1.txt	18
34	sources can secure the freedoms these groups			22,534	8co~1.txt	35
35	h puzzle – whether it be freedom, equality, rights			2,090	8co~1.txt	3
36	the social conditions of freedom on the spurious			9,350	8co~1.txt	14
37	citizen is a fundamental freedom, egalitarians de			27,046	8co~1.txt	42
38	ITY IN THE SPACE OF FREEDOM: A CAPABIL			20,730	8co~1.txt	32
39	njoy greater substantive freedom than all subsequ			34,113	8co~1.txt	52
40	r example, R. M. Hare, Freedom and Reason (O			45,871	8co~1.txt	70
41	ects promote efficiency, freedom of choice, "con			17,523	8co~1.txt	27
42	rtarians tend to identify freedom with formal, neg			20,510	8co~1.txt	32
43	others. This definition of freedom neglects the im			20,539	8co~1.txt	32
44	. A person enjoys more freedom the greater the r			20,859	8co~1.txt	32
45	rantees in the space of freedom or capabilities.			21,852	8co~1.txt	34
46	no obligation to provide free card lessons to citiz			21,259	8co~1.txt	33
47	r. Why shouldn't she be free to trade some of he			22,248	8co~1.txt	34
48	edom as possible. But freedom, in a social set			737	8co~1.txt	1
49	m with formal, negative freedom: enjoying the le			20,514	8co~1.txt	32
50	ns, in the name of equal freedom, offer free card-			20,958	8co~1.txt	32

Screenshot of concordances of "free

Concord - [EQUAL: 495 entries (sort: SL,SL)]

File View Settings Window Help

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word No.	File	%
1	W. C. Vlastos, "Justice and Equality," in Brandt, <i>Social Just</i>			46,258	8cc~1.txt	70
2	tic that gives a being the right to equal consideration. The capacit			41,906	8cc~1.txt	64
3	community of equals. democratic equality integrates principles of d			9,507	8cc~1.txt	15
4	firm in using a human being at an equal or lower level of sentience,			43,090	8cc~1.txt	66
5	is a pattern of distribution. Thus, equality of fortune regards two p			19,749	8cc~1.txt	30
6	more sophisticated opponent of equality, one who proposes that			40,752	8cc~1.txt	62
7	act on a person's standing as an equal in society. Some deprivatio			25,514	8cc~1.txt	39
8	rm.(3) G. A. Cohen tells us that equality requires that we compen			8,717	8cc~1.txt	13
9	ined to be able to function as an equal citizen. As justice requires			26,838	8cc~1.txt	41
10	achieve one's ends (Van Parijs). equal opportunity for welfare (Am			10,836	8cc~1.txt	17
11	these actions are as means to equality or other moral goals. M			30,238	8cc~1.txt	46
12	arians adopt a leximin criterion of equality, permitting inequalities a			10,187	8cc~1.txt	16
13	antages over those proposed by equality of fortune. They match t			26,594	8cc~1.txt	41
14	uality. Should egalitarians seek equality of resources or assets (10,813	8cc~1.txt	17
15	aid. Consider now those whom equality of fortune singles out as			16,110	8cc~1.txt	25
16	matives, all of which will deserve equal respect from the law and			46,699	8cc~1.txt	71
17	that all workers can function as equals in society. Talent brings			26,801	8cc~1.txt	41
18	enabling all citizens to stand as equals to one another in civil so			21,165	8cc~1.txt	33
19	men to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity' (1971:302			33,104	8cc~1.txt	51
20	ceptable to all. To stand as an equal before others in discussion			19,625	8cc~1.txt	30
21	egalitarian view that guarantees equality only ex ante, before ad			14,117	8cc~1.txt	22
22	ing as an equal does not require equal levels of functioning. To be			22,077	8cc~1.txt	34
23	in, and suggest that the political equality so central to justice as			31,613	8cc~1.txt	49
24	capabilities. Would democratic equality demand that external re			22,811	8cc~1.txt	36
25	onest article "Egalitarianism and Equal Consideration of Interests"			44,934	8cc~1.txt	68
26	remedy proposed by democratic equality have several advantages			26,586	8cc~1.txt	41
27	by others and to function as an equal in civil society. What coun			22,632	8cc~1.txt	36
28	ntship, and not the conditions for equal ability to fulfill the demand			25,364	8cc~1.txt	39
29	nimals. The fundamental form of equality is equal consideration of			38,520	8cc~1.txt	59
30	on one another in virtue of their equality, not their inferiority, to o			9,572	8cc~1.txt	15
31	mocratic equality. Democratic equality does not indemnify indivi			23,351	8cc~1.txt	36
32	if humans are to be regarded as equal to one another, we need s			43,571	8cc~1.txt	66
33	equally moral agents: everyone equally has the power to develo			19,433	8cc~1.txt	30
34	that all men are to be treated as equals, not because they are eq			43,832	8cc~1.txt	67
35	e critics argue that the pursuit of equality is futile. For no two peo			10,025	8cc~1.txt	15
36	les" argues, correctly I think, for equality of consideration as the			44,954	8cc~1.txt	68
37	ove around civil society to have equal standing as citizens, but t			25,184	8cc~1.txt	39
38	o as to give everyone's interests equal consideration—although th			41,496	8cc~1.txt	63
39	s an equal citizen. Democratic equality thus supports the use o			26,404	8cc~1.txt	41
40	LUCK According to democratic equality, the distribution of natur			24,902	8cc~1.txt	38
41	be called "luck egalitarianism" or "equality of fortune." I shall argu			9,301	8cc~1.txt	14
42	be treated like the handicapped? Equality of fortune thinks so—it e			26,703	8cc~1.txt	41
43	be open to talents. Democratic equality thus aims for equality a			21,182	8cc~1.txt	33
44	subjective interests, democratic equality satisfies the second des			22,400	8cc~1.txt	35
45	everyone finds these capabilities equally valuable, but because rea			24,590	8cc~1.txt	38
46	human beings. Yet we still give equal consideration to their intere			38,820	8cc~1.txt	60
47	nism is belied by the doctrine of equality of fortune in two ways.			15,182	8cc~1.txt	23
48	ve mistakenly) attributed to him. Equality of fortune is now one of			9,777	8cc~1.txt	15
49	egalitarian concern. Democratic equality thus offers a superior w			27,670	8cc~1.txt	43
50	Bernard Williams, "The Idea of Equality," in <i>Philosophy, Politics</i>			46,273	8cc~1.txt	70

Screenshot of concordances of "equal-".

Concord - [JUST: 311 entries (sort: 5L,5L)]

File View Settings Window Help

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word No.	File	%
262	needs in providing moral justification for that sens			31,410	8co~1.txt	48
263	and Dworkin's, provide justifications for legitima			34,193	8co~1.txt	53
264	, there can be no moral justification for refusing t			42,075	8co~1.txt	64
265	generates no claims of justice on others. It is a			12,689	8co~1.txt	20
266	personal irresponsibility, just as critics of equality			23,190	8co~1.txt	36
267	meet the requirements of justice as fairness. He a			33,169	8co~1.txt	51
268	ught, however, and thus justify mandatory insura			10,776	8co~1.txt	17
269	to create and maintain a just distribution througho			36,762	8co~1.txt	57
270	to articulate a theory of just distribution. John R			32,883	8co~1.txt	51
271	consider their claims of justice . The way to esc			26,231	8co~1.txt	40
272	te objective principles of justice that will guide th			33,015	8co~1.txt	51
273	principles of distributive justice that express equ			16,914	8co~1.txt	26
274	which the principles of justice determine the pri			29,288	8co~1.txt	45
275	any theory of distributive justice one wishes. After			34,647	8co~1.txt	53
276	interfere with an action just because it is deeme			2,542	8co~1.txt	4
277	authority (on the normal justification thesis) is th			62,444	8co~1.txt	94
278	ble to suggest that in a just state, with just laws			1,595	8co~1.txt	2
279	to be asked: why does justice as fairness not e			35,607	8co~1.txt	55
280	private satisfactions to justify public oppression			26,623	8co~1.txt	41
281	as about rights, liberty, justice , equality and the			563	8co~1.txt	1
282	eable to bad brute luck, just like insurance polici			10,641	8co~1.txt	16
283	roposes of administering justice . Equality of fortu			16,630	8co~1.txt	25
284	various new compounds just in case something t			42,752	8co~1.txt	65
285	r which the citizens are justified in disobeying th			51,015	8co~1.txt	77
286	expressive demands of justice -the demand to a			27,682	8co~1.txt	43
287	es and infirmities, never justify the unequal socia			19,546	8co~1.txt	30
288	rocentric norm, ends up justifying the subordinati			19,138	8co~1.txt	29
289	sion. A state's ultimate justification for coercing			56,400	8co~1.txt	85
290	atural resources can be justly appropriated by w			30,402	8co~1.txt	47
291	pia, and two theories of just distribution, the first			31,376	8co~1.txt	48
292	eternalistic reasons can justify making mandator			14,342	8co~1.txt	22
293	tions of the principles of justice in acquisition an			32,647	8co~1.txt	50
294	employment and social justice , National Institut			36,991	8co~1.txt	57
295	peatedly told: "You are just a foreigner." On a			51,911	8co~1.txt	78
296	n ways that are not only justifiable to all but that			34,287	8co~1.txt	53
297	lth and assets, and not just income, throughout			35,883	8co~1.txt	55
298	lent? Citizens can, with justice , refuse to provide			24,275	8co~1.txt	37
299	y deserve? Ideas about justice can relate to bot			1,216	8co~1.txt	2
300	az dubbed "The Normal Justification Thesis". Thi			64,257	8co~1.txt	96
301	erein I believe a rational justification of an obligati			60,375	8co~1.txt	91
302	whether or not you think justice is about egalitari			27,840	8co~1.txt	43
303	e. Why? If a state is justified in coercing its c			56,145	8co~1.txt	85
304	's rights (entitlements). Justice , on this view, is			29,921	8co~1.txt	46
305	verridden frequently, not just in unusual circumst			53,970	8co~1.txt	81
306	would be unfair, and not just ordinarily dishonest,			45,320	8co~1.txt	69
307	plement this version of justice as fairness (or D			35,379	8co~1.txt	54
308	ould have to think about justice not only for the r			27,880	8co~1.txt	43
309	1967. [11] C. Vlastos, "Justice and Equality," i			46,256	8co~1.txt	70
310	ld you prefer a theory of justice based on people			1,180	8co~1.txt	2
311	1:139-140, 160-162). Justice as fairness rejec			33,335	8co~1.txt	51

Screenshot of concordances of "just-".

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word No.	File	%
1	RT LOAN 320.01 JAC Simmons, A. John. "Political Obligation and Authority" in Robert			1,750	8co~1.txt	3
2	ffairs Quarterly 5 (1991): 33-48; and Klosko, "Political Obligation and Gratitude," Philoso			59,824	8co~1.txt	90
3	airs 18 (1989): 352-38. 5. A. D. M. Walker, "Political Obligation and the Argument from			59,840	8co~1.txt	90
4	ble: we alone have rights. Tutorial Five : Political Obligation and the Right to Civil Di			50,954	8co~1.txt	77
5	191-211; and "Obligations of Gratitude and Political Obligation," Philosophy and Public			59,859	8co~1.txt	90
6	ion upon which to build a plausible theory of political obligation. Conclusion Despite the			59,623	8co~1.txt	90
7	de as a virtue, we can return to our principal concern—political obligation. The implication			59,493	8co~1.txt	89
8	apply to this case different ideas about how political obligation is generated: reciprocatio			51,349	8co~1.txt	77
9	AN 320.01 COM WEEK SIX (25 August) Political Obligation When we live in a de			1,530	8co~1.txt	2
10	not enough to confirm the gratitude theory of political obligation. Because appropriate grat			59,546	8co~1.txt	90
11	owe to our country. The gratitude account of political obligation enjoys a celebrated histo			53,128	8co~1.txt	80
12	f some, many defend the gratitude theory of political obligation. In this article I offer two			59,637	8co~1.txt	90
13	story is no grounds for a gratitude theory of political obligation because a citizen receive			55,595	8co~1.txt	84
14	rm a solid foundation for a general theory of political obligation because those citizens			56,676	8co~1.txt	85
15	untable problem for the gratitude account of political obligation. And finally, in response			54,576	8co~1.txt	82
16	by a solid foundation for a plausible theory of political obligation. After briefly reviewing th			53,169	8co~1.txt	80
17	it spells trouble for the gratitude approach to political obligation because, if one's debt of			53,846	8co~1.txt	81
18	ther it be freedom, equality, rights, justice or political obligation; " choose one or more of			2,095	8co~1.txt	3
19	0, George Klosko, "Four Arguments Against Political Obligation from Gratitude," Public			59,812	8co~1.txt	90
20	influential critics of gratitude as a source of political obligation.4 I shall not review all of t			53,445	8co~1.txt	80
21	e state also fall away? In other words, if our political obligation is generated by gratitude			51,305	8co~1.txt	77
22	ded reading: Jacobs, Lesley A. Chapter 3: 'Political Obligation' in An Introduction to M			1,728	8co~1.txt	3
23	Argus on May 12, 2008. Gratitude and Political Obligation APA Newsletters Fall 1			53,089	8co~1.txt	80
24	ith the demands of justice or authority? Can political obligation be grounded in the subje			60,079	8co~1.txt	90
25	ur RIGHTS PAGE 58 Tutorial Five POLITICAL OBLIGATION PAGE 76 N			2,264	8co~1.txt	3
26	titude and then spell out the implications for political obligation. The first and most impo			58,023	8co~1.txt	87
27	does this mean that the arguments for their political obligation to obey the state also fall			51,291	8co~1.txt	77
28	owed to the government cannot constitute a political obligation because appropriate gratit			59,702	8co~1.txt	90
29	s thesis. Given the present paper's focus on political obligation, I will merely sketch brief			59,951	8co~1.txt	90
30	ringent enough to match our intuitions about political obligation. According to Klosko, ev			53,904	8co~1.txt	81
31	uthors working to vindicate this approach to political obligation are A. D. M. Walker and			54,059	8co~1.txt	81
32	requirement is fatal to the gratitude theory of political obligation because, although a stat			57,582	8co~1.txt	87
33	September Content to be tested: rights and political obligation. TEST STRUCTURE for			1,901	8co~1.txt	3

Concordances for "political obligation"

All the terms selected were then defined, in English, in a manner that illustrated the concept that the term represented. Analysing the context in which the terms are shown in the text through concordances was instrumental in formulating definitions, and understanding the concept. The Political Science students assisted in formulating definitions. After defining the terms, the terms themselves, and not the definitions, were then translated into isiXhosa. The definitions of terms (i.e. delineating and therefore, understanding the concept they represent), examining them in context with other words through the concordances, using the resources already available (i.e. the language itself, the 1958, 1959 and 1972 *Bantu Education Terminology Lists*), the Kropf's 1915 IsiXhosa-English dictionary, the *Oxford English-Xhosa Dictionary*, the *Department of Arts and Culture's Multilingual*

Parliamentary/Political Terminology List) were all instrumental in the translation process. The key objective in the process was to create a term that , in terms of cognition, linguistic aspect and communicative aspect, represented the concept embodied in the term.

6.4.2 The sample of the Political Philosophy I English-IsiXhosa Terminology List

The following table presents translated equivalents of the terms extracted from the 2008 *Puzzles in Political Philosophy* course Information and Tutorial handbook.

English term	IsiXhosa term
1. Abandon (v.)	Ukunikela umva
2. Abolish	Ukubhangisa
3. Absolute rights	Amalungelo apheleleyo
4. Abuse	Impatho-mbi
5. Access (v.)	Ukuba nokufikelela
6. Account	Ukunika ingxelo
7. Accountability	Uniko-ngxelo
8. Acquire	Ukufumana
9. Advocacy	Uthethelelo-luvo
10. Ambulatory	-nokuhamba
11. Amendment	Isilungiso-mthetho
12. Analogy	Ibali-mfaniso
13. Anarchy	Imo kavula-zibhuqe
14. Apartheid	Imo yobandlulo, <i>iapartheid</i>
15. Appeal	Isibheni
16. Appropriation	Ulwabiwo-kutsha
17. Arbitrary	Isenzo esingenangqiqo
18. Association	Umanyano
19. Authoritative	-negunya
20. Authority	Abasemagunyeni, iziphatha-mandla

21. Autonomous	Ukuzilawula
22. Autonomy	Umaziphathe
23. Balance	Ulungelwaniso
24. Belief	Inkolo
25. Benefactor	Umzuzisi
26. Beneficiary	Umzuziswa
27. Benefits	Iinzuzo
28. Bureaucracy	<i>Ibureaucracy</i>
29. Capabilities	Isiphiwo, ukuba nako
30. Capital	Imali
31. Capitalism	Inkqubo elawulwa yimali
32. Capitalist	Uhlohlesakhe, ungxowa-nkulu
33. Citizenship	Ubumi-mhlaba
34. Civil rights	Amalungelo abemi
35. Civil society	Uluntu
36. Civil suit	Isimangalo soluntu
37. Class	Uluhlu, udidi ekuhlaleni
38. Coerce	Ukunyanzela
39. Collective	-onke
40. Communitarianism	<i>Icommunitarianism</i>
41. Community	Uluntu
42. Compensation	Imbuyekezo
43. Compliance	Uthobelo-mthetho
44. Compulsory	-nyanzelekile
45. Consciousness	Ingqiqo
46. Conservative	Untamo-lukhumi
47. Constitution	Umgqaqo-siseko
48. Democracy	Ulawulo-melo, idemokhrasi
49. Deontology	<i>Ideontology</i>
50. Dependency	Uxhomekeko
51. Doctrine	Imfundiso
52. Domination	Ulawulo oluveleleyo

53. Economy	Uqoqosho
54. Egalitarian	Umxhasi-lingano
55. Equality	Ukulingana
56. Ethically	Ngokweenqobo ezizizo zokuziphatha
57. Ethics	Iinqobo ezizizo zokuziphatha
58. Feminist	<i>Ifeminist</i> , umlweli-malungelo amanina
59. Freedom	Inkululeko
60. Humanitarian	Umlweli-malungelo oluntu
61. Ideal	Ingcinga efezekileyo
62. Ideology	Ingcingane
63. Immorality	Ukungabi nasimilo
64. Independent	Ukuzimela
65. Inegalitarianism	Inkolo yenkcaso-lingano
66. Inequality	Intswelo-lingano
67. Inferiority	Ukujongela phantsi
68. Inheritance	Ilifa
69. Injustice	Intswelo-bulungisa
70. Institutions	Amaziko
71. Justice	Ubulungisa
72. Legislation	Umthetho
73. Legitimate	-semthethweni
74. Liberal	Oxhasa ulawulo-melo
75. Liberalism	Inkolo yenkululeko
76. Liberty	Inkululeko
77. Majority	Uninzi, isininzi
78. Moral	Imfundiso elungileyo
79. Neutrality	Ukungakheth'icala
80. Ownership	Ubunini-nto
81. Paternalism	Ulawulo ngegqudu
82. Philosophy	Ifilosofi
83. Private property	Izinto ezizezakho umntu
84. Production	Imveliso, uveliso, ukuveliswa

85. Reciprocation theory	Ithiyori yokubuyiselana
86. Republican	<i>IRepublican</i> , oxhasa iriphabhliki
87. Revolution	Uvukelo-mbuso, ubhukuqo-mbuso
88. Sexism	<i>Isexism</i> , ukunyemba abasini sisesinye
89. Sovereign	Ukuziphatha, ukuzilawula
90. State	Umbuso
91. Unequal	-ngalingani
92. Universal	-ehlabathi jikelele
93. Utilitarian	<i>Iutilitarian</i>

6.4.3 Discussion of strategies used to execute translation

The strategies on terminology development, as discussed in previous sections of this chapter and in Chapter three have been used. What governed my decision on the choice of the term was whether the term conveyed the appropriate meaning or concept represented by the term, especially in the context of Political Philosophy. Secondly, the term had to be consistent with the grammar structure of the language, and not have negative connotations in terms of the culture or history of any people.

The majority of terms provided as equivalents are already in existence in the language, and those equivalents that are in circulation were used, e.g. “abandon” (*ukunikela umva*), “apartheid” (*ubandlululo*), “constitution” (*umgaqo-siseko*), “democracy” (*ulawulo-melo, idemokhrasi*), “economy” (*uqoqoqsho*) etc.

There are also a variety of terms that have been created through compounding, especially in cases where a term is a noun. Compounding was achieved by looking at concepts represented by the term and the etymology of the word. In these cases, two or more words (which were then compounded using the grammar rules of isiXhosa) best described the concept

represented by the term. Examples are accountability (*uniko-ngxelo*), advocacy (*uthethelolivo*), amendment (*isilungiso-mthetho*), compliance (*uthobelo-mthetho*), citizenship (*ubunimhlaba*), etc.

Some terms, which are common but only in some of the regions where isiXhosa is spoken, and are used irregularly in the media, have been used. They were selected because they best represent the concept represented by the term. Examples are “*imo kavula-zibhuqe*”⁴⁹ (anarchy), “*uhlohlesakhe*”, “*ungxowa-nkulu*”⁵⁰ (capitalist) and “*untamo-lukhuni*”⁵¹ (conservative). These terms are commonly used by veteran newsreaders in the visual and audio-news stations.

I also used borrowing in creating some terms. In some cases I used transference, prefixing only the class prefix to the English term. Examples are *ibureaucracy*, *icommunitarianism*, *ideontology*. These are the terms where discussions about them (to reach agreement to name the term) with all role players rendered just the description of the concept. From this description I could not create a name (i.e. term) in isiXhosa. The challenge presented by the kind of strategy (i.e. using the English term as is, with isiXhosa prefix for initial indigenisation) is the inability to gauge the extent to which the target users understand the concept embodied in the term. I might add here that this is one of the problems of the terminology list. In the case of a glossary list, the term could be created in this manner (transference), and then the description of the term in the glossary would facilitate conceptualisation.

There were instances where a term is created using transference, and then have an equivalent term, e.g. “*ifeminist*”, “*umweli-malungelo amanina*” and “*iRepublican*”, “*oxhasa iriphabhliki*”. In this instance, I chose to use both terms, with the English-derived terms

⁴⁹ -*vula-zibhuqe* represents a practice where in rural communities livestock would be let loose in the fields, either intentionally or unintentionally, to feed off crop in the fields. This term is used as a metaphor to refer to instances where there is not control

⁵⁰ *Uhlohlesakhe* literally means “one who stuffs up his own stomach” while *ungxowa-nkulu* literally means “one with big sack (of money)”

⁵¹ *Untamo-lukhuni* literally means “stiff-necked”.

leading because the isiXhosa-derived terms have been newly-created and their use and adoption could take a while, but the isiXhosa terms would enable and foster conceptual understanding of the terms.

On the overall, this process of term creation proved again that terms can be developed in any language, in any discipline.

6.5 Conclusion

It is clear from this chapter that institutions of learning and universities in particular, view language as important in facilitating meaningful learning. Pilot programmes that focussed on developing support teaching materials in languages other than English are a testimony to that fact. There has also been advocacy from the South African Ministry of Higher Education for universities to develop strategies for use of indigenous African language in their classroom and other acts (Nzimande, 2010). The SANTED Multilingualism Project at RU piloted the use of English-isiXhosa glossaries in Computer Science and Political Science. This began to debunk the myth that African languages cannot be used in HEIs. Terminology creation in high-function domains is also not new to the continent as Tanzania has led with the intellectualisation of Kiswahili (Batibo, 2009, 2010).

The need to develop indigenous African languages to support learning in HEIs, especially in creating terminologies in various disciplines, means that new and faster ways of creating terminology have to be adopted – ways that are supported by technology in order to fast-track this process. The WordSmith tool used in this Chapter to create terms in Political Philosophy (to expand the terms created in the pilot project) ensures that the terms are precise, concise and are appropriate to the discipline. This technology also ensures that the concepts extracted are those that are essential for understanding of concepts essential for one to master a specific subject. Obviously, technology has to be supported by people, as we have seen in the exercise above.

Through technology, the level of development of the language (in terms of its grammar and its lexicon), new corpus can be generated to support learning in any discipline, at any level. The use of technology as an enabling terminology development tool for African languages should then be welcomed and widely used as part of the intellectualisation of African languages.

CHAPTER SEVEN: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

This research has been conducted in the light of the fundamental significance of language in education. It highlights the centrality of language in the acquisition of knowledge that is imparted in the learning process. The main thesis is that quality education continues to evade the majority of those who do not speak English in South Africa, the default LoLT in most educational institutions. This is essentially so because their mother tongue is kept away from the education system – the most powerful institution to determine social mobility, and therefore development of society. Though language policy seems to reflect the importance of mother tongue in education, there seems to be huge disparity between policy and practice (Djité, 2008; Alexander, 2000).

Disuse of indigenous African languages is often wrongly associated with the lack of scientific and high-level terminology in these languages, that is, the intellectualisation of these languages. This research has demystified this thinking and has shown how, since almost two centuries ago, there was consistent and scholarly work done to intellectually develop these languages, and isiXhosa particularly. The work of the pioneers in the intellectualisation of isiXhosa, missionaries such as Van der Kemp, Bennie, Kropf and subsequent linguists such as Westphal and Doke, and later Pahl and Satyo and literary greats such as Mqhayi and Jordan, to mention but a few, is an indication, as shown in the body of this thesis, of the development of isiXhosa, and other indigenous African languages.

The survey of the terminology developed specifically during the apartheid era under Bantu Education, is an illustration that, through concerted effort, any language is capable of expanding when there *is* a demand for its use. It is unfortunate that this extensive and quality work is often never considered when politicians and even African scholars provide justification for inability to provide mother tongue education for those who do not have English as a mother tongue. Perhaps the historical period in which it was developed plays a major role in it being conveniently forgotten. As shown in the thesis, the terminology

covered, in different disciplines and for different levels of education, is still cognitively meaningful now, as it was when it was developed. Its development followed the principles of terminology development that are in line with the study of terminography. As with any language experiencing elaboration, there were challenges that are often associated with that, that are overcome with persistent use of new terminologies.

The terminologies that surfaced after the achievement of a South African society that valued linguistic diversity in 1994 “borrowed” extensively from the corpus that was developed during the early stages of the development of the language, with neologisms created using the rich corpus of the language and its highly developed grammar structure.

As there is a refocus, once again, on racial and linguistic equity and access and success in education and all social institutions, it makes sense therefore, to promote with dynamism the use of indigenous African languages in education, including higher education.

The major undertaking therefore is the collating of terminologies that have been developed during the years analysed in this thesis, and republishing them for use in school classrooms and lecture halls, as appropriate. There also needs to be fast-tracking of the indigenous African languages in the new domains, and make these available in controlling domains such as HEIs, IT, media, etc. Computer assisted corpus analysis tools, such as WordSmith tools, can be used for this purpose, in order to bring not only modernity in scholarship to these languages, but to accelerate their pace of development, but at the same time maintaining precision and succinctness that is essential in terminology development. It is this kind of conciseness that will facilitate use and adoption of the newly-created terms in isiXhosa and other indigenous languages, and that will further their development.

The study has shown that any language is capable of development – if there is a will from those in power, and if the target users, and those who will facilitate their use, understand the relationship between language, access and success in education. The limitation of this study is that it presupposes that the lecturers and the students who would benefit from language

intervention proposed in this study understand its positive impact on their achievement in education and beyond. Although there was reported attitudinal change amongst isiXhosa students towards use of isiXhosa to support learning Computer Literacy in an earlier study done with Computer Literacy students in the ELP, this study has not surveyed students attitudes (Dalvit, 2010). Their reception of the pilot glossary and how they used it in the tutorial classes is anecdotal. Further, the terminology developed as a model is only a very small sample, compared to what still needs to be done in this subject. Lastly, it is stated clearly that this study is not looking at how language intervention can improve performance. Literature to support that reality has been reviewed. I would not have been able to successfully conduct such survey because the material piloted during the RU-SANTED Multilingualism Project were mostly used for independent learning, and were essentially part of everyday classroom learning. These are some of the limitations of the study that would need to be taken up in the next phase, to facilitate the use of isiXhosa in higher education, and to facilitate further intellectualisation.

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APPENDIX A

Communication, between the Political Philosophy lecturer and the researcher (member of the RU-Multilingualism Project) initiating development of the initial glossary

11 June 2008

SANTED CONTRIBUTION TO TEACHING AND MULTILINGUALISM AT RHODES UNIVERSITY

[REDACTED]

We greatly appreciate your interest in our work. Concerning the points that you raise there are a few considerations:

You mention positive indicators. The Computer Science glossary booklet was used on a voluntary basis and hence we cannot measure its usage, let alone its impact. However, we were able to measure attitude shift in favour of isiXhosa and African languages in general. The main point of positivity is that there is a huge attitude shift in favour of isiXhosa by mother tongue speakers. **[REDACTED]**, the ICT co-ordinator at SANTED, did his PhD on this, and would be happy to explain further.

Research shows that isiXhosa-speaking students are already using their mother tongue together with English in informal communication with their peers and tutors, and possibly lecturers, at University – now it is just a matter of scaffolding and standardising this process so that the concepts are properly explained. There is no doubt that pedagogically students learn best in the languages that they understand best. In this case if you make use of dual medium slides and it is supported by the facilitator, this would be a positive input for the students.

Regarding the translation of your slides, at the moment we might not have the capacity to translate a full set of slides by July. We would, however, be happy to translate some key concepts that are essential in your course. For the long term, we would like to work this process into a research project. We could work with one of your senior postgraduate isiXhosa mother-tongue students who would provide content-specific knowledge. This may be a model we could transport to other departments and it may be more sustainable than simply relying on the SANTED team. For this kind of intervention then, SANTED would suggest that we build in your request into the Politics budget for 2009. We could then work on producing the rest of the material for you by June 2009.

On a more general note, we understand that, in principle, there is a commitment from the University to the promotion of the use of isiXhosa. In order to transfer this into practice, there needs to be some general considerations:

The first would be the issue of capacity in the area of the language and translation. SANTED and the School of Languages can spearhead this process but we would require the support of the University.

This is inevitably tied up with the future of SANTED and the longevity of multilingualism at Rhodes as required by national legislation. [REDACTED] also indicated in his seminar in the Faculty of Education that the use of African languages in tertiary education could be pursued as a long term goal – even to the point of using these languages as additional languages of instruction.

Would it be possible to meet to discuss these further? A possible date for a meeting would be: 19th of June either at 08h00, 11h00 or 16h30.

Kind regards

Pam Maseko and , [REDACTED]

On behalf of the SANTED Multilingualism Project team

APPENDIX B

A table of terms (only English-isiXhosa) showing terms extracted from the Department of Bantu Education's *Xhosa Terminology and Orthography No. 3*

Term in English	Equivalent in isiXhosa
1. a/c (account)	<i>a/k (iakhawunti)</i>
2. Abascus	<i>isihlohlosobalo</i>
3. Abdicate	<i>ukudeda</i>
4. Abdomen	<i>isisu</i>
5. Abdomen (zool.)	<i>isisu (somntu), umnqe (wesinambuzane)</i>
6. Ablactate	<i>ukubukula</i>
7. Abolish	<i>Ukubhangisa, ukutshitshisa, ukunqumamisa</i>
8. Above sea level	<i>Ngaphezu kokuthi tyabakolwandle, ngaphezu kolwandle</i>
9. Absolute rule (government)	<i>ulawuloolungenasithintelo</i>
10. Absolve	<i>ukukhulula</i>
11. Absorb	<i>ukufunxa</i>
12. Absorb moisture	<i>ukufunxaamanzi</i>
13. Absorption	<i>ufunxo, ukufunxa</i>
14. Abstract	<i>engaphathekiyo, eqikelelwayo</i>
15. Abstract (not concrete)	<i>engaphathekiyo, eqikelelwayo</i>
16. Abstract art	<i>ubuchuleobufihlakeleyo</i>
17. Abstract number	<i>inani nje</i>

18. Abstract teaching	<i>Imfundo ebumanakanibe</i>
19. Acclimatisation	<i>uqhelo-mo,ungqinelwano</i>
20. Acclimatise (weather)	<i>ukuziqhelanisa</i>
21. Accounting	<i>ucalulo-mali, ucwangciso-mali</i>
22. Accumulation	<i>ukufumba</i>
23. Accuracy	<i>ukuchana</i>
24. Accuracy	<i>Chanile; onguwo; nqo</i>
25. Accuse	<i>Ukumangalela, ukube 'ityala, ukutyhola</i>
26. Acetabulum	<i>usikrotyana</i>
27. Acquittal	<i>ukugwetyelwa</i>
28. Act (in play)	<i>Ukudlala, ukulinganisa</i>
29. Act (law)	<i>umthetho</i>
30. Act (n.)	<i>isenzo</i>
31. Actual cost	<i>Elonaxabiso</i>
32. Ad libitum	<i>ngokukhululekileyo,ngokuthanda</i>
33. Addition	<i>udibaniso</i>
34. Addition	<i>udibaniso</i>
35. Addition puzzle	<i>qashi-qashi-dibaniso</i>
36. Addition sign (+)	<i>isidibanisi</i>
37. Adenoids	<i>amarhanana</i>
38. Adjudicate	<i>ukugweba</i>
39. Adjudicator	<i>umgwebi</i>

40. Adjudicator	<i>umgwebi</i>
41. Administer	<i>lawula, phatha</i>
42. Administration	<i>ulawulo</i>
43. Administrative capital	<i>izikololawulo</i>
44. Administrator	<i>Umlawuli wephondo</i>
45. Admit (allow access)	<i>ukwamkela; ukungenisa</i>
46. Admit a charge	<i>ukuvumaityala</i>
47. Advocate (n)	<i>ummeli</i>
48. Advocate (v)	<i>ukumela; ukuxhasa</i>
49. Aesthetic	<i>yobuhle</i>
50. Affidavit	<i>Ingxelo efungelweyo</i>
51. Affiliation	<i>ubandakanyo</i>
52. Algae	<i>ulwelwe</i>
53. Alimentary canal	<i>Ujelolokutya; lolwetyiso</i>
54. Alias	<i>ogamalimbi</i>
55. Alimentary canal	<i>ujelolokudla; lolwetyiso</i>
56. Alliance	<i>Umanyano loncediswano, Umanyano lokuncedisana, Umanyano lwabancedani</i>
57. Alluvial soil	<i>Umhlaba wentili</i>
58. Altitude	<i>umphakamo</i>
59. Aluminium	<i>ialuminiyum, ialuminium</i>
60. Amalgamation	<i>umdibaniso</i>

61. Ammonia	<i>iamoniya, iammonia</i>
62. Amnesty	<i>uxolelo-mabanjwa</i>
63. Amoeba	<i>iamibha</i>
64. Amount (arithmetic)	<i>isimbuku, isambuku</i>
65. Amplifier	<i>iamplifaya</i>
66. Amplify	<i>andisa</i>
67. Amplify	<i>ukukhulisa; ukwandisa</i>
68. Anaesthetic (adj.)	<i>-lalisayo</i>
69. Anaesthetic (n.)	<i>isilalisi</i>
70. Analgesic balm	<i>Isidambisi-ntlungu</i>
71. Anemometer	<i>Isilinganiso samendu omoya, isilinganiso samandla omoya</i>
72. Anglo-German War	<i>iMfazweyamaJamani</i>
73. Angular	<i>bumbombo, butsolo, budolo</i>
74. Annex	<i>hlomela</i>
75. Annexation	<i>uhlomelo</i>
76. Annotate	<i>ukwenzaamanqaku</i>
77. Anopheles	<i>Ingcongconi yemalariya, ianopheles</i>
78. Anti-cyclone	<i>isigqithelaphandle</i>
79. Anti-serum	<i>ubuhlungu</i>
80. Anti-social	<i>ubundlobongela</i>
81. Antithesis	<i>ubunxambini</i>

82. Anti-toxin	<i>Isilwa-buhlungu</i>
83. Aorta	<i>umxhelo; iaorta othumelayo</i>
84. Approximation	<i>isisondeliso</i>
85. Aqueous humor	<i>Amanzieliso</i>
86. Arid	<i>inkqantosi</i>
87. Artery	<i>unothumela</i>
88. Artificial insemination	<i>Uqhamisongesandla</i>
89. Asphyxia	<i>Ufuthaniselo; ukufuthanisela</i>
90. Asthma	<i>umbefu</i>
91. Astronaut	<i>usomajukujuki</i>
92. Astronomer	<i>isazi-nkwenkwezi, ingcali yeenkwenkwezi</i>
93. Astronomy	<i>inkwenkwezilwazi</i>
94. Atmospheric pressure	<i>Isixinzelelo somoya, isixinzelelo se-atmosfera</i>
95. Autocracy	<i>Umbuso kazwilakhe</i>
96. Autocrat	<i>uzwilakhe</i>
97. Autonomic	<i>-zilawulayo; -ziphethayo</i>
98. Autonomic system	<i>Indlela yokuzilawula; isistim</i>
99. Axial skeleton	<i>Intsika yophahla</i>
100. Axis vertebra	<i>Izongo lentamo</i>
101. B. (base)	<i>z. (umzantsi)</i>
102. Bacillus	<i>Iintsholongwan eezibuntonga; ibhakilusi</i>
103. Bacteria	<i>iibhateriya, iintsholongwane</i>

104.	Bacteriology	<i>ulwazi ngeentsholongwane</i>
105.	Balance (n.) (arith.)	<i>intsalela; umncono</i>
106.	Balance (n.) (mus.)	<i>ukundindana; undindano</i>
107.	Balance (v.) (arith.)	<i>ukuqoshelisa; ukuchana</i>
108.	Balance of power	<i>ukulinganangamandla</i>
109.	Barometer	<i>ibharometa</i>
110.	Barrow	<i>ikiriva</i>
111.	Base (of a number system)	<i>isisekosesibalo</i>
112.	Base of power	<i>isisekosamandla</i>
113.	Base (of triangle)	<i>umzantsi (kanxantathu)</i>
114.	Beat (music)	<i>imbetho, isigqisho</i>
115.	Beat of the pulse	<i>ukubethwakwentliziyo</i>
116.	Besiege	<i>ukungqinga</i>
117.	Bestow	<i>ukupha, ukunika</i>
118.	Blood, circulation of	<i>Ujikelezo lwegazi, ujikelezogazi</i>
119.	Blood-clot	<i>uhlwili</i>
120.	Blood corpuscle	<i>Ikhophasi leyegazi</i>
121.	Blood meal	<i>Umgubo wegazi</i>
122.	Blood vessel	<i>Umthambo wegazi</i>
123.	Brachial	<i>yengalo</i>
124.	Brachial artery	<i>Unothumela wengalo</i>

125.	century	<i>inkulu</i>
126.	century (100 years)	<i>Inkulule eminyaka; inkulungwane</i>
127.	change (n)	<i>inguquko</i>
128.	change of state	<i>inguquko-mo</i>
129.	characterisation	<i>ulinganiso</i>
130.	characteristic (adj.)	<i>eluphawu</i>
131.	characteristic (n)	<i>uphawu</i>
132.	characterize	<i>ukulinganisa; ukuphawula</i>
133.	charge (accusation)	<i>isimangalo; isityholo; ubeko-tyala</i>
134.	charge (accuse)	<i>ukumangala; ukubekaityala</i>
135.	charge (v)	<i>ukuhlaziya/ukuvuselela</i>
136.	charter	<i>Uxwebhu lwamahungelo; itshata</i>
137.	chief bantu affairs commissioner	<i>Umantyi omkulu; umongameli weemantyi</i>
138.	chief justice	<i>Ijaji enkulu</i>
139.	chief's council	<i>inkundla</i>
140.	Christian (adj.)	<i>yobuKristu</i>
141.	Christian (n)	<i>uMkristu</i>
142.	Christian faith	<i>ubuKristu</i>
143.	Christian teaching	<i>ubuKristu</i>
144.	Christianity	<i>ubuKristu</i>
145.	chronological	<i>Ngokulandelana kwamaxesha</i>

146.	chronological order	<i>Ulandelelwano ngokukwamaxesha</i>
147.	chronologically	<i>Ngokulandelana kwamaxesha</i>
148.	citizen	<i>ummi; isima-mhlaba</i>
149.	citizenship	<i>ulwazi ngentlalo; intlalolwazi</i>
150.	civil	<i>Ephathelele eburhulumeteni</i>
151.	civil law	<i>Umthetho wezeembambano</i>
152.	civil servant	<i>Umsebenzi wakwarhulumente</i>
153.	civil service	<i>inkonzo/umsebenziwa kwarhulumente</i>
154.	civil war	<i>Imfazwe yamakhaya</i>
155.	civilian	<i>ongekhomkhosini; ongelojoni</i>
156.	civilisation	<i>impucuko</i>
157.	claim (n)	<i>ihungelo; ibango</i>
158.	claim (v)	<i>ukubanga</i>
159.	claimant	<i>umbangi</i>
160.	clan	<i>amani</i>
161.	clerk (of the court)	<i>Unobhala wenkundla</i>
162.	colonial	<i>yesithanga</i>
163.	colonist	<i>ummi-sithanga</i>
164.	colonize	<i>Ukuseka isithanga</i>
165.	colony (territory)	<i>isithanga</i>
166.	Coloured (person)	<i>iKhaladi; oweBala</i>
167.	Coloured population	<i>amaKhaladi; abeBala</i>

168.	commercial bank	<i>Ibhanki yorhwebo</i>
169.	commercial exchange	<i>ulwananiso-rhwebo</i>
170.	commissioner (of oaths)	<i>umfungisi</i>
171.	committee	<i>ikomiti</i>
172.	compare	<i>ukuthelekisa; ukulinganisa</i>
173.	confiscation	<i>uthimbo; intimbo</i>
174.	conflict	<i>imbambano; impikiswano</i>
175.	cost (n)	<i>ixabiso</i>
176.	cost (v)	<i>ukuxabisa</i>
177.	cost of living	<i>Indleko yentlalo</i>
178.	cost of production	<i>Indleko yokovelisa</i>
179.	council	<i>iqumrhu, ibhunga</i>
180.	council of advice	<i>Ibhunga locebiso</i>
181.	council-chamber	<i>Igumbi lequmrhu</i>
182.	councillor	<i>ilungu; iceba; iphakathi; uCeba</i>
183.	court	<i>inkundla</i>
184.	court-case	<i>ityala</i>
185.	court-messenger	<i>unothimba</i>
186.	court-room	<i>inkundla</i>
187.	culpable homicide	<i>ukubulala umntu ngengozi</i>
188.	curriculum	<i>ikharikyulam</i>

189.	Dark Ages	<i>iXesha/iMihla yoBumnyama</i>
190.	defendant	<i>ummangalelwa</i>
191.	defiance (insubordination)	<i>indelo</i>
192.	democracy	<i>Ulawulo ngomelo; ulawulomelo; idemokrasi</i>
193.	democratic	<i>eyolawulo-melo; eyedemokrasi</i>
194.	departmental regulation	<i>Ummiselo wesebe</i>
195.	deputy minister (of state)	<i>Isekela lomphathiswa</i>
196.	deputy secretary	<i>Usandla kasibakhulu; isekela-likasibakhulu</i>
197.	diaspora	<i>inkcithakalo</i>
198.	dispersion (of Jews)	<i>inkcithakalo; ukuba ziintsali</i>
199.	dispute (v)	<i>ukuphikisana</i>
200.	dispute(n)	<i>impikiswano</i>
201.	dissimilation	<i>ukuqangqulula; ulwahlukaniso</i>
202.	dissolve	<i>ukunyibilikisa; ukunyibilika</i>
203.	dissolve (of Parliament)	<i>Ukuchitha (iPalamente)</i>
204.	doctrine	<i>imfundiso</i>
205.	dogma	<i>Ixhanti lenkolo</i>
206.	dogmatic	<i>ukuqin'uluvo; imfundo yexhanti lenkolo; idogmatika</i>

207.	Dutch East India Company	<i>Ikhampani yamaHolani erhweba kwiiEast Indies</i>
208.	duty (tax)	<i>rhafu</i>
209.	earl	<i>iearl</i>
210.	economic	<i>Ezinxulumene nobutyebi belizwe</i>
211.	economic factor	<i>izinto ezinxulumene nobutyebi belizwe</i>
212.	economic plan	<i>Icebo lokwandisa ubutyebi belizwe</i>
213.	economic unit	<i>-nokukondla; -nokukuphilisa</i>
214.	economical	<i>yoqoqosho</i>
215.	economy	<i>Ubutyebi belizwe</i>
216.	ejections (gram.)	<i>utsoliso</i>
217.	elect	<i>ukunyula</i>
218.	election	<i>unyulo</i>
219.	electoral officer	<i>Igosa lonyulo</i>
220.	emigrant	<i>umfuduki</i>
221.	emigrate	<i>ukufuduka</i>
222.	emigration	<i>imfuduko</i>
223.	empire	<i>izithanga; iemphaya</i>
224.	employ	<i>ukuqesha</i>
225.	employment	<i>ingqesho</i>
226.	en masse	<i>bonke</i>
227.	endemic	<i>Yaloo ndawo kuphela</i>

228.	enfranchise (given vote)	<i>ukunikaivoti</i>
229.	enfranchisement	<i>uniko-voti</i>
230.	enquire	<i>ukubuza; ukuphanda; ukuphononga</i>
231.	estate (possessions)	<i>umhlaba; ilifa</i>
232.	ethnic	<i>ngobuhlanga</i>
233.	ethnic grouping	<i>ukuma/ukwahlulwa ngokobuhlanga</i>
234.	ethnography	<i>ietnografi; inkcazo ngeentlanga</i>
235.	ethnology	<i>ulwazi ngesizwe/ngeentlanga; ietnoloji</i>
236.	even (equal)	<i>-lingene</i>
237.	evidence (proof)	<i>ingqinisiso; ubunyaniso</i>
238.	evidence (witness)	<i>ubugqina</i>
239.	excise (duty)	<i>Irhafu yemveliso yelizwe; irhafu yezelo yelizwe</i>
240.	executive body	<i>Iqumrhu elilawulayo; iqoqo</i>
241.	executive committee	<i>iqoqo; iqumrhu elilawulayo</i>
242.	exile (banishment)	<i>ukufuduswa; ukugxothwa</i>
243.	exile (person)	<i>umfuduswa; umgxothwa</i>
244.	exile (v)	<i>ukuthimba; ukugxotha; ukufudusa</i>
245.	exodus	<i>uphumo</i>
246.	export (n)	<i>uthumelo; ukuthumela</i>
247.	export (v)	<i>ukuthemela</i>
248.	export duty	<i>Irhafu yezorhwebo eziphumayo</i>

249.	export market	<i>imalike/imarike yangaphandle</i>
250.	farm	<i>iplazi; ifama</i>
251.	farm labourer	<i>umsebenzi-fameni/-fama</i>
252.	farmer	<i>umfama</i>
253.	farming	<i>ulimo</i>
254.	final examination	<i>Uviwo lokugqibela/lokugqibelisa</i>
255.	finance	<i>ezemali</i>
256.	financial year	<i>Unyaka wezeemali</i>
257.	force (strength)	<i>amandla; isinyazelo; utyhudiso</i>
258.	force (v)	<i>ukunyazela</i>
259.	freedom (liberty)	<i>inkululeko</i>
260.	freedom of expression	<i>Ilungelo lokuthetha ngokukhululekileyo</i>
261.	freedom of movement	<i>Ukushukuma ngokukhululekileyo</i>
262.	gain (n)	<i>inzuzo; ingeniso; ingeniselo</i>
263.	gain (v)	<i>ukuzuza</i>
264.	govern	<i>ukulawula</i>
265.	government	<i>urhulumente</i>
266.	government gazette	<i>Igazethi karhulumente</i>
267.	governor	<i>irhuluneli</i>
268.	Governor General	<i>iRhuluneli-jikelele</i>
269.	graduate	<i>indanga</i>
270.	Great Trek	<i>iMfuduko enKulu</i>

271.	heritage	<i>ilifa</i>
272.	high treason	<i>ukungcatsha; ungcatsho</i>
273.	historian	<i>umbhali-mbali; imbalisi</i>
274.	historical	<i>yasembalini</i>
275.	historical background	<i>amavo; imbali; ilivo; ibali; imvelaphi</i>
276.	historical interest	<i>ebahulekileyongokwasezimbalini</i>
277.	historical period	<i>Ixesha lasezimbalini</i>
278.	historical perspective	<i>ukuqikelela</i>
279.	history	<i>imbali</i>
280.	House of Assembly	<i>iNdlu yabaNyuliweyo</i>
281.	immigrant	<i>umngeneleli</i>
282.	immigrate	<i>ukungenela</i>
283.	immigration	<i>ungenelelo</i>
284.	import (n)	<i>Isingeniso ngorhwebo</i>
285.	import (v)	<i>Ukungenisa ngorhwebo</i>
286.	import duty	<i>Irhafu yeempahla ezingenayo</i>
287.	importation	<i>Ungeniso ngorhwebo</i>
288.	importer	<i>umrhwebi-mngenisi</i>
289.	impose a levy	<i>-rhafisa</i>
290.	independence	<i>ukuzimela</i>
291.	independent	<i>-zimeleyo</i>
292.	Indian	<i>amaIndiya</i>

293.	Indian Ocean	<i>uLwandlekazi lwaseIndiya</i>
294.	Indian population	<i>amaIndiya; abaseIndiya</i>
295.	inexperience	<i>intswelamava; ukungabi namava</i>
296.	inhabitant	<i>ummi</i>
297.	inland	<i>phakathi ezweni</i>
298.	inquire	<i>ukuphanda; ukubuza; ukubuzisa</i>
299.	inquiry	<i>uphando</i>
300.	inquisition	<i>uncino</i>
301.	inquisition court	<i>inkundlayoncino</i>
302.	interior (of a country)	<i>umphakathi</i>
303.	internal affairs	<i>imicimbiyasekhaya</i>
304.	interpret	<i>ukutolika</i>
305.	interrogation	<i>ukubuza</i>
306.	interrogative	<i>lokubuza</i>
307.	intestines	<i>amathumbu</i>
308.	island	<i>isiqithi</i>
309.	isle	<i>isiqithana</i>
310.	judge (of law)	<i>ijaji</i>
311.	judge (v)	<i>ukugweba</i>
312.	judge president	<i>ijajiengumongameli</i>
313.	judgement	<i>isigwebo</i>
314.	judicial capital	<i>Ikomkhulu leejaji</i>

315.	jury	<i>ijuri</i>
316.	juryman	<i>iceba/ihungu lejuri</i>
317.	justice	<i>ubulungisa</i>
318.	justice of peace	<i>umfungisi</i>
319.	labour (n)	<i>umsebenzi</i>
320.	labour (v)	<i>ukusebenza</i>
321.	labour bureau	<i>iziko/iofisi yemisebenzi</i>
322.	labour problems	<i>Iingxaki zomsebenzi; inkcukacha zomsebenzi</i>
323.	labourer	<i>umsebenzi</i>
324.	landdrost	<i>imantyi</i>
325.	landmark	<i>ibhakana</i>
326.	landowner	<i>umnini-mhlaba</i>
327.	landscape	<i>imbonakalo-mhlaba</i>
328.	landtax	<i>Irhafuy omhlaba</i>
329.	language study	<i>Ukufunda ngolwimi</i>
330.	law	<i>umthetho</i>
331.	law and order	<i>Umthetho nocwangco</i>
332.	lawyer	<i>igqwetha; umthetheleli</i>
333.	league (alliance)	<i>Umanyano</i>
334.	legal	<i>ngokomthetho</i>
335.	legal advice	<i>icebolasemthethweni</i>
336.	legal adviser	<i>Igqwetha elicebisayo</i>

337.	legal aid	<i>Uncedo kummangalelwa</i>
338.	legal personality	<i>onokumangala okanye amangalelwe</i>
339.	legal procedure	<i>Inkqubo yomthetho/ngomthetho</i>
340.	legal status	<i>Ilungelo ngokomthetho</i>
341.	legislation	<i>umiso-mithetho</i>
342.	Legislative Assembly	<i>izikolokuqingqa; iziko lokuyila imithetho</i>
343.	liberty	<i>inkululeko</i>
344.	lieutenant-governor	<i>Isandla serhulumeli; isekela lerhulumeli</i>
345.	local government	<i>Ulawulo lweziphaluka</i>
346.	local history	<i>Imbali yaloo ndawo</i>
347.	location	<i>ilokishi</i>
348.	loyal	<i>nyanisekile</i>
349.	loyalty	<i>ukunyaniseka</i>
350.	maintenance (of law and order)	<i>ukugcinwa</i>
351.	majority (age)	<i>ubuntu; ufikiso ebuntwini</i>
352.	majority (quantity)	<i>uninzi; isininzi; inkoliso</i>
353.	management	<i>impatho; ulawulo</i>
354.	manifesto	<i>upapasho-nkqubo; izibhambathiso</i>
355.	manipulate	<i>ukuphatha</i>
356.	manuscript	<i>umbhalo-ngqangi</i>
357.	massacre	<i>usiko; imbubhiso</i>

358.	member of parliament	<i>Ilungu lasepalamente</i>
359.	membership	<i>ubuhungu</i>
360.	methodically	<i>Ngeyona ndlela</i>
361.	methodology	<i>ulwazi-nkqubo</i>
362.	minister (of state)	<i>umphathiswa</i>
363.	Minister of Bantu Education	<i>uMphathiswa weSebe lezeMfundo</i>
364.	Minister of Justice	<i>uMphathiswa wezobuLungisa</i>
365.	minor (person under age)	<i>umntwana</i>
366.	minority	<i>ubumbalwa</i>
367.	misgovernment	<i>Ulawulo olubi</i>
368.	monetary system	<i>Inkqubo kwezemali</i>
369.	native (see Bantu)	<i>inzaka; inkulelane; inkulelwane; owothuthu;</i>
370.	native appeal court	<i>Inkundla yezibheno yabaNtsundu</i>
371.	Native Recruiting Corporation	<i>uTebha; kwaTebha</i>
372.	news	<i>iindaba</i>
373.	news agency	<i>Iziko leendaba</i>
374.	news broadcast	<i>usasazo-ndaba</i>
375.	news department	<i>Isebe leendaba</i>
376.	news editor	<i>umhleli-ndaba</i>
377.	news reader	<i>umfundi-zindaba</i>

378.	news reading studio	<i>Igumbi lokufundela iindaba</i>
379.	newspaper	<i>iphepha-ndaba</i>
380.	newsprint	<i>Iphepha loshicilelo</i>
381.	nominate	<i>ukutyumba</i>
382.	nomination	<i>utyumbo</i>
383.	obligation	<i>iimfanelo</i>
384.	observation	<i>uqwalaselo; uqaphelo; igqalelo</i>
385.	observe	<i>ukuqwalasela; ukugqala ukuqaphela; ukuphawula</i>
386.	obstacle	<i>isithintelo</i>
387.	obstruct	<i>ukuthintela; ukuxaba</i>
388.	obstruction	<i>impazamo; ukuxaba; isithintelo; uthintelo</i>
389.	obtain	<i>ukufumana</i>
390.	occasion (occurrence)	<i>ithuba</i>
391.	occasional	<i>ngamathuba</i>
392.	occupation (employment)	<i>umsebenzi</i>
393.	occurrence	<i>isiganeko; isihlo; isehlo</i>
394.	officer	<i>igosa</i>
395.	officer (military)	<i>umphathi-mkhosi</i>
396.	official (adj.)	<i>eyoburhulumente; yakwarhulumente</i>
397.	official (n)	<i>igosa</i>
398.	official language	<i>intetho/ulwimi lombuso</i>

399.	order	<i>ukuodola; ukucwangeisa; ukulungisa; ukumisa</i>
400.	outlaw	<i>umabonabulawe</i>
401.	paramount chief	<i>ukumkani; inkosienkulu; ingotya</i>
402.	patriot	<i>uthanduhlanga; uthandizwe</i>
403.	persecution	<i>intshutshiso</i>
404.	persecutor	<i>umtshutshisi</i>
405.	petition	<i>isibongozo</i>
406.	plagiarism	<i>Ukunyiba umbalo</i>
407.	plaintiff	<i>ummangali</i>
408.	police	<i>amapolisa; ipolisa</i>
409.	political party	<i>iqela/ibutho lwasembusweni</i>
410.	political power	<i>Amandla kwezombuso</i>
411.	politics	<i>iipolitiki; ezombuso</i>
412.	portfolio (office of minister)	<i>isikhundla</i>
413.	power	<i>amandla</i>
414.	prejudice	<i>udlelondlala</i>
415.	prime minister	<i>inkulumbuso</i>
416.	private property	<i>Izinto ezizezakhe</i>
417.	privileges	<i>amalungelo</i>
418.	protest	<i>ukuchasa; ukukhalaza</i>
419.	public prosecutor	<i>umtshutshisi</i>

420.	public road	<i>Indlela yoluntu/kawonke-wonke</i>
421.	public works	<i>Imisebenzi yamasebe karhulumente</i>
422.	quota	<i>isahlulo; isabelo</i>
423.	race (genetic)	<i>uhlanga</i>
424.	racial	<i>-hlanga</i>
425.	racial relations	<i>Ubudlelwane beentlanga</i>
426.	rebel (n)	<i>umvukeli; umvukeli-mbuso</i>
427.	rebel (v)	<i>Ukuvukela umbuso</i>
428.	rebellion	<i>imvukelo-mbuso</i>
429.	reconciliation	<i>uxolelwano</i>
430.	reform (v)	<i>ukuguquka; ukuguqula</i>
431.	reform (n)	<i>uguquko; inguqula</i>
432.	region	<i>ummandla</i>
433.	regional	<i>yommandla</i>
434.	regional authority	<i>Uganyaziwe wenqila</i>
435.	regulation	<i>ummiselo</i>
436.	reign (n)	<i>ulawulo</i>
437.	reign (v)	<i>ukulawula</i>
438.	Renaissance	<i>uvuselelo; intlaziyeko; iRenaissance</i>
439.	representation	<i>umelo</i>
440.	representative	<i>ummeli</i>
441.	republic	<i>iriphabliki</i>

442.	responsibility	<i>umthwalo; ubutyala</i>
443.	responsible	<i>-nobutyala</i>
444.	restitution	<i>ukubuyelana</i>
445.	retribution (for evil done)	<i>impindezelo; isohlwayo</i>
446.	revolution (political overthrow)	<i>uvukelo-mbuso; iguqulelo</i>
447.	revolutionary (adj.)	<i>yovukelo; yeguqulelo</i>
448.	revolutionary (n)	<i>umvukeli-mbuso</i>
449.	rule (to be followed)	<i>uthetho; ummiselo; umgaqo</i>
450.	sabotage	<i>Ukusingela phantsi</i>
451.	seat (of government)	<i>ikomkhulu</i>
452.	secundus (second deputy)	<i>isekela; isandla</i>
453.	self-government	<i>umasiziphathe; amaziphathe</i>
454.	serve (do serve to)	<i>ukuphaka; ukuhambisa</i>
455.	serve (meet needs of)	<i>ukukhonza; ukunceda</i>
456.	settle (establish)	<i>ukuzinza</i>
457.	settlement (colony)	<i>ithanga; isithanga</i>
458.	social security	<i>isikhuseleko/ isiqinisekiso sasentlalweni</i>
459.	social security	<i>Izifundo zentlalo</i>
460.	society (association)	<i>umbutho</i>
461.	society (community)	<i>uhuntu</i>

462.	sociology	<i>Inzuluhwazi yezentlalo; sosiyoloji</i>
463.	sovereign status	<i>ukuzimela; ukuzilawula</i>
464.	sovereignty	<i>ukuziphatha; ukuzilawula</i>
465.	standard of living	<i>umgangatho wentlalo</i>
466.	state (country)	<i>ilizwelombuso</i>
467.	state (government)	<i>umbuso; urhulumente</i>
468.	state support	<i>inkxasokarhulumente</i>
469.	statistics	<i>amanani; iistatistiki</i>
470.	student	<i>umfundi</i>
471.	subdepartment	<i>isetyana</i>
472.	supremacy	<i>ukongama; ubungangamsha</i>
473.	supreme country	<i>Inkundla yeejaji</i>
474.	suspension	<i>ubaziso; ubambezelo</i>
475.	syllabus	<i>isilabhasi; uqingqo lwezifundo; uhlelo lwesifundo</i>
476.	tax	<i>irhafu</i>
477.	third party	<i>ithird party</i>
478.	totalitarian	<i>-ngenasithintelo; kazwilakhe</i>
479.	town	<i>idolophu</i>
480.	town council	<i>ibhungaledolophu</i>
481.	trade	<i>ukurhweba</i>
482.	trade route	<i>indlelayorhwebo</i>

483.	treason	<i>ungcatsho</i>
484.	treasurer	<i>udyebo; unondyebo</i>
485.	treaty	<i>imvumelwano</i>
486.	treaty system	<i>imigqaliseloyeetriti; ulungelelwano lwemvumelwano</i>
487.	trial	<i>Ukuthetha ityala</i>
488.	tribal	<i>-esizwe</i>
489.	tribal authority	<i>Igunyaziwe wesizwe</i>
490.	tribal organisation	<i>Ubume bohlanga</i>
491.	tribe	<i>isizwe</i>
492.	tribesman	<i>umthile</i>
493.	union (of states)	<i>umdibaniso; umanyano</i>
494.	unison	<i>luhlulunye; zwinye</i>
495.	unity	<i>umanyano</i>
496.	universal rule (government)	<i>umthetho –jikelele</i>
497.	university	<i>iyunivesithi</i>
498.	urban	<i>-asedolophini</i>
499.	urban area	<i>Ummandla wedolophu</i>
500.	urban population	<i>Abemi basedolophini/ bedolophu</i>
501.	urbanisation	<i>ukurhamiga</i>
502.	value	<i>ixabiso</i>
503.	veto (n)	<i>uxabo; uthintelo</i>

504.	veto (v)	<i>ukuxaba; ukuthitela</i>
505.	vice-chairman	<i>Isekela likasihlalo</i>
506.	victory	<i>uloyiso</i>
507.	Voortrekker	<i>uVulindlela; iVoortrekker</i>
508.	vote (n)	<i>ivoti</i>
509.	vote (v)	<i>ukuvota; ukunyula</i>
510.	voter	<i>umvoti; umnyuli</i>
511.	wage	<i>umvuzo</i>
512.	wage war	<i>Idabi lemivuzo; ushiyiselwano ngemiruzo</i>
513.	world affairs	<i>Imicimbi yehlabathi</i>
514.	world news	<i>Iindaba zehlabathi</i>
515.	youth	<i>ulutsha; ubutsha</i>
516.	youth movement	<i>Umbutho wolutsha</i>

APPENDIX C

Process showing Political Philosophy I terminology development – terms are extracted in English (Step 1), then defined in English (Step 2), then in isiXhosa (Step 3) and then term is created in isiXhosa (Step 4).

STEP 1	STEP 4	STEP 3	STEP 2
ENGLISH TERM	XHOSA TERM	XHOSA DEFINITION	MORE OR LESS LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE XHOSA DEFINITION INTO ENGLISH
Autonomy	Ukuzilawula	Ukuba nako ukuthatha izigqibo ngokwentando yakho. Oku kukwabhekisele kumaqela okanye kumaziko azilawulayo ikakhulu noxa ephantsi kolawulo lwelinye igunya.	To be able to take decisions according to your own will. This also applies to institutions or groups that mostly govern themselves even though they are under

			governance of other institutions.
Civil disobedience	Toyitoyi	Uqhanqalazo lwezopolitiko apho iqela labantu lisaphula ngabom umthetho othile ngenjongo yokuba kubekwe indlebe kwizikhalazo zabo zezopolitiko	A political protest where a group of people break a certain law deliberately with the aim of drawing attention to their political grievances.
Communitarianism	Umanyano ngeenkqobo	Luluvo oluxhasa isimo sentlalo apho abantu bonke badityaniswa ziinkqobo (<i>values</i>) ezifanayo enjongo yazo ikukukhuthaza umanyano kuluntu	A doctrine which believes in is a society based on common values, which aim it is to encourage unity within the community.
Constitution	Umgaqo-siseko	Owona mthetho uphezulu kumbuso welizwe. Yonke eminye imithetho iphantsi komgaqo-siseko kwaye kufanele ukuba ingaphikisani nawo, ukuba kwenzeka ukuba iphikisane ngumgaqo-siseko oyakulawula	The supreme law in the state. All other laws are subordinated to the constitution and they should not conflict with it. If they do conflict, the constitution will rule.
Democracy	Idemokhrasi	Eli gama lisuka kwigama lesiGrike elithetha ulawulo lwabantu. Kule nkqubo amandla okulawula asuka ebantwini	This word is derived from a Greek word meaning the rule of the people. In this system the power to govern derives from the people.

Egalitarian	Oxhasa ukulingana kwabantu bonke	Ngumntu oxhasa uluvo lokuba abantu kufuneka banikwe amalungelo alinganayo	A person who believes in the ideology that people should be given equal rights.
Equality	Ukulingana	Isimo sokulingana kwabantu kwaye bafumane amalungelo ngokufanayo	The state of people being equal and receiving same rights.
Idealist	Ocamanga ngesimo esifezekileyo	Lowo ukholelwa, futhi ezama ngenene ukufumana isimo esifezekileyo nesigqibeleleyo kodwa amaxesha amaninzi sibe sibonwa njengesingenakufezeka	A person believing in and striving to attain a perfect “state”, although that goal often is perceived as unattainable.
Judicial Independence	Ukuzimela kwamaziko ezobulungisa	Ukuwiswa kwesigwebo kumaziko ezobulungisa ngaphandle kweempembelelo zabanye. Oku kusekelwe phantsi komqathango wokwahlulwa kwamagunya olawulo, apho icandelo lowiso-mthetho (ipalamente) limisa imithetho, elolawulo (urhulumente) linyanzelisa le mithetho, ze elezobulungisa (iinkundla) lisebenzise le mithetho xa liwisa isigwebo	The principle that a judgement in judicial institutions shall be passed without the influence of others. This is based on the principle of separation of powers whereby the legislative (parliament) creates laws, the executive (government) enforces these laws and the judiciary (courts) uses these laws when passing judgement.
Legitimacy	Okwamkelekileyo	Kulapho abantu babona kwamkelekile okanye	It is when people see it as appropriate or acceptable to

		kufanelekile ukuba bathobebe urhulumente	obey the government.
Liberalism	Inkolo yenkululeko yomntu	Lisuka kwigama lesiLatini, <i>liber</i> , elithetha "ukukhululeka". Olu luluvo oluthatha inkululeko yomntu njengeyona njongo ibalulekileyo kwezopolitiko	Taken from the Latin word <i>liber</i> meaning free. This is a doctrine that sees individual freedom as the most important goal in politics.
Paternalism	Ukulawula ngegqudu	Kulapho abasemagunyeni bethatha izigqibo ngabantu, oku bekwenza ngokunciphisa inkululeko yabo iinjongo ikukubakhusela okanye ukuphakamisa intalontle yabo. Abo basemagunyeni benza izigqibo njengoko uyise enokwenza njalo kumntwana wakhe, emnqwenelela okuhle	Where those in authority take descisions on behalf of their subordinates; they do this by restricting their freedom with the aim of protecting them or promoting their welfare. Those in authority make decisions as a father would do to his child wishing him well.
Pluralism	Ipluralism	Inkqubo yezopolitiko apho ingamaqela ngamaqela anempembelelo kwizigqibo ezithathwayo kwezopolitiko	A political system where various groups have got an influence in political descision-making.
Political Obligation	Isibophelelo kwezopolitiko	Ukubona kufanelekile ukuba uthobebe urhulumente wakho okanye abo basemagunyeni	To see it as your duty to obey the governement or those in authority.
Socialism	Isoshiyalizim	Uluvo oluxhasa ukuba impahla, ubutyebi nomhlaba kufuneka zibe zezoluntu	An ideology which supports that property (livestock, capital, wealth and land)

		okanye zilawulwe luluntu	should be owned or regulated by the community. <i>Remark of translator: xhosa has no single word for property.</i>
Utilitarian	I-utilitarian	Ngumntu oxhasa uluvo lokuba esona senzo singcono sesona sizisa olona lonwabo luninzi kwabona bantu baninzi	A person who supports an ideology which holds that the best action is the one that brings the most happiness to the most people.

Concordance				
N	Concordance	Set	Tag/Word No.	File %
1	e and public resources but of capital. the equal liberty so c		34,914	8co-1.txt 54
2	by the limited redistribution of capital represented by an unco		31,625	8co-1.txt 49
3	s the widespread dispersal of capital and productive assets,		33,286	8co-1.txt 51
4	share equally in the returns to capital through a universal gra		14,024	8co-1.txt 22
5	n always live for a time on his capital. The propertyless man		36,185	8co-1.txt 56
6	des individuals with the kind of capital resources Meade sees		36,906	8co-1.txt 57
7	e the ownership of wealth and capital, and thus to prevent a		35,762	8co-1.txt 55
8	ere those who have access to capital resources through inher		35,498	8co-1.txt 55

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word No.	File	%
1	was able to bring a successful civil suit leading to the removal			47,826	8co-1.txt	72
2	illies, labour unions, church and civil society groups. The deba			27,945	8co-1.txt	43
3	ting as an equal in civil society. Civil society is the sphere of so			21,321	8co-1.txt	33
4	ics and the major institutions of civil society. Equals are not do			20,363	8co-1.txt	31
5	dom and standing as equals in civil society, regardless of handi			25,045	8co-1.txt	39
6	re entitled to accommodation in civil society: to wheelchairs, ra			25,076	8co-1.txt	39
7	need to be able to move around civil society to have equal stan			25,177	8co-1.txt	39
8	ed by the university's Centre for Civil Society, observed that the			28,024	8co-1.txt	43
9	t they can function as equals in civil society. To be capable of f			26,333	8co-1.txt	41
10	t the deaf have equal access to civil society, but not that they b			25,744	8co-1.txt	40
11	and as equals to one another in civil society, and this requires t			21,167	8co-1.txt	33
12	formed, property is regulated by civil, not natural law, partly as			32,119	8co-1.txt	49
13	freedom to form relationships in civil society also requires effecti			21,796	8co-1.txt	34
14	s and to function as an equal in civil society. What counts as "			22,631	8co-1.txt	35
15	lves widespread participation in civil society will find their good			24,426	8co-1.txt	38
16	as been increasing pressure by civil society, church and labour			28,241	8co-1.txt	43
17	a her ungrateful beneficiary in a civil court. Certainly these legal			59,010	8co-1.txt	89
18	cipate in the various activities of civil society more broadly, inclu			21,525	8co-1.txt	33
19	n for the market are also part of civil society, because they sell			21,395	8co-1.txt	33
20	is not determine one's status in civil society. Nor is being a goo			21,234	8co-1.txt	33
21	tical Obligation and the Right to Civil Disobedience The issue:			50,963	8co-1.txt	77
22	asion for excluding people from civil society, dominating them, b			25,013	8co-1.txt	39
23	tion of natural property rights to civil law after the foundation of			32,657	8co-1.txt	60
24	operty ought to be regulated by civil law, and it is clear that acc			32,157	8co-1.txt	49
25	ght to participate as an equal in civil society as well as in gover			21,440	8co-1.txt	33
26	but participating as an equal in civil society. Civil society is the			21,319	8co-1.txt	33
27	rson an acceptable presence in civil society. They need not ent			27,122	8co-1.txt	42
28	pp. 180-208. 6. Joel Feinberg, "Civil Disobedience in the Mod			59,685	8co-1.txt	90
29	egated within the institutions of civil society, or subject to discr			21,460	8co-1.txt	33
30	ocial identities by institutions in civil society, has been relegated			21,476	8co-1.txt	33
31	pable of standing as an equal in civil society requires literacy. B			22,087	8co-1.txt	34
32	erties and status as an equal in civil society. Even convicted cri			23,141	8co-1.txt	36
33	important achievements of the civil rights movement was to vin			21,420	8co-1.txt	33
34	e the capability to participate in civil society as an equal citizen			27,034	8co-1.txt	42
35	the goods and relationships of civil society. This entails freedo			21,737	8co-1.txt	33
36	n ends? Is there ever a case for civil disobedience, even in a de			1,692	8co-1.txt	3
37	s need to function as equals in civil society count as neutral g			24,571	8co-1.txt	38
38	imagine how communications in civil society would be arranged			26,552	8co-1.txt	41

N	Concordance	Set	Tag/Word No.	File	%
1	1992 L. Mead, <i>The New Politics of Poverty: The</i>		37,136	8co-1.txt	57
2	His understanding of the political effect of propert		36,092	8co-1.txt	65
3	C. Simmons, A. John, "Political Obligation and		1,750	8co-1.txt	3
4	91): 33-48; and Klosko, "Political Obligation and		59,830	8co-1.txt	90
5	38. S. A. D. M. Walker, "Political Obligation and		59,846	8co-1.txt	90
6	requirement allows the political equality of justic		36,781	8co-1.txt	57
7	citizen requires rights to political participation, su		21,719	8co-1.txt	33
8	group that discourages political participation. M		21,896	8co-1.txt	34
9	ely exercise specifically political rights, but also t		21,516	8co-1.txt	33
10	are thought important if political systems are to		60,110	8co-1.txt	90
11	his objection continues, political benefits do not		56,918	8co-1.txt	86
12	ghts. Tutorial Five : Political Obligation and t		50,960	8co-1.txt	77
13	alysis to the benefits of political society by first		55,918	8co-1.txt	84
14	is characterization of its political effect makes cl		36,113	8co-1.txt	56
15	onceptual structure of a political legal system. J		60,187	8co-1.txt	91
16	gations of Gratitude and Political Obligation," Phi		59,865	8co-1.txt	90
17	ral Rights?" reprinted in Political Philosophy, ed.		59,987	8co-1.txt	90
18	es as so critical to true political equality. The ki		36,918	8co-1.txt	57
19	r benefactor arises. The political instantiation of t		54,332	8co-1.txt	82
20	se claims to social and political equality on the f		19,466	8co-1.txt	30
21	air constituents: without political order, each of u		53,349	8co-1.txt	80
22	ell Guide to Social and Political Philosophy. Oxf		660	8co-1.txt	1
23	ell Guide to Social and Political Philosophy. Oxf		883	8co-1.txt	1
24	ell Guide to Social and Political Philosophy. Oxf		1,023	8co-1.txt	2
25	ell Guide to Social and Political Philosophy. Oxf		1,766	8co-1.txt	3
26	ell Guide to Social and Political Philosophy. Oxf		1,304	8co-1.txt	2
27	das of actual egalitarian political movements. For		9,014	8co-1.txt	14
28	ild a plausible theory of political obligation. Con		59,629	8co-1.txt	90
29	, but I still contend that political benefits do not		55,773	8co-1.txt	84
30	n return to our principal concern—political obliga		59,499	8co-1.txt	89
31	plied to contemporary political and social probl		197	8co-1.txt	0
32	fferent ideas about how political obligation is gen		51,355	8co-1.txt	77
33	eugenics. Egalitarian political movements opp		19,361	8co-1.txt	30
34	WEEK SIX (25 August) Political Obligation W		1,530	8co-1.txt	2
35	the gratitude theory of political obligation. Beca		59,552	8co-1.txt	90
36	conomy, and indirectly, political life as well. By		35,781	8co-1.txt	55
37	that unconditionality is politically superior to co		36,369	8co-1.txt	56
38	The gratitude account of political obligation enjoy		53,134	8co-1.txt	80
39	uzzles in Contemporary Political Philosophy is a		472	8co-1.txt	1
40	uzzles in Contemporary Political Philosophy		496	8co-1.txt	1
41	of gratitude for whatever political benefits they re		53,743	8co-1.txt	81
42	d the gratitude theory of political obligation. In th		59,643	8co-1.txt	90
43	panion to Contemporary Political Philosophy. Oxf		1,516	8co-1.txt	2
44	panion to Contemporary Political Philosophy. Oxf		687	8co-1.txt	1
45	e their natural liberty for political rights and oblig		31,817	8co-1.txt	49
46	e resulting inequality in political power cannot b		36,455	8co-1.txt	56
47	n for a general theory of political obligation becau		56,682	8co-1.txt	85
48	for a plausible theory of political obligation. After		53,175	8co-1.txt	80
49	the gratitude account of political obligation. And		54,582	8co-1.txt	82
50	for a gratitude theory of political obligation becau		55,601	8co-1.txt	84

Concord - [CLASS: 15 entries (sort: SL,SL)]

File View Settings Window Help

Concordance

N	Set	Tag	Word No.	File	%
1			8,958	8co-1.txt	14
2			15,584	8co-1.txt	24
3			2,180	8co-1.txt	3
4			3,120	8co-1.txt	5
5			14,100	8co-1.txt	22
6			21,486	8co-1.txt	33
7			48,266	8co-1.txt	73
8			34,021	8co-1.txt	52
9			19,358	8co-1.txt	30
10			33,924	8co-1.txt	52
11			3,314	8co-1.txt	5
12			35,794	8co-1.txt	55
13			39,289	8co-1.txt	60
14			45,436	8co-1.txt	69
15			35,128	8co-1.txt	54

N	layout	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word No.	File	%
1		I presupposition of their moral theories some si			41,483	8co-1.txt	63
2		1987 amendment to the Immorality Act (that ren			6,162	8co-1.txt	9
3		itimate basis for making moral claims on one ano			24,606	8co-1.txt	38
4		advantaged, if it has no moral weight in justifying			35,154	8co-1.txt	54
5		force (Sweat), said the moral stand of religions			2,693	8co-1.txt	4
6		il cases where there are moral reasons for saying			58,399	8co-1.txt	88
7		alent adults are equally morally agents everyone			19,430	8co-1.txt	30
8		ngrateful person can be morally deficient, but it i			57,973	8co-1.txt	87
9		udiciary undermines the "moral majority." By con			46,482	8co-1.txt	71
10		teful and a violation of a moral duty to reciproc			54,980	8co-1.txt	83
11		make different types of moral criticism or evalua			58,432	8co-1.txt	88
12		ubmit to the humiliating moral judgments of the			17,776	8co-1.txt	27
13		r the more fundamental moral claim that there ar			57,897	8co-1.txt	87
14		ek argued that it is NOT morally permissible to in			2,535	8co-1.txt	4
15		They derive their radical moral conclusions from			47,384	8co-1.txt	72
16		as such, on the same moral footing. That is th			38,444	8co-1.txt	59
17		n traditional concepts of morality and include, pre			6,479	8co-1.txt	10
18		at least consistent with morality. The major draw			63,651	8co-1.txt	95
19		ink not. But if we tie the moral principle of equal			40,805	8co-1.txt	62
20		n from making intrusive, moralizing judgments ab			23,069	8co-1.txt	36
21		come from a respect for moral requirements; rath			58,672	8co-1.txt	88
22		m different segments of morality, concern differe			58,421	8co-1.txt	88
23		tion on account of their moral views."(45) People			13,908	8co-1.txt	21
24		g criteria of the class of morally considerable per			45,438	8co-1.txt	69
25		nds an expansion of our moral horizons and an e			39,448	8co-1.txt	61
26		depend on intelligence, moral capacity, physical			41,276	8co-1.txt	63
27		d generally be reckoned morally defective, unable			45,063	8co-1.txt	69
28		t accurately capture our moral condemnation of t			58,260	8co-1.txt	88
29		e, and each of us has a moral obligation to ceas			42,623	8co-1.txt	65
30		ss and efficiency of the Immorality Act. In its rep			6,252	8co-1.txt	9
31		ing the state in intrusive moralizing judgments of			23,950	8co-1.txt	37
32		cape from the burden of moral emotions. In anot			49,738	8co-1.txt	75
33		er than deontology, the moral appropriateness of			59,568	8co-1.txt	90
34		emely low to reduce the moral hazard for nonfatal			18,026	8co-1.txt	28
35		for himself. "You have a moral worth that no one			24,786	8co-1.txt	38
36		obedience to "wrong" or immoral laws which do p			63,460	8co-1.txt	95
37		ibutive purposes are the moral equivalent of insur			10,622	8co-1.txt	16
38		d for some basis for the moral gulf that is comm			44,114	8co-1.txt	67
39		il can give a beneficiary moral reasons to respon			58,465	8co-1.txt	88
40		Hare, "Rules of War and Moral Reasoning," Philo			45,909	8co-1.txt	70
41		have the right to enforce moral principles by law;			2,455	8co-1.txt	4
42		He argued that: "The moral principles of a soc			2,414	8co-1.txt	4
43		They assert the equal moral worth of persons.			19,371	8co-1.txt	30
44		fillment. Take away the moral life and its goal of			50,690	8co-1.txt	76
45		gue for the fundamental moral claim that no duti			53,231	8co-1.txt	80
46		rance serve to create a moral equality that is ind			36,733	8co-1.txt	56
47		d the essential basis of moral equality into his ut			41,365	8co-1.txt	63
48		ualities have the kind of moral status or authority			31,474	8co-1.txt	48
49		placing them under the "moral guardianship" of t			37,787	8co-1.txt	58
50		tion to the Principles of Morals and Legislation,			45,926	8co-1.txt	70

colours, layout, spacing & format of the columns & rows

Concordance					
N	Set	Tag	Word No	File	%
1	Who are chosen by the industrious.	4.2	Absolute property rights and inheritance	34,559 8co-1.txt	53
2	tingent property rights and inheritance	Absolute	property rights explain, though	34,751 8co-1.txt	53
3	are ill – might force us to reject Nozick's	absolute	property rights and even Dwor	34,413 8co-1.txt	53
4	press compassion. It focuses not on the	absolute	misery of a person's condition	17,189 8co-1.txt	26
5	olation of liberty if property rights confer	absolute	rights on the owners of propert	34,700 8co-1.txt	53
6	hibitory and regulatory approaches. The	absolute	prohibition of commercial sex	5,695 8co-1.txt	9
7	fferent races and sexes: we can have no	absolute	guarantee that these abilities	40,888 8co-1.txt	63
8	les of society are authoritative. But how	absolute	must this authority be? It is to	61,653 8co-1.txt	93
9	s: It is not that the arbitrator's sword is an	absolute	reason which has to be obeye	62,714 8co-1.txt	94
10	person getting what she deserves in an	absolute	sense—independently of what	29,652 8co-1.txt	46